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AND

(FROM PAGE 145)

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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

- Page 4, para. 1, line 7,—for Mahēndrapalādēva read Mahēndrapālādēva.
 „ „ „ 10,—for Haḍḍāla read Haḍḍālā.
 „ 7, footnote 17, line 1,—for nistrimsa read nistrimśa.
 „ 9, text-line 46,—for -bhūpālāmś= read -bhūpālāmś=.
 „ 16, line 3 from bottom,—for Sāntaras read Sāntaras.
 „ 17, „ 9,—for Aḷuva read Āḷuva.
 „ 48, line 2 from bottom,—for Chēḍi read Chēḍi.
 „ 56, line 1,—for Thursday read Friday.
 „ 58, para. 2, line 2,—for Godavari read Kistna.
 „ 60, line 13 from the top,—for Jhālrapāṭan read Jhālrapāṭaṇ.
 „ 65, footnote 6, line 1,—for actua read actual.
 „ 71, line 4 from the top,—[I think the word *tāmbūliya* should mean “betel chewed with areca-nut and chunam” which the women spat out of grief. This is red and may be compared to rubies (*padmarāga*).—H. K. S.]
 „ 72, last line,—for Jāvalipura read Jāvālipura.
 „ 75, verse 12.—[There is no allusion to any legend here. The poet wants to say that Brahman out of arrogance (*damhataḥ*) weighed the king's prowess (i.e. the sun) on one side and his fame (i.e. the moon) on the other and found the two balanced so well on the scale of which the rod was the (heavenly) Gaṅgā, that the pin (*kaṇṭaka*) in the middle was *dhruva* (i.e. stable). The other meaning intended is the Pole star (*Dhruva*) which occupies the middle of the heavenly orbit and is almost fixed in space.—H. K. S.]
 „ 99, last but one para., line 3,—for Polikeśin read Polikēśin.
 „ 100, text-line 2,—for वन read वनः.
 „ „ 17,—for लक्ष्मी read लक्ष्मी.
 „ 119, footnote 3, line 2,—for Śūdra- read Śūdra-.
 „ 120, text-line 3,—for Maṇḍōdarivashpa- read Maṇḍōdarivāshpa-.
 „ 125, line 10,—for Kaṇḍika-bandha read Kaṇḍika-bandha.
 „ 143, translation of B.,—for Rāṭīja read Rājūla.
 „ 156, footnote 5, last line,—for Kuśhmāṇḍinī read Kūshmāṇḍinī.
 „ 160, para. 3, line 5,—for Tirathgarh read Tirathgarh.
 „ 165, footnote, line 6,—for Dattakamimānsā read Dattakamimānsā.
 „ „ line 8,—for Rudrāmba read Rudrāmbā.
 „ 166, para. 3, line 2,—for 1783 read 1779.
 „ 168, line 9 from the top,—for Pāḍi read Pāḍi.
 „ 169, line 2,—for Lākshmīdhara read Lakshmidhara.
 „ 170, text-line 6,—for -prasūta sama[sta*]- read -prasūta-sama[sta*]-.
 „ 170, text-line 8,—for ravidinē read ravidinē.
 „ 171, para. 5, last line,—for °chchhrēshṭa read °chchhrēshṭha.
 „ 172, line 8,—insert a hyphen at the end of the line.
 „ „ footnote 7, line 2,—for Śāmbilaka read Śāmbilaka.
 „ 175, line 4,—insert (Nāgarī) after Sanskrit.
 „ 176, line 16,—for Mēdipōta read Mēdipōta.
 „ „ footnote 2,—for Yājñavalkya read Yājñavalkya.
 „ 178, line 13 from bottom,—for Mālavā read Mālava.

- Page 179, footnote 1, line 3,—for *Sakkara-kōṭṭam* read *Śakkara-kōṭṭam*.
 „ 180, footnote 5,—for *Siyadoni* read *Siyadōṇi*.
 „ 181, para. 5, line 4,—[*Mudhasēlī* perhaps stands for the Telugu *mudusali* which means 'old, ancient;' i.e. a headman respected on account of old age; compare *nāṭṭu-mudumai*; above, p. 21, footnote 3.—H. K. S.]
 „ 185, text-line 4,—for तपः पयोवि° read तपःपयोवि°.
 „ „ footnote 1, line 2,—for *Devakūṭa* read *Dēvakūṭa*.
 „ 205, para. 3, line 4, for *Kārtikēya* read *Kārttikēya*.
 „ „ footnote 7,—for *Conjeeverum* read *Conjeeveram*.
 „ 223, No. 63, translation, line 2,—for *Uttara-Phalgunī* read *Uttara-Phalgunī*.
 „ 235, para. 3, line 2,—for *Ayurūr* read *Ayurur*.
 „ 236, lines 15 and 17,—for *Ayirūr* read *Ayurur*.
 „ „ text-line 9,—for =kkī- read kī-.
 „ 237, text-line 17 and translation, line 7,—for *Ayurūr* read *Ayurur*.
 „ 238, lines 3 and 11 and footnote 10,— Ditto.
 „ 257, footnote 4,—[From the Palnāḍu inscriptions we learn that the *Kākatīya* king Gaṇapati was ruling from his capital Oruṅgallu, already in Śaka-Saṁvat 1173 and that his daughter and successor Rudramahādēvi was also ruling from the same city in Śaka 1191.—H. K. S.]
 „ 261, footnote 6, line 7 from bottom,—for *Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa I.* read *Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa I.*
 „ 266, line 4,—for *Kākatī* read *Kākatī*.
 „ 282, para. 5, line 4,—for *Khariar* read *Khariār*.
 „ 283, line 7,—for *Tūṇḍrā* read *Tūṇḍrā*.
 „ 284, translation, line 1,—for *Sarabhapura* read *Śarabhapura*.
 „ „ footnote 6, line 3,—for *Jējabhukti* read *Jējabhukti*.
 „ 300, line 9,—[Comparing the symbol for *i* in °*pilupati* with the *i*-symbol in °*parihīṇam* (line 19) and in °*ndīrgha* (line 24) it appears as if the form *Mahāpīlupati* was also meant here as in the *Sāṅkhēḍā* plate of *Śāntilla* (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 23).—H. K. S.]
 „ 307, table, 1st column,—for *Gaznī* read *Ghaznī*.
 „ „ „ 3rd „ for *Âdil Shah Aynâ* read *Âdil Shâh Aynâ*.
 „ 313, line 2,—for *Halavur* read *Halavûr* and for *Banvâsi* read *Banavâsi*.
 „ 316, para. 3, line 3,—for *bhaṇḍâri* read *bhaṇḍârī*.
 „ „ line 8 from bottom,—for *Brahmaujhâka* read *Brahmaujhâka*.
 „ 321, last para., line 6,—for 493 read 793.
 „ 330, footnote 8,—for *Amuktamālyada* read *Âmuktamālyada* and for *Vishpuchittiyam* read *Vishpuchittiyam*.
 „ 331, para. 4, line 7,—for *Kuttukkâl* read *Kuttukkal*.
 „ „ „ 8,—for *Pâttaikulam* read *Pâtaikkulam*.

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OUT OF THE

On the 1st of May 1900, the Hon. Mr. Justice, in the High Court of Madras, in the case of the Government of Madras v. the Indian Laboratory, pronounced judgment in favor of the Government of Madras, and ordered that the costs of the proceedings should be paid by the Indian Laboratory.

The Indian Laboratory, in its application to the High Court, sought to have the costs of the proceedings paid by the Government of Madras, on the ground that the Government of Madras was the party who had caused the proceedings to be instituted.

The Hon. Mr. Justice, in his judgment, observed that the Government of Madras was not the party who had caused the proceedings to be instituted, and that the costs of the proceedings should be paid by the Indian Laboratory.

The Indian Laboratory, in its application to the High Court, sought to have the costs of the proceedings paid by the Government of Madras, on the ground that the Government of Madras was the party who had caused the proceedings to be instituted.

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA.

VOLUME IX.

NO. 1.— TWO COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE TIME OF MAHENDRAPALA OF KANAUJ.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E. ; GÖTTINGEN.

IN February 1904 Mr. Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha of Udaipur in Rājputāna most kindly sent me photographs of two Sanskrit inscriptions on copper-plates, which had been found some years before at Ūnā, a town in the southernmost part of the peninsula of Kāthiāwād, in the Junāgaḍh State.¹ Both inscriptions are of the reign of the *Mahārājādhirāja Mahēndrapāla* or, as he is called in one of them, *Mahēndrāyudha*, of Kanauj, and record grants to a temple of the Sun by two feudatories of his, Balavarman and his son Avanivarman II. Yōga, who belonged to a Chālukya family. One is dated in the [Gupta-] Valabhī year 574, corresponding roughly to A.D. 893; the other in the [Vikrama] year 956, corresponding to about A.D. 899. In March 1904 I gave a short account of the contents of these inscriptions, in *Nachrichten d. K. Ges. d. Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, and I have since tried to secure impressions of the originals. Not having succeeded in doing so, I now venture to publish the texts from Mr. Ojha's photographs.

A.—Plates of Balavarman; Valabhī-saṁvat 574.

These are two plates, each of which is inscribed on one side only. They contain 36 lines of on the whole well-preserved writing in Nāgarī characters.² The language is Sanskrit; it is generally easy to understand, but line 17 contains a revenue term which I have not met with elsewhere and am unable to explain. Lines 7-9 give two verses on the vanity of fortune, *etc.*, and the necessity of works of piety, and lines 22-29 six of the ordinary imprecatory verses; the rest is in prose.

The inscription records a grant of land by the *Mahāsāmanta* Balavarman, the son of Avanivarman [I.], of the Chālukya lineage, a feudatory, who had obtained the five *mahāśabdas*, of the *Paramabhāṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Mahēndrāyudhadēva* who meditated on the feet of the *P.M.P. Bhōjadēva*. From Nakshisapura, Balavarman informs the various officials and others that, after fasting on the sixth *tithi* of the bright half of Māgha, he gave the village of Jayapura, belonging to the Nakshisapura group of eighty-four which

¹ See *Indian Atlas*, quarter sheet 18, S. E., Long. 71° 5', Lat. 21° 49'.

² Since no facsimiles can be published, it would be useless to give full particulars regarding the forms of individual letters; but I may mention here that the conjuncts *ry* and *rt* are denoted by (well-known) special signs which contain no superscript *r*.

he had acquired by his own arm (*svabhujôpârjita-Nakshisapura-chaturasîtikâ*), to (a temple of) the Sun under the name *Tarunâdityadêva*, which stood on the banks of the river *Kaṇavirikâ*. The boundaries of the village were—on the east the village of *Sihavâhalaka*, on the south the village of *Râ[jyastha]la*, on the west the village of *Pêḍhillaka*, and on the north the village of *Amvullaka* (*Ambullaka*). After the usual admonition to preserve this gift, and six imprecatory verses, lines 29-34 give the names of twelve witnesses—four Brâhmanas, four merchants, and four *Mahattaras*. They are followed by the name of the writer, which cannot be read with certainty, and this, again, is followed by the date *śrī-Valabhī-saṃvat 574 Mâgha-suddha 6*, the numerals of which are ordinary decimal figures. The inscription, in line 36, ends with the signatures *sva-hastô=[tra] śrī-Va(ba)lavarmmanah ||* *sva-hastah śrī-Dhîika*, where (the second) *sva-hastah* is preceded by a mark which seems to represent the actual sign-manual of Dhîika. Who this Dhîika was, does not appear from the present inscription; but the grant B. makes it probable that he was a high official of the king *Mahêndrâyudha* (*Mahêndrapâla*), whose permission was necessary for the making of the grant.

B.—Plates of *Avanivarman II. Yôga*; [*Vikrama*]-*saṃvat 956*.

These are three plates, the second of which is inscribed on both sides, while the first and third are inscribed on one side only. They contain 68 lines of well-preserved writing in *Nâgarî* characters. The engraving is done carelessly, so that the text contains numerous mistakes, the correction of some of which, especially in two passages where proper names are concerned, is very difficult. The language is Sanskrit. Lines 1-45 contain twenty-four verses which, after glorifying the Sun, treat of the genealogy of the donor and of his and his ancestors' exploits; and two imprecatory verses are cited in lines 65-67; the rest of the text is in prose.

The inscription records a grant of land by the *Mahâsâmantâ* *Avanivarman* [II.], surnamed *Yôga*, of the *Châlukya* race (verse 2). In this race there were two 'great kings' (*mahâ-mahî-pati*), the brothers *Kalla* and *Mahalla* (v. 3), the former of whom is eulogized in conventional terms (vv. 5 and 6). *Kalla* had a son, whose name cannot be made out with confidence (v. 7); and this chief had a son whose name ended with *dhavala*, and whose full name perhaps was *Vâhukadhavala* (v. 9). This last named chief destroyed (or defeated) in battle a certain *Dharma*, conquered kings who were well-known *râjâdhirâja-paramêśvaras*, and defeated a *Karṇâṭa* army (vv. 10 and 11). His son was *Avanivarman* [I.] (v. 12), and his son, again, was *Balavarman* (the donor of the grant A., above). *Balavarman* defeated a certain *Vishadha* (v. 16) from whom he took away a pair of big drums (*uru-dhakkâ*); and, by slaying *Jajjapa* and other kings, 'freed the earth from the *Hûṇa* race' (v. 17). His son was *Avanivarman* [II.], also called *Yôga* (v. 18), who routed the armies of a certain *Yakshadâsa*¹ and other kings whose countries were invaded by him (vv. 19 and 20), and put to flight *Dharanivarâha* (v. 21).

In lines 45 ff. this *Mahâsâmantâ* *Yôga* (i.e. *Avanivarman II.*), a feudatory of the *Paramabhairâka Mahârâjâdhirâja Paramêśvara Mahêndrapâladêva* who meditated on the feet of the *P.M.P. Bhôjadêva*, informs his officials and others; as well as future kings, that, with the approval of the illustrious *Dhîika*,² he gave the village of *Amvullaka* (*Ambulaka*),³ which

¹ Verse 19 records that, after destroying the army of *Yakshadâsa*, *Avanivarman* took away from him the musical instrument (*tûrya*) called *Sâgarakshôbha*.—In my previous account of this inscription I suggested that *Yakshadâsa* may have ruled the *Madra* country; but this is wrong. As the engraver of the grant in several other places has engraved *m* instead of *y*, the actual reading *muddha-bhûmin* in line 36 must undoubtedly be altered to *yuddha-bhûmin*, not to *Madra-bhûmin*.

² The inscription, the text of which is not quite certain here, seems to indicate that *Dhîika* was an *antapâla* or 'frontier-guard' of *Mahêndrapâla*'s, and that *Avanivarman II.* was a subordinate of his (as his father *Balavarman* had been before him). See the end of the grant A.

³ This village (*Ambulaka* or *Ambullaka*) is mentioned also in the grant A.

belonged to the Nakshisapura eighty-four (*Nakshisapura-chaturāṣīti*) in the Saurāshṭra *maṇḍala*, to (a temple of) Taruṇādityadēva, located near the river Kanavirikā in the vicinity of the village of Jayapura.¹ The boundaries of the village were—on the east the village of Viyaraka, on the south the village of Jayapura, on the west the villages of Sēṇḍuvaka and Kōriṇṭhaka, and on the north the village of Vavulika. After the usual admonition to preserve this gift and two imprecatory verses, the inscription, in line 68, ends with the date *saṃvat* 956 *Māgha-śudi* 6, the numerals of which here also are ordinary decimal figures.

The Chālukya chiefs mentioned in the preceding are not known from other inscriptions. The large Bilhari inscription, in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 266, mentions a *Chaulukya* Avanivarman whose daughter Nōhalā was married by the Kalachuri Chēdi king Yuvarāja I. Kēyūavarsha. That Avanivarman may have been a contemporary² of Avanivarman II. Yōga of our grant B.; but—even assuming that the terms *Chālukya* and *Chaulukya* might be used synonymously³—he cannot be identical with him, because his father and grandfather were Sadhanva and Simhavarman (not Balavarman and Avanivarman).

For Balavarman, a feudatory of Mahēndrāyudha (Mahēndrapāla), the grant A. furnishes a date in about A.D. 893. We therefore may assume that his grandfather Vāhukadhavala (?) lived about the middle of the 9th century A.D., and was almost certainly a feudatory of Mahēndrapāla's predecessor Bhōjadēva (Mihira) of Kanauj, for whom we possess dates from A.D. 843 to A.D. 881. Now in the inscription No. 77 of my *Southern List* this Mihira (Bhōjadēva) is stated to have been defeated by the Gujarāt Rāshtrakūṭa Dhruvarāja II. This at any rate would show that he was at war with the Rāshtrakūṭas; and I believe that such a war is actually referred to in the account of Vāhukadhavala's (?) exploits related in the grant B. In my opinion, the Kārṇāṭa army which is said to have been defeated by him can only have been an army of the Rāshtrakūṭas. As regards (the king) Dharma who is stated to have been destroyed (or defeated) by the same chief, I know of no king Dharma who could have been a contemporary of his, excepting the well-known Pāla king Dharmapāla, and I see no reason why Dharma should not be identified with that Pāla king, who at one time or another undoubtedly was at war with the rulers of Kanauj.

Balavarman himself defeated a certain Vishaḍha, and by slaying Jajjapa and other kings 'freed the earth from the Hūṇa race.' Who Vishaḍha was, it is impossible to say. Wars with Hūṇa kings are frequently mentioned in Indian inscriptions of the Middle Ages,⁴ and we know of a Hūṇa princess, Āvalladēvī, who was married by the Kalachuri Karna in the 11th century; but in recording the name of Jajjapa our grant B. for the first time discloses the name of an individual Hūṇa king, who must be placed in about the last quarter of the 9th century.

The kings or chiefs mentioned as opponents of Avanivarman II. Yōga, for whom we have a date in about A.D. 899, are Yakshadāsa and Dharanivarāha. The former is unknown to us. The latter I do not hesitate to identify with the Chāpa *Mahāsāmantādhipati* Dharanivarāha, known to us from his Haḍḍālā plates⁵ which were issued from Vardhamāna (or Wadhvān in

¹ This village was granted to the same temple of the Sun by the grant A.

² A daughter of the Kalachuri Yuvarāja I, Kundakadēvī, was married by the Rāshtrakūṭa Amōghavarsha III. Baddiga, for whom we now possess dates in A.D. 937 and 939.

³ In Nos. 354 and 356 of my *Northern List* certain chiefs are described as both Chālukyas and Chaulukyas.

⁴ See my note on the grammarians' *ajayaj-Jarṭā Hūṇa* in *Nachrichten d. K. Ges. d. Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, 1903, p. 305 ff. The Pāla Dēvapāla humbled the pride of the Hūṇas (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 163, v. 13); according to the Kharḍa plates of the Rāshtrakūṭa Kakkarāja II. Amōghavarsha of A.D. 973 this king fought battles with the lord (or lords) of the Hūṇas (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 265, l. 32); the Paramāra Utpala (Muñjarāja) took away the life of the Hūṇas (*ibid.* Vol. XVI. p. 23, l. 41); his younger brother Sindhurāja conquered the king of the Hūṇas (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 235, v. 16); etc.

⁵ See my *Northern List*, No. 353.

Kāthiāvad) in A.D. 914, and in which he is represented as a feudatory of a *Rājādhirāja* Mahipāladēva whose proper identification, as will be seen below, can no longer offer any difficulty.

The place Nakshisapura, the nine villages mentioned in connection with the two grants, and the river Kanavirikā I have not, I regret to say, been able to identify. The main point of general interest connected with these localities is, that the Nakshisapura group of eighty-four, which was held by the two donors, according to the inscription B. belonged to the Saurāshtra maṇḍala. The name Surāshtra we know to denote the southern part of Kāthiāvad; and since the two chiefs Balavarman and Avanivarman II. describe themselves as feudatories of the *Mahārājādhirāja* Mahēndrāyudhadēva or Mahēndrapāladēva (of Kanauj), it follows from these inscriptions that towards the end of the 9th century A.D. the kingdom of Kanauj extended as far south as, and included, the province of Kāthiāvad. Moreover, it becomes quite certain now that the *Rājādhirāja* Mahipāladēva, who in the Haḍḍāla plates of A.D. 914 is mentioned as the overlord of the Chāpa *Mahāsāmantādhipati* Dharaṇivarāha, must be identified with the *Mahārājādhirāja* Mahipāladēva of Kanauj (whose Asni inscription is dated in about A.D. 917), the successor of Mahēndrapāladēva, and cannot have been one of the Chūḍāsamās of Girnār-Junāgaḍh.

In the grant A. the king, known to us from the grant B. and other inscriptions as Mahēndrapāla, is called Mahēndrāyudha. This name of course at once recalls the names Indrāyudha and Chakrāyudha, the former denoting a king who according to the *Harivaṃśa-Purāṇa* was ruling the north in Śaka-saṃvat 705=A.D. 783-84, and the latter another king, to whom the sovereignty of Mahodaya (Kanauj) was given, after the defeat of Indrarāja (i.e., in my opinion, Indrāyudha), by the Pāla Dharmapāla, and who was defeated by Nāgabhaṭa,¹ the grandfather of Bhōjadēva of Kanauj. It may also be mentioned that in Rājasēkhara's *Karpūra-maṇḍarī*² a certain merchant is represented as having gone to 'Kanauj, the capital of Vajrāsēkhara, the king of Pañchāla.' That story would seem to show that in the opinion of Rājasēkhara, who was Mahēndrapāla's *guru*, a name with the somewhat unusual ending *āyudha*, such as Vajrāyudha, was a suitable or characteristic name of a Kanauj king. Most probably Mahēndrapāla himself was known to Rājasēkhara also by the name Mahēndrāyudha.

The date of the grant A., *śrī-Valabhī-saṃvat 574 Māgha-suddha 6*, is by a long way the earliest date in which we find the technical expression *Valabhī-saṃvat*. In the inscriptions of the Valabhī kings themselves the year of a date is ordinarily preceded by only *saṃ*, rarely by *saṃvat*; and hitherto the earliest inscription containing the term *Valabhī-saṃvat* was the Vērāval inscription of the temple-priest Bhāva-Bṛihaspati of *Valabhī-saṃvat 850* (No. 503 of my *Northern List*). In the Mōrbī plate of Jāinka (*ibid.* No. 502) of the year 585 of the same era the number 585 in line 19 is preceded by simply *saṃvat*, while in line 17 the year is described as a *Gaupta* (i.e. Gupta) year.—It is curious that in Kāthiāvad we should find the Gupta-localities.

A.—PLATES OF BALAVARMAN; VALABHI-SAMVAT 574.

TEXT.³

First Plate.

1 Om⁴ [||*] Jayas=ch=ābhyaudayaś=cha || Svasti [||*] Nakshisapurāt=parama-
bhaṭṭāraka-mahārāj[ā]dhi-

¹ Of Nāgabhaṭa Mr. Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha has discovered in the Jōdhpur State a stone inscription dated in about A.D. 815 (*saṃvatsara-śa* [18] 872).

² See Dr. Sten Konow's edition, pp. 74 and 266.

³ From a photograph supplied by Mr. Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha.

⁴ Denoted by a symbol.

- 2 rāja-paramēśvara-śrī-Bhōjadēva-pād[ā*]nudyāta-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-para-
 3 mēśvara-śrī-Mahēndrāyudhadēva-pāda-prasādikṣhata-¹śamadhigata-pañchamah ā ś a v d a -
 • (bda)-mahāsāmantaś=[Ch]ā-
 4 lukyānvaya-prasūta-śrī-²Avanivarmma-suta-śrī-Va(ba)lavarmma sarvvān=ēva rāja-
 rājanya-rājasthāny-ōparik-āmā-
 5 tya-[chā]ṭabhaṭa-bhaṭṭa-[da]ṇḍavā(pā)śika-daṇḍ[ō]ddharanika-³draṅgika-mahattara-chāru-⁴
 chāra-bhaṭa-hastyāśvārōbha(ha)ka-prabhṛitīḥ ⁵
 6 yuktaka-niyuktakām svān=ā(a)nyām[ś=cha] yathāsamva(ba)dhyamānakān=
 samanuvō(bō)dhayaty=astu vaḥ samviditam yathā padma-pattā⁶
 7 sthita-jala[va] taralā śrī dṛishṭa-nashṭaṇ=cha jivitam⁷ | ⁸ Padmapatra-jalaviṃdu-
 chamchalam jivitavyam=akhilās=cha sampadaḥ |
 8 ity=avētya jagataḥ sthiti[m*] nripāḥ kiṃ dhanaiḥ kuruta dharmmam=animdyah⁹
 || Pallavāgra-jalaviṃdu-chamchalā klēsa-
 9 jāla-parivēshṭitē bhavē | yō na chintayati karma-satpatham tasya janma
 bhavat=iha niḥphalam¹⁰ || ēvaṃ sarvvam=adhruva-
 10 m=ālō[kya] dharmmē matiḥ sthāpyatām || Tan=mayā ¹¹svabhujōpārjita-
 Nakshisapurachaturāśītikā-pratīva(ba)ddhō Jayapur-ā-
 11 bhidhānō grāmaḥ¹² Māgha-suklapaksha-shashṭhyām¹³ upōpya(shya) gandha-dhūpa-
 pushya(shpa)-dīpa-snāna-vilēpan-ōpalēpana-[sanmā ?]-¹⁴
 12 rjana-khaṇḍasphuṭita-sudhā-kūrochak-ādi-sūsru(śrū)shā-kṛitē sva-mātāpitṛōr=ātmanaś=
 cha¹⁵ aihik-āmushm[i*]ka-puṇya-yaśō-
 13 bhivṛiddhayē bhagavataḥ sarit-Kaṇavīrikā-taṭ-āvasthita-Sahasradīdhitēḥ śrīmatas=
 Taru[ṇā]dityadēvāya¹⁶ bhakti-bhā-
 14 vita-manasā¹⁷ udak[ā*]tisarggēṇa dharmmadāyō nisṛishṭaḥ pratipāditaś=cha || Yasya
 pūrvvataḥ Sihavāhalaka-grāma-
 15 sīmā maryād[ā*] [i*] dakṣhiṇataḥ Rā[jyastha]la-grāma-sīmā maryādā |
 aparataḥ Pēḍhillaka-grāma-sīmā [ma*]ryādā | utta-
 16 rataḥ Amvullaka-¹⁸grāma-sīmā maryādā | ēvaṃ chaturāghāṭṭa(ṭa)n-ōpalakṣhitāḥ
 sa-bhōgabhāgaḥ sa-hirany[ā*]dānaḥ
 17 sa-daṇḍadaśāparādhaḥ sa-sīmāparyantaḥ s-ōdra[m*]gaḥ sa-vṛikshamālākulaḥ
 sa-parikaraḥ chōllakavainivai-
 18 gikakōshyadi-sahitaḥ¹⁹ āchāṭabhaṭappravēśa-varjītō²⁰ bhūmichchhidra-nyāyēna
 dharmmadāyō nigri(śrī)shṭaḥ ||
 19 Asya bhūmijātō bhōjāpayataḥ kṛishataḥ karshāpayatō vā asmad-varṃsajair=anyair=
 vvā bhōkṭṛibhiḥ

¹ Read, probably, -prasādikṛita-.² Read -sry-.³ Instead of this word which I do not remember to have met with elsewhere, I should have expected here, next to *daṇḍapāśika*, as in other grants, -*chaurōddharanika*-.⁴ It is just possible that the two *akṣaras chāru* were struck out in the original, and that the intended reading therefore is -*chāra-bhaṭa*-.⁵ Read -*prabhṛitīn=āyuktaka-niyuktakān*-.⁶ Read -*pattā-sthita-jalavat=taralā śrī*-.⁷ Read *jivitam*.⁸ Metre of this verse and of the next: Rathōddhatā.— Read *Padmapattra*-.⁹ This of course cannot be right, but the actual reading does not suggest to me a suitable conjecture.¹⁰ Read *niḥphalam*.¹¹ Originally *svābhū* was engraved, but the sign for *d* has been struck out.¹² Read *grāmō*.¹³ Read -*shashṭhyām*-.¹⁴ Read -*saṃmārjana*-.¹⁵ Read =*ch*-.¹⁶ Read, in accordance with the preceding, *dēvasya*.¹⁷ Here and in other places below the rules of *saṃdhi* have not been observed.¹⁸ Read *Amvullaka*; in line 54 of the grant B. the name is spelt *Amvullaka*.¹⁹ This term, the reading of which is quite clear in the photograph, I am unable to explain. The word *chōllikā* occurs above, Vol. III. p. 267, l. 23; and Prof. Hultzsch draws my attention to Vol. VI. p. 88, note 9.²⁰ One would have expected here *achāṭabhaṭappravēśaḥ*, and some other term ending with *varjitaḥ* (like, e.g., *pūrvadatta-dēvabrahmadāya-varjitaḥ*).

- 20 pra¹ishê[dhō] na karaṇīyaḥ pālayitavyaś=cha || yataḥ sām[ā*]nyam bhūmidāna-
phalam=avēty-āyam=asmad-dā-

Second Plate.

- 21 yō=numantavyō śmat-prīty=ābhyarthanayā cha pālanīya iti || Tathā ch=ōktam
[bha]gava-
22 tā vyāśê(sê)na¹ Vyāśēna || ²Yān=iha dattāni purā narēndraiḥ dānāni dharm-
ārtha-yaśa-
23 s-karāṇi | nirmālya-vānta-pratimāni tāni kō nāma sādhuḥ punar=ādadita ||
24 ³Shashṭir=vvarsha-sahasrāṇi svarggē tiṣṭhāti bhūmidāḥ | [ā]chchh[ē]ttā ch=
ānumantā cha [tāny=ē]-
25 va narakē vasēt || Va(ba)hubhir=vvasudhā bhuktā rājanaiḥ⁴ Sāgar-ādibhiḥ |
yasya yasya yadā [bhū]-
26 mis=tasya tasya tadā phalam || ⁵Shashṭir=vvarsha-sahasrāṇi ⁶shashṭir=vvarsha-
satāni [cha] | [gavām kōṭi-pradānē]-
27 na bhūmi-harttā na śudhyati || Vimdhy-ātavishv-atōyāsu(su) śushka-kōṭara-
vāsinaḥ | [krishṇāḥayō hi jā]-
28 yantē bhūmi-dāyam harattī(nti) yē || Śya-dattām para-datt[ām*] vā ya[tn]ād=
raksha narādhipa | mahīm mahīb[ritām] śrēsh[tha]
29 dānāch=chhrēyō=nupālanam || ☉ || Ava(tra) sākshī vra(brā)hmaṇa-Dēhaḍa-suta-
Bhāvah | tathā vrā(brā)hmaṇa-[Kau . ?]-
30 nara-suta-Nāgēsvaraḥ || tathā vrā(brā)hmaṇa-Jajjaka-suta-Hariḥ || tathā
vrā(brā)hmaṇa-Bhā[skara]-suta-
31 Vāsudēvaḥ || tathā vaṇik⁶ Nōgha-suta-Isuvaḥ | tathā vaṇik⁶ Nāga-suta-
Pā[ha]llah || ta-
32 thā ⁷vaṇi-Jēulla-suta-Nannakaḥ | tathā vaṇak⁸ Saṃgama-suta-Dēuthaḥ || tathā
śa(ma)hattara-Draṃ[g]iya-
33 suta-Sihaḥ | tathā mā(ma)hattara-Gōvāsa-suta-Ajainaḥ | tathā mahattara-Gōvāsa-
suta-Mēha[ri]pa[ka]-
34 ḥ | tathā mahattara-Dhūra-suta-Kaṇhakaḥ || Likhitaṃ ch=aitan=mi(ma)yā kula-
putraka-⁹Datta-suta-[Dhā ?]-
35 [r]ādi[tyē]n=ēti || ☉ || Śrī-Valabhi-samvat 574 Māgha-śuddha 6 || ☉ ||
36 Sva-hastō=[tra] śrī-Va(ba)lavarmmaṇaḥ || ☉¹⁰ sva-hastah śrī-Dhika¹¹ || ☉ ||

B.—PLATES OF AVANIVARMAN II. YOGA; [VIKRAMA]-SAMVAT 956.

TEXT.¹²

First Plate.

- 1 Om¹³ [||*] Jayaś=ch=ābhy[u*]dayaś=cha || Jayati¹⁴ jagatām prasūtir=viśv-ātmā
sahaja-bhūṣaṇam nabhasaḥ | drutaka-
2 nakasadriśa-dasaśatamayūkha-māl-ārchataḥ¹⁵ Savitā || [1*] ¹⁶Ast=iha sārō va(ba)hir=
amtarā cha chohhidraiḥ pari-

¹ Read, probably, *védavyāśēna*.

² Metre: Indravajrā.

³ Metre of this verse and the rest: Ślōka (Anushtubh).— Read *shashṭim varsha*.

⁴ Read *rājadhī Sagar*.

⁵ Read *shashṭim varsha*.

⁶ Read *vaṇig-Jē*.

⁷ Read *vaṇik-Sam*.

⁸ The same word occurs e.g. in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 161, line 69.

⁹ This mark, which does not look like a letter, apparently represents the signature of Dhika.

¹⁰ One would have expected -*Dhikasya*. See line 52 of the grant B.

¹¹ From a photograph supplied by Mr. Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha.

¹² Denoted by a symbol.

¹³ Read *māl-dhītaḥ*.

¹⁴ Metre: Āryā.

¹⁵ Metre: Indravajrā.

- 3 tō na vipatrasātaḥ¹ | bhēdyah parair=n-aiva mahipatinām Vā(cha)lukya-
nām=āpara-tuṅga-[vaṁ]śah |(II) [2*] ²Va(ba)bhūva-
4 tuti(s=ta)[tra] mahā-mahipatī mah[ā*]-matī Kalla-Ma[ha]lla-samjñitau | yayōḥ
sitā kīrttir=upāgamad=gu-
5 naiḥ parām prasiddhiḥ(m) satata[m*] sunirmalaiḥ || [3*] ³Saubhātrāñ=cha
yayōr=āśī(sī)d=anyōnyam=avibhita(nna)-
6 rō[h*] || (I) kalavappapamāmyātām⁴ Rāma-Lakshmanay[ō]r=iva || [4*] Madhyē⁵
nripānām suvibhūyi(shi)tānām
7 rarāja Kallah, kula-kī[r*]tti-yu[kta]ḥ | kā[m*]tyā mahatyā sthirayā śriyā
va(cha) kalpadrumānām=i-
8 va pārijāta[h] || [5*] Rājya[m*] ma[chra?]⁶ mahīpatau guṇagaṇ-ālaṁkārabhūtē
sati kshīnā[rā]ti-pa-
9 rākram-ān[v]ita-tanau nirbhātika⁸ śāsati | lōkānām=abhavan=manō rati-yuta[m*]
dharmma-pra-
10 [dh]āna[m] sadā tushṭir=[vva(bba)ndhu]janasya gaṇya-janitā dānañ=cha
satyattisha(?)⁹ || [6*] ¹⁰Tasmān=mahīś[ā*]d=vi-
11 tatōkavīrttiḥ¹¹ lakshmi-nidhānam śaraṇam guṇānām || (I) śauryasya bhūmir=
vvasatir=mmatīnām
12 rājairyabhāma(?)¹² tanayā(yō) va(ba)bhūva || [7*] ¹³Valgattyaraggamātuga-
mattamātanga-duggamān | yach-cha-
13 ṇḍadanḍatasrastāḥ śatratō=śīśriyan=vana || [8*] Ajani¹⁴ tatō=pi śrīmām[ngā?]-
hukadhavalō¹⁵
14 mahāvu(nu)bhāvō yaḥ | dha[r*]mmam=avann= api nityam raṇōtyamō(?) |
nīnasadramam¹⁶ |(II) [9*] ¹⁷Rājādhira-
15 ja-paramēśvara-bhūminā[th]ān=yas=tān=api svabhūja-vīrya-vaśād=vijig[y]ē |
16 nistramśanibhrayavilū[ji]ripūttimāgair=avjair=ivē kshiti-talam

Second Plate; First Side.

- 17 samarē puvinya || [10*] ¹⁸Kunta[thā?]śāsi[ha]si-pa[ch]ura-nara-kari-prājā(jya)-
valgat-turaṅgam

¹ Read *vipatrasākhah*, i.e. both *vi-pattra-sākhah*, 'without leaves and branches,' and *vipattra-sākhah*, 'whose branches protect from misfortune.' A bamboo (*vaṁsa*) has leaves and branches. But the Chalukya race (*vaṁsa*) is a different kind (*apara*) of *vaṁsa*, one that has no leaves and branches, i.e., in the other sense of the adjective, it is a race the branches of which protect from misfortune. Similarly the other epithets in the verse suggest other differences between the two kinds of *vaṁsa*. The word *apara* of the last Pāda is practically equivalent to *apūrva*, which is employed in a similar verse above, Vol. III. p. 298, line 6 of the text. *Apura* is used in the same way (not in the sense 'before which no other excels') in the verse in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 193, line 10.

² Metre: *Vaṁsasṭha*.

³ Metre: *Ślōka* (Anusṭubh).

⁴ Read *kuladharmma-samāyātām*.

⁵ Metre: *Upajāti*.

⁶ Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

⁷ Read *yatra*.

⁸ Read, probably, *nirbhātikam*.

⁹ Read, perhaps, *sampattijam*.

¹⁰ Metre: *Indravajrā*.

¹¹ Read *vitat-ōrukīrttir*.

¹² I am unable to give the name of the chief, concealed in this corrupt passage. The verse would be right if we were to read *Rājendra-nāmā*, but I am not sure about this conjecture.

¹³ Metre: *Ślōka* (Anusṭubh).—Read the verse: *Valgat-turaṅgamāt=tuṅga-matta-mātanga-duggamāt | yach-chaṇḍadanḍatas=trastāḥ śatratō=śīśriyan=vanaḥ ||* For *chaṇḍadanḍa* see above, Vol. VI. p. 10, v. 20.

¹⁴ Metre: *Āryā*.

¹⁵ Here again I cannot give confidently the name intended in the original. The right reading may possibly be *śrīmān=Vāhukadhavalō*.

¹⁶ Read *raṇ-ōdyatō=nīnaśād=Dharmam*. The name at the end of the verse undoubtedly is *Dharmam*.

¹⁷ Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.—Read the second half of the verse: *nistramśa-nirdayarilūna-ripūttamātāgair=abjair=iva kshiti-talam samarē pravīdhyā ||*

¹⁸ Metre: *Sragdharā*.—Read *Kuntaprasāsikasta*.

- 18 Karṇnāṭam̐ sai(sai)nyam=ājō(jau) bhayarahita-manā bhūriśō=bhu(nu)praviśya |
 ākākī khaḍga-
 19 yashṭyā drutam=atisitayā¹ yō=rīmūddhi-pravāha[m̐] vāh-ārūḍhō=vagāḍham̐ kamala-
 20 vanam=iva śrattyā-khēda² lulāva || [11*] ³Tasmād=amjāyata sutō svanivarmma-
 nāmā saurya-pratā-
 21 pa-vinay-ādi-guṇantapētaḥ⁴ | sannāhavad=bh[ri*]śam=imām=avatā dharitrim=
 anvarthātān=nijam=a-
 22 nīyata yēna nāma |(II) [12*] ⁵Avaniva[r*]mmaṇi ya[tra] sukarmmaṇi
 vyathita-sātravamarmmaṇi varmmaṇi(?) [I]
 23 yuvati-nirmita-narmmaṇi bhūpatō(tau) na janatābhir=aśa[r*]mmaṇi śa[m̐*]kitam̐ ||
 [13*] Tasya⁶ sūhur=ajan=iha
 24 sukarmā mitra-va(ba)ndh[u]janantahira-⁷śa[r]mmā | kirtitō vidita-sātravamarmā
 yō janair=abhi-
 25 dhayā Va(ba)lavarmma || [14*] ⁸Satatam=avitath-ōktiḥ snāna-jāpy-ādi-śā(śi)lah
 prapayīśatasahasrā-
 26 dhina-vistīrṇasampat | bhrijasuru-⁹vihit-āsō yaḥ sad=ārabhya vā(bā)lyātvi(t=Tri)-
 nayana-charaṇ-ā-
 27 rohchāśilavān=samprajātam̐(h) |(II) [15*] Prathita-karituram̐gam̐ sātānistrimśa-pāṇiḥ¹⁰
 Viśaḍham=avaśa-
 28 m=īśaḥ sādhu jivā samikē [I*] sthīrataram=urūḍhakkā-yugmam=āśu draḍhiyan¹¹
 śruti-sukha-
 29 dam=akhinnō yō=grahin=ma[m̐*]dra-nādam̐ || [16*] Chatura-turaga-durggān=sam̐yati
 dhvasta-sātru[h̐*] sphuṭa-
 30 m=iha jagatīśān¹² Jajjap-ādīn=nihatya | prasabham=abhimānaskō yō vyadhata
 [ksh]jitīśō
 31 bhuvanam=idam=ahinō Hūṇa-vamśēna hīnam̐ || [17*] Kuvalayadala-nētraḥ
 sannat-āmsasthalā.¹³
 32 kaḥ | prakāṭam=Ava[u]ivarmma [n]āma tasy=[ā]tmaj[ō]=bhūt | prithula-
 kaṭir=udārah kshāma-ma-
 33 dhyas=tathā yō vidita iha jagatyām̐ Yōga-nāmn=āparēṇa || [18*] Samgrāmē¹⁴
 Yāksadāsa[m̐*] va(ba)la-

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 34 m=a[kh]ilam=api¹⁵ dhvamsayitvā pravirō yaḥ samjagrāha tūryam̐ paṭutara-
 ninadam̐ Sāgarakshōbha-
 35 nāma | yasy=ālam̐kāra-bhūtām̐¹⁶ jita-ripu jagrihuḥ pattayō=pi pratītāḥ
 samkha-[chchha]tra-dhvajadī.¹⁷
 36 n=ahamamahamikayā mu(yu)ddha-bhūmim̐ praviśya || [19*] Kōḍaṇḍa-dhvasta-dhārā-
 śara-kara-nakharē vi[kra]m-āva(ba)ddha-
 37 chittē lilābhīm̐(nn)-ānyaśō(sē)nā-samadagajaghaṭā-tum̐bhatum̐gasthalīkē¹⁸ | yasmin=
 ā[kra]mya bhūmim̐

¹ Read =atisitayā yō=rīmūddha.

² Metre: Vasantatilakā.— Read Tasmād=ajāyata.

³ Metre: Drutavilambita.

⁴ Metre of verses 15-18: Mālinī.

⁵ Read draḍhiyān.

⁶ Read sannat-āmsasthalīkaḥ pra^o.

⁷ The syllable pi was originally omitted and is engraved in the margin.

⁸ Read -bhūtān.

⁹ Read -tum̐ga-kum̐bhasthalīkē | yasminn=.

¹⁰ Read srasta-khēdam̐.

¹¹ Read -guṇair=upētaḥ.

¹² Read -bandhujanat-āhita.

¹³ Read -pāṇir=.

¹⁴ Metre of verses 19 and 20: Sragdharā.

¹⁵ Read -chchhatīra-dhvaj-ādī.

- 38 [sthi]tavati hi nijā¹ sikhavad=Yakshadāsa-[kshô]nīp-ādyaiskurragair=iva² ripu-
nivahaiḥ dūrataḥ saṁ-
- 39 praṇṣṣē || [20*] ³Vyômnā yāntam=adhikam mṛgay[ā*]-priyô yah satva⁴ na
muñchati sa kim Dharanivarāhaḥ [i*] maty=ê-
- 40 ti [vô]mpuruhayā⁵ sahas(s)=aiva yasya dūrān=nanāmśa⁶ matimām Dharanivarāhaḥ
|| [21*] ⁷Khadga-khamḍita-dhaṇḍāra[m]⁸
- 41 runḍa-munḍaigha-⁹maṇḍitaṁ | yatr=ājibh[ā*]ji jāti[ti] sasapāpai¹⁰ rapāṁganam ||
[22*] ¹¹Narapatim=amum muktva
- 42 kâlê kalau sati sa[m*]prati trijagati paritrātum śaktô na kaśchid=ap=tha
mām | su[ja]na-niva[hô] ma-
- 43 tv=êtīva nnatikamavi[kra]ma¹² śaraṇa-manasaṁ śrīmaṁtam yam samāśrayad=
u[chchhr]ita[m*] || [23*] Tēna¹³ prava(cha)ṇḍamaruda[bhra]-
- 44 chalā[m*] vi[bhūti]m ? [padmash ?]itāmva(bu)kaṇikā-ta[ra]lātan=āsū[n]¹⁴ |
vidy[u*]dvilāsa-va(cha)palāñ=cha vichi[m*]tya la-
- 45 kshmiṁ prāvartyata sphuṭam=ayam kshitudāna-dha[r]mmaḥ || [24*] Sa cha
mahāsāmanta-śrī-Yôga évam=u[kta ?]vān patha¹⁵
- 46 ¹⁶saprāmn=év=ābhisaṁvadyakām svān=anyāms=[cha] gāmibhāvi-bhūpālāmś=cha
samanuvô(bô)dhaty=astu
- 47 vah saṁviditaṁ yath=āsmābhiḥ pratāpaprāṇata-samastasāmanta-śô(mau)limāl-āroḥita-
charaṇayu-
- 48 galasya śasādharakaranikar-āmalayaśa[h*]pravāha-dhavalita-dharāvalayasya
samihitābhya-
- 49 dhikapradān-ānandita-vamdivṛind-ôpagīyamāna-samastagunaganasya paramabhaṭṭāra-
- 50 ka-mah[ā*]rājādhirāja-parami(mê)śvara-śrī-Bhōjadi(dê)va-pādānu d h y ā t a - p a r a m a -
- 51 bhaṭṭāraka-mahār[ā*]jādhirāja-paramêśvara-śrī-Mah ē m d r a p ā l a d ē v a - p r a s ā -¹⁷

Third Plate.

- 52 pāda-prasād-āvāpta¹⁸ tanti(nni)yukta-tam[tramdra?]pāla¹⁹-śrī-Dhika-pratīva(ba)ddhais=
ta-
- 53 d-anumatyā cha Śau(sau)rāshṭramaṇḍal-āntahpāti-Nakshisapurachaturā(ra)ṣīti-
prati-

¹ Read *nijām sikhavad*.² Read *-ādyaik kuragair= iva ripu-nivahair*.³ Metre: Vasantatilakā.— The general meaning of the verse clearly is that a certain Dharanivarāha, for whose identification see above, p. 3 f., was put to flight by, or fled before, Avanivarman. But I am not sure about every detail of the verse.— The first words of the verse perhaps are either *vyômn=āpi yāntam* or *vyômnā prayāntam*.⁴ Read *sattvaṁ*.⁵ I cannot correct this.⁶ Read *=nanāsa matimām*.⁷ Metre: Ślōka (Anushtubh).⁸ Read, probably, *-daṇḍāram* (in the sense of 'elephant').⁹ Read *-munḍ-angha*.¹⁰ Read *śastra-pāṇau*.¹¹ Metre: Hariṇi.¹² Read *Trivikrama-vikramam*.¹³ Metre: Vasantatilakā.¹⁴ Read *-taralāms=tath=āsūn*.¹⁵ Read *yathā* (?); but the words *évam=uktavān yathā* would be quite out of place here.¹⁶ Read *sarvān=év=ābhisaṁvadyamānakān=svān=anyāms=ch=āgāmibhāvi*.¹⁷ These two *aksharas* (the first two syllables of the word *prasāda*) are quite out of place here. In agreement with the preceding adjectives one would have expected *-Mahāśāndrapālādēvasya*, but the writer proceeds as if the whole preceding passage, commencing with *pratāpaprāṇata*, were a single compound, qualifying *Mahāśāndrapāla-dēva*.¹⁸ Here, in my opinion, some words have been omitted. As the text stands, we do not learn from it what the chief Yôga had received from Mahāśāndrapāla.¹⁹ The two *aksharas* in brackets are quite doubtful. I can only suggest that the intended reading may possibly be *-tadāntapāla*.

- 54 va(ba)ddha¹-Amvulak-ābhidhāna-grāmaḥ sa-vṛikṣhamālākulaḥ sa-sīmāparyan[t*]aḥ
 55 sa-bhōgabdhāgaḥ sa-hiranyādānaḥ sa-daṇḍadaśāparādhaḥ sābhajamānavēśhṭikāḥ²
 56 sakala-rājakyānām=ahastaprakṣhēpanīma(ya) ā-chamdr-ārṣh(rkk)-ārṇava-kṣhiti-
 sarit-par[vv]ata-sama-
 57 kālīnaḥ³ ih=aiṣa Jayapura-grām-ābhyāsē Kaṇavirikā-sarid-upakaṇṭhē nivish[t*]a-
 Ta[ru]ṇā-
 58 dityadēvāya khaṇḍasphuṭita-suka(dhā)-dugdha-kū[r]ohchaka-snapanā-vilēpana-pushpa-
 dhūpa-dīpa-t[ai]lā-nē(nai)vē-
 59 dya-dārik-ādy-upakṛitayē m[ā*]tāpitṛr=ātmanas=ch=[ai]hik-āmushmika-punya-yaś[ō]-
 bhivṛiddhayē bhūmichchidra-
 60 nyāy[ē*]na pravi(ti)pāditaś=tad=ayam svadha[r*]mmadāya-nirthi(rvvi)sēpra(sha)ḥ
 pālāya(yi)tavyō śnuna(ma)ntavyaś=cha || yaśya(sya) ch=ā-
 61 ghāṭanāni pūr[vv]atō Viyaraka-grāma-sīmā | dakṣhiṇatō Jayapura-grāma-
 sinā(mā) || aparataḥ Sē-
 62 ṇḍuvaka-Kōriṇṭhaka-grāma-sīmā | uttarataḥ Vavulika-grāma-sīmā | tad=ē[na]m
 chaturāghāṭanō(na)-pari-
 63 kṣhīpta-grāmam bhūmijatō bhōjayataḥ kṣha(kṛi)shataḥ karsha[ya]taḥ pratidiśa-
 tē(tō) rā(vā) na kaischa[n=ā]lp=āpi paripam-
 64 thanā vyāsē⁴ vā kāryaḥ | yataḥ sāmānyasanapalam=avity=⁵āsmat-prītyā pālāniya
 ita(ti) || Tathā d(ch)=ō-
 65 ktam Vyāsē(sē)na | ⁶Va(ba)hubhir=vvasudhā bhuktā rājani(bhi)ḥ Śa(sa)gar-
 ādibhiḥ [i*] yaśra⁷ yanyā yadā bhūmiśuśa tasya ta-
 66 rā palam || ⁸[Y]ān=iha dahā[na]⁹ purā narēndrair=ddānāni¹⁰ |
 mmārśragraśaskarāni | nirmālyavāna-prati-
 67 māni tāni kō nāma śā(sā)dhuḥ punar=ādāḍita ||
 68 Samvat 958 Māgha-sūdi 6 [||*]

No. 2.— VASANTGAḬH INSCRIPTION OF PURNAPALA;
 THE VIKRAMA YEAR 1099.

By PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

About the year 1840 the stone, which bears this inscription, was taken by Captain T. S. Burt from a tank at VasantgaḬh¹¹ in the Sirohi State of Rājputāna, and the inscription was published in *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. X. p. 664 ff., from a very unsatisfactory transcript prepared by Paṇḍit Kamalākānta. For a long time the stone seems to have been lost sight of; but it has lately been rediscovered by my indefatigable friend, Mr. Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha of Udaipur, and is now deposited at the town of Sirohi. I re-edit the text from impressions which have been kindly sent to me by Mr. Ojha.

¹ Read °ddh-Āmbulak-. In line 16 of the grant A. the name is spelt *Āmvullaka*.

² Read *sōtpadyamānavishṭikāḥ* (qr °vāśhṭikāḥ, which occurs often elsewhere).

³ Read *kālīna*.

⁴ Read *sāmānyam dāna-phalam=avīty=*.

⁵ Read *vyāsēdhō*.

⁶ Read *yaśya yaśya yadā bhūmiś= tasya tasya tadā phalam*.

⁷ Metre: Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh).

⁸ Metre: Indravajrā.

⁹ Read *dattāni*.

¹⁰ Read °ni dharmm-ārtha-yasas-karāni | nirmālyavānta-.

¹¹ VasantgaḬh (BasantgaḬh) apparently is situated to the east of Mount Ābā, but I do not find it on the map of the Rājputāna Agency. At or near the same place an important inscription of the time of king Varmalāta, of the [Vikrama] year 682, has lately been discovered.

The inscription contains 23 lines of writing which covers a space of about 2' broad by 1' 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ " high. At the upper proper right corner part of the stone is broken away, so that between about 15 and 2 *aksharas* are missing at the commencement of lines 1-9. Otherwise the writing is well preserved and may be read with certainty nearly throughout. The size of the letters is between $\frac{1}{8}$ " and $\frac{3}{8}$ ". The characters generally differ little from the ordinary Nāgarī, but they include a few signs which are peculiar to the earlier northern inscriptions. The letter *b* everywhere is denoted by a sign of its own, and the secondary *ā* is often written by a superscript line; once (in *Tvashṭuh=prasāddī*, l. 13) we have the sign of the *upadhmānīya*; and once (in *bhāryām*, l. 12) the conjunct *ry* is made up of the full sign for *r* and the secondary form of *y*. Between verses 32 and 33 and at the end of the text a conch-shell has been engraved, and between verses 33 and 34 a circular ornament. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, and, excepting the words *asy=ānvayō=pi* and *nagar=ānvayō=pi* in lines 8 and 13, the whole is in verse. Both the language and the verses often are incorrect, and as a piece of literary composition the inscription is worthless. Here, to show how very limited was the author's knowledge of grammar, I need only point out forms such as *nāman*, l. 5, *vēsmam*, l. 9, *vēsmāiḥ*, l. 14, and *vyōmā*, l. 21 (for *nāma*, *vēśma*, *vēśmabhiḥ*, and *vyōmni*), from passages regarding the reading of which there cannot be any doubt. And what liberties were taken by him, simply for the sake of the metre, in the spelling of words, may be seen from instances like *Pūrṇapāla*, l. 7, *sandhī*, l. 19, *svapāna*, l. 15 (for *Pūrṇapāla*, *sandhī*, *sōpāna*), etc.¹

The object of the inscription is, to record that a queen named Lāhīṇī, a younger sister of the Paramāra Pūrṇapāla and widow of a king Vighararāja, at Vāṭa² (Vāṭa-nagara, Vāṭa-pura) restored an ancient temple of the Sun, and restored or founded a tank (*vāpī*), apparently the very tank where this record has been found. And the inscription is divided into three parts, the first and second of which give the genealogies of Lāhīṇī and Vighararāja, while the third glorifies the town Vāṭa and the pious work executed there by the widowed queen. The whole is introduced by two verses, in one of which (so far as it is preserved) the author pays homage to Mahēśvara (Śiva), Prāchētasa (the poet Vālmiki), and Vāṇī (the goddess of eloquence), while in the other he invokes the protection of the god Hari (Vishṇu).

Verse 3 relates that through the anger of (the sage) Vasishṭha there was produced a youth or prince (*kumāra*) from whom the Pramāra (or Paramāra) family took its origin.³ In his lineage there was Utpalarāja; from him sprang Āraṇyarāja, and from him Adbhutakṛishṇarāja. His son (or, if a name should have been lost at the commencement of line 4, his son's son) was Mahipāla, and from him sprang Dhandhuka. To Dhandhuka there was born from his wife Amṛitadēvi Pūrṇapāla, who ruled the Arbuda territory (*bhū-maṇḍalam=Arbbudasya*).⁴ In his reign, his younger sister Lāhīṇī was married by king Vighraha (Vighararāja).

Vighararāja's genealogy, in verse 12, commences with a twice-born named Yōṭa, who by his bravery acquired the title of king (*bhūpa*). In his lineage there was the king (*nṛipa*) Bhavagupta, who, after restoring the temple of 'the Sun dwelling at Vāṭa' (*Vāṭa-vāsi-bhānu*), reigned at Vāṭa. In his lineage, again, there was Saṅgamarāja, who ruled Badari in Vamśāraṭha. From him sprang Durlabharāja; from him, Chacha; and from him, Vighararāja, who, as stated

¹ The author's mistakes have been more fully pointed out in the notes on the text. The inscription emphatically teaches us that the mistakes which may be found in an inscription need not necessarily be ascribed to the writer or engraver.

² In line 9, verse 13, the word is used in the plural (*Vāṭashu*), and in the inscription of Varmalāta, mentioned above, the place appears to be called *Vāṭakarasthāna*.

³ See e.g. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 190, verse 18. In the present inscription we have the name *Pramāra* in verse 3, and *Paramāra* in verse 10. The name is written *Pramāra* also in the unpublished Bhāruṇḍa inscription of Pūrṇapāla of the [Vikrama] year 1102, of which I possess impressions.

⁴ In the Bhāruṇḍa inscription mentioned in the preceding note Pūrṇapāla is said to rule the *Arbuda-maṇḍala*. The inscription actually has *śrīmarvudamaṇḍalaṁ prafāsati*.

already, married Lâhiṇī. After his death, his widow went to her brother's home, and was settled at the town of Vaṭa which in the course of time had fallen into decay.

The town of Vaṭa (Vaṭa-nagara, Vaṭa-pura) is glorified in verses 20-25.¹ Here it will be sufficient to say that it is stated to have been founded by the sage Vasishṭha, that it was situated on a river named Sarasvatī, and that its inhabitants are described as devoted to the worship of the Sun. That the queen Lâhiṇī restored there an ancient temple of the Sun and restored or founded a tank, has been already mentioned.

The inscription (according to verses 33 and 34) was composed by the Brâhman Mâṭṛisarmaṇ, the son of Hari, and engraved by Śivapâla, the son of the *sūtradhâra* Dêuka, who was the son of Durga (Durgârka, i.e. Durgâditya), the son of the *sthapati* ('architect, carpenter,' etc.) Nâga. It ends (v. 35) with the date: the ninth *tithi* of the dark half of the month Nabha, i.e. Śrâvana, the moon being in (the *nakshatra*) Mṛigaśīras, of the year (given in words) 1099 in the time of Vikramâditya, 'in the place' (*sthânakê*) of Chitrabhânu. By this last expression I understand the author to say that the date fell in the Jovian year Chitrabhânu. This year can be combined with the Vikrama year 1099 only, when the latter is taken to be the expired *Chaitrâdi* Vikrama year 1099, and Chitrabhânu to be the Jovian year so named according to the southern system.² For that year the date would correspond to the 12th August A.D. 1042, when the 9th *tithi* of the dark half of the *amânta* Śrâvana ended 10 h. 46 m., while the *nakshatra* was Mṛigaśīrsha by the equal space system and according to Garga for 15 h. 46 m., and by the Brahma-siddhânta for 14 h. 27 m., after mean sunrise. The date is the earliest date of the Vikrama era that quotes a Jovian year, and, with the exception of quite modern dates, the only Vikrama date in which a Jovian year is quoted according to the southern system. It also is the earliest known date in which we find the expression *Vikramâditya-kâlê*.

The Pramâra or Paramâra chiefs mentioned in this inscription ruled the Arbuda-maṇḍala, i.e. a tract of country called after Arbuda, the modern Mount Âbû. They are probably closely connected with the Paramâras of Chandrâvatī, mentioned, e.g., above, Vol. VIII. p. 201. Regarding Vigharâja and his ancestors I cannot offer any remark.

The places Vaṭa and Badarī in *Vaiṣṇârâṭha* (v. 14) I am unable to identify. Vaṭa must be an old place, being mentioned already in the Vasantgaḍh inscription of Varmalâta of the [Vikrama] year 682, and in a somewhat earlier inscription which was found at the village of Sâmolī in the Bhômaṭa district of Mēvâḍ, and of which Mr. Ojha has sent me impressions. If not identical with Vasantgaḍh itself, it must be looked for close to it.

TEXT.³

- 1⁴ [Ma]hēśvara[m] || [P]râchētasam tathâ Vâṇim=
praśastis=sukṛitâ mayâ || [1*] ⁵Jyôṭir=jyôṭividām savaḥ sava-dhiyām dhishnyam
param varchohasām || bhaktânām dhanadaḥ smṛitaḥ kalushahâ sa-
2 — — — — — || — — — — — [m=a]samvṛitam matimatām dâtâ cha sat-
karmmaṇām || pâyâd=vô Vasu-Siddha-Kinnara-nutas=trailôkya-dîpô Hariḥ || [2*]
⁶Vasishṭha-kôpâj=janitaḥ kumâraḥ Pramârat=âvâpa ya-7

¹ The exact meaning of verse 20 is not clear to me, and there is a doubtful passage in verse 23.

² By the northern system Chitrabhânu lasted from the 11th September A.D. 1039 to the 6th September A.D. 1040.

³ From impressions supplied by Mr. Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha. Below "Ed." denotes the text in *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. X. p. 671; I quote from it only a few passages, to show what that text is like.

⁴ About 15 or 16 *aksharas* are broken away at the commencement of the line. Ed. has *Praṇamya Hari-Vânî*, is a pure invention, suggested by verse 33 of the text.—Metre: Ślôka (Anushtubh).

⁵ Metre: Sârdûlavikṛîḍita.—*Jyôṭividām* for the sake of the metre for *jyôṭirvidām*.

⁶ Metre of verses 3-8: Upēndravajrâ, Indravajrâ and Upajâti.

⁷ I.e., apparently, 'from whom the Pramâra family took its origin.' The word *Pramâratâ* seems to have been formed on the analogy of *bandhutâ*, *janatâ*, etc.

- 3 — — — || — — — tō=sya bhūmyām mahābalā yattrā^a nripā
babhūvuh || [3*] Asy=ānvayē hy=Utpalarāja-nāmā¹ Āraṇyarājō-pi tatō
• babhūva || tasmād=babhūv=Ādbhutakriśnarājō vikhyāta-kīrttiḥ kila vāsū.²

4 — — [|| 4*] — — — h śrīmān=yath=ōrvvi[īn] dhritavān=
varā[hā]h³ || puttō=pi tasmān=Mahipāla-nāmā tasmād=abhdūd=Dhamdhuka⁴ ēva
bhūpaḥ || [5*] Asy=āpi kīrttiḥ surarāja-lōkē pragiyatē vai sūra-kiñnaribhiḥ ||
vinānivishṭa-⁵karaajāmguli-

5 — — — — — [r=aam̐]krītābbih || [6*] Yēn=āhritā sau(sau)rya-balēna
lakshmi[r=*] vikhyāpya nāmam⁶ parasainya-madhyē || asy=āpi bhāry=Āmrita-
dēvi-ttā(nā)mni⁷ rūpēna sī(śī)lēna kulēna yukta || [7*] Utpannamasasyāsuvī⁸
Pūrṇapālāḥ pūrṇām=imām palaya-

6 — — — || — — — [rō=p]i vijitya sātturū⁹ sasāsa bhū-manḍalam=
Arbbudasya || [8*] ¹⁰Kanakakarṇika-bhūshitagamdayā ¹¹kakuchadēsa-nivēsita-
vinayā || vibudha-rājakulē=mara-kanyayā sadasi yasya yaśaḥ parigiyatē || [9*]
Hatvā¹² yēna raṇē¹³ ripūn=subahuśaḥ

7 — — — — — [kā] || vikramitā mada-sā(sā)linō vara-gajā naddhāḥ svakē
manidirē || Pūrṇapāla-¹⁴kulapradīpa-nripatau sau(sau)rya-vratē dhārmmikē¹⁵ ||
attra śrī-Paramāravamsa-tilakē rājyam sthiram sāsati || [10*] ¹⁶Asy=anuja
Lāhini-nāma-

8 — — — — — [ya]thā tāmarasair=vvihinā || ūdh=āpi yā Vighraha-bhūbhujēna¹⁷
Satyā yathā pūrvvam=Adhokshajēna || [11*] Asy=ānvayō=pi || | Aś[d=*]
dvijātir=vviditō dharanyām khyāta-pratāpō ripuchakra-marddi || Yōṭah¹⁸ sva-
sau(sau)ryārjita-bhūpasabdaḥ kshônīsvaraḥ

9 — — — [nri]pa-pradhānah || [12*] Tad-anvayē khyāta-matir=nripō=bhūt=kula-pradiṣo
Bhavagupta-nāmā || udhritiya¹⁹ vēsmam Vaṭa-vāsi-bhanōr=Vvatēshu rājyam
kritavān=sa virah || [13*] Asy=ānvayē Saṁgamarāja-nāmā Varisāraṭhe²⁰ yo
Badariṁ sasāsa || tasmād=abhdūd=Durllabharāja-bhūpas=Chachō=pi²¹ tasma-

10 [d=va]ra-rāputrah || [14*] Babhūva tasmād=guninām pradhano nrip-ottamo
Vigharaharaja-nāmā || pradanasau(sau)ryādi-gunair=uḏairai-yaso(sō) yayau yasya

¹ Observe the hiatus.

² Ed. has *Vāsudēvaḥ*; but I suspect that the original had *vāsudhāyām* (wrongly for *vasudhāyām*).

³ Ed. has *Tasy=âtma-jô bhâvalaya-pratishthah srî-Nâthaghôshî vritavân varânyah.*

* Here this name might be read *Vaṇḍhuka*; but in the Bhārūṇḍa inscription of Pūrṇapāla the name is quite clearly *Dhāṇḍhuka*. The same name occurs in Nos. 210 and 689 of my *Northern List*. In a paper on the Chāhamānas of Naddūla I shall show that *Dhāṇḍhu* also occurs, as another form of the name.

⁵ The reading is clear, but offends against the metre. Perhaps we should read *vināniviṣṭā*, where (as in the case of the first *a* of *Pārnāpāla*- in l. 7) the final *a* would have been wrongly lengthened.

⁶ This wrong form (for *nāma*) is clear in the original, and required by the metre. Ed. has *bhāram*.

7 Ed. has *bhāryyā Ghrīta-dēvi-nāmnī*.

⁶ This is quite clear in the original; Ed., instead of it, has *tasmād=amushyām bhūvi*. I consider it quite possible that the author really wrote *utpannam=asy-āsūvi* in the sense of 'as his son there was born,' incredible as this may seem to be.

⁹ Read *sattribhū*. Ed. has *vijitya rāshṭram nāmā 'pi bhūtam valadarpadēti*.

10 Metre : Drutavilambita.

11 Read, perhaps, *svakucha*^o or *sukucha*^o. Ed. has *karapadē maṇibhāṣhitavṇayā*.

12 Metre: Śārdûlavikrîdita.

13 The *aksharas na ranā* are engraved below the line.

¹⁴ For the sake of the metre for *Pārṇapāla*-. Ed. has *pārṇah Pālakula-pradīpa ivayā*.

15 Observe the hiatus.

16 Metre of verses 11-15 : Indravajrâ, Upêndravajrâ and Upajâti.

17 For the sake of the metre for -*bhābbhujā*.

18 Ed. has *yó dñhsvasaurvyárijitabhñyasasyah Kāśīsvarah.*

¹⁹ Read *uddhṛitya*. The following *vāsmam* (for *vāsmā*) is clear in the original, and required by the metre.

20 Ed. has *vandyó narair=yó*.

²¹ Ed. has *Vallabharāja-bhāṣa*=Charó=pi.

- vijitya lōkân || [15*] ¹Dvijhvaripuvâhanô lalanakântarâmânvitah || kulôchchaya-
kṛitōnnatir=vvidhritachârulakshmi-
- 11 vapuh || svapaurushadhrîtâvanir=balanivishṭachakrô mahân || babhûva nṛivarôttamah
sa naranûpadhrîn=Mâdhaya || [16*] ²Prôtpnullasitakamala-mukhân karatala-
sukumârapamkaja-nibhâ[ng]im || Śriyam=iva kulajâm rājûi-Lâhînim=ûdha-
- 12 vâm³ sah || [17*] Bhâryâm⁴ sa ch=âvâpya gunaiḥ samêtâm chitt-êpsitâm=va⁵
bubhujê cha bhôgam || s=âpi priyam prâpya patin=tu rêmê yadvach=Chhach=
Îndrêṇa samam varêmê⁶ || [18*] Asmin=mṛitê bharttari daiva-yôgâd=bhrâtur=
griham s=âpi gatâ viyuktâ || âvâsitâ vai nagarê Vaṭê=smin=daivât=pra-
- 13 hîṇê bahuśah kramêṇa || [19*] || . Nagar-ânvayô=pi⁷ || || Taptam tapam⁸
Vârupin=âpi yatra nyagrô[dha-sakt-â]śrama-mâpavasya⁹ || sthânê=rkka-Bharggau
svanatô¹⁰ Vasishṭhō mukti-pradau sthâpitavân=varishṭha || [20*] Tadvad=Vaṭ-
âkhyam nagaram vanê=smin¹¹ Tvashtuḥ=prasâdât=kṛitavân¹²
- 14 n=Vasishṭha || prâkâra-vapr-ôpavanais=tadâ[g]aiḥ prâsâda-vêśmaiḥ¹³ sughanam
sutumgaiḥ || [21*] ¹⁴Śrutimantr-ôdam=akshôbhyam shadâṅgâvaritta-samkulam ||
vêd-ârṇnavam dvijâḥ samyag=yatra tîrtv=âpy=agarvritâ[h] || [22*] ¹⁵Lôkair=
ddharmma-paraiḥ svakarmma-nirataih sadbhiḥ sad=âvâsitam ||
- 15 vṛityartham¹⁶ [cha sa ?]mâgatâih pratidîsam nityam vaṇigbhir=vṛitam || [pau]-
râlaiḥ¹⁷ paṇikâjanair=vvyasanikaiḥ sū(śū)rair=jjanaiḥ samkulam || Indra-sthânam=
iv=âparam Vaṭa-puram kshôṇi-talê samsthitam || [23*] ¹⁸Svar-udgatâ yatra
sarit=Sarasvatî svapâna-pamkt=iva¹⁹ nṛjâm
- 16 nimajjatâm || supuṇyapushpôdakaphêṇa-vâhinî dvij-âśramânâm jananevadhishṭhitâ²⁰ ||
[24*] Yê²¹ sarvva=pâlayantê nagarahita-ratâḥ²² nîtimantâḥ prasântâḥ ||
dêvân=viprân=yajantê kanakadhanamahivastaratnâdi-dânaiḥ || khyâtir=yêśhâm cha
nityam tṛi(tri)bhuvana-
- 17 valayê sad-gunair=êva nîta || tê=smin=paurâḥ samastâḥ sakalajana-hitâ Bhânave
bhaktimantâḥ || [25*] ²³S=âtr=âgatâ Lâhîni-nâma-râjûi bharttur=vviyôgâdhi-
nipîditâṅgi || asmin=purê vipra-janaiḥ samêtya tṛiptâ [tu] têshâm [va]chanât=
prabuddhâ || [26*] Bhâ-
- 18 nôr=griham daiva-vaśâd=vibhagnam Vâsishṭha-pauraiḥ sukṛitam yad=âsit ||
vainâśi²⁴ sarvvaḥ saha jivitêṇa jûâtvâ griham kâritam=âśu Bhânôḥ || [27*]

¹ Metre: Prithvî.

² This apparently is intended for an Âryâ verse, but it is quite incorrect. Ed. omits the whole of it.

³ Read *vân=sah*.

⁴ Read *-êpsitâm vai*, or, perhaps, *-êpsitâm vai*.

⁵ Metre of verses 18-21: Indravajrâ.

⁶ Read *varêṇa*.

⁷ Instead of these words and of the first half of the following verse Ed. has *Vasishṭharâjô=pi atr=âstid=atô=yam Vasishṭharâjânvayô=pi (jâtamatrâpâ Vârupinâpi) atra nyagrôdhasy=âśramah*.

⁸ Wrong for *tapô*.

⁹ The intended reading may be *-Mâdhavasya*, but I am not sure about the meaning of the verse. Some legend, which is unknown to me, seems to be referred to.

¹⁰ Read *sva-natau*, or, perhaps, *sva-matau*.

¹¹ Read *=smims=Tva*.

¹² Read *=kṛitavân=Va*.

¹³ Wrong for *-vêśmabhiḥ*, which would not have suited the metre.

¹⁴ Metre: Ślōka (Anushtubh).

¹⁵ Metre: Śârdûlavikṛîḍita.

¹⁶ Read *vṛityartham*.—The *sa* in the following brackets seems to be engraved below the line.

¹⁷ There is hardly any doubt here about the actual reading, but the text must be incorrect. I cannot suggest a satisfactory emendation; Ed. has *paurâṇair=gaṇikâjanair=*.

¹⁸ Metre: Vainâśtha.

¹⁹ Wrong for *sôpâna-pamktir=iva*, which would not have suited the metre.

²⁰ Read *janan=iva nishṭhitâ*.

²¹ Metre: Sragdharâ.

²² Read *-ratâ*.

²³ Metre of verses 26-30: Indravajrâ.

²⁴ Wrong for *vindâsi* (or *vainâśikam*), which would not suit the metre.

- ¹Suslishta-saṁdhiṁ ruchira[m] supādam sail-śshtakam cha sthira-singha-karṇam² || yadvad=Dhimādris=śikharais=cha tadvat=kṛtvā
- 19³ nikētam Vata-vāsi-bhānōḥ || [28*] Lōka-prap=aishā sukrītā cha vāpi suslishtasaṁdhi-ghaṭitōtpalā³ cha || sōpāna-paṁktyā suśubhē(bhā) subaddhā nīsrē(śrē)pi-bhūt=ēva divaukasasya || [29*] Dēvaiḥ samastair=ri(ṛi)shibhiś=cha . jushṭā pāpāpahā vyāpya jagat=sthitā yā || jīrṇō-
- 20 dhṛitā⁴ Lāhīni-puṇyahētōḥ Sārasvatī śēsha-janasya vāpi || [30*] Nishpādyā⁵ sukrītau kṛtvā⁶ artham datvā⁷ punaḥ-punaḥ || vaināsikam=idam ch=ānya[j*]= jñātvā lōkasya charppitau⁸ || [31*] ⁹Yāvad=gaur=llōka-dh[ā*]trī pravahati [pa ?]rutō¹⁰ yāvad=arkō=ntarikshē || yāvad=vichyas=sa-
- 21 mudrē pavana-vidhunitāḥ¹¹ saṁtatāḥ prōchohhalanti || yāvad=vyōmē¹² susīghram pracha[la ?]ti mihira-syaṁḍa(da)nasy=aika-chakram || vāpy-ōkau tāvad=āstām=¹³ uḍukara-sadṛisau śrēyasē kārakasya || [32*] || ¹⁴Kṛit=ēyam Hari-puttrēṇa Mātrīśarmma-dvījanmanā || śastir=llōka-hitā-
- 22 rthāya Lāhinyās=cha¹⁵ hit-aishīnā || [33*] ¹⁶Āsich=cha Nāgāt=sthatātē=tu Durggaḥ || Durggārkkatō Dēuka-sūttṛadhārah || asy=āpi sūnuḥ Śivapāla-nāmā || yēn=ōtkṛit=ēyam¹⁷ suśubhā praśastīḥ || [34*] ¹⁸Navanavatir=ih=āsīd-Vikramāditya-kālē || jagati
- 23 daśasātānām=agratō yattra pūrṇā [!]* prabhavati Nabha-māsē sthānakē Chittrabhānōḥ || Mṛigaśirasi śāsāmkē kṛishṇa-pakshē navamyām || [35 *]

No. 3.—ALUPA INSCRIPTIONS AT UDIYAVARA.

By PROFESSOR E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.; HALLE (SAALE).

The ancient royal family of the Ālupas is one of those whose early history is wrapped in obscurity—'carent quia vate sacro' as Horace (*Carmin.* IV. 9) expresses it. All that was until recently known regarding them will be found on page 309 of Dr. Fleet's *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*. A few additional records of them were published by Mr. Rice in his *Epigraphia Carnatica*. The Ālupas or Ālupas are referred to in inscriptions of the two Western Chalukya kings Pulakēśin II.¹⁹ and Vinayāditya, of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Gōvinda III.,²⁰ and of the Kādamba Jayakēśin I., and the poet Bilhana mentions them in connection with his patron Vikramāditya VI. They are thus proved to have existed as a ruling family in the period from the seventh to the eleventh centuries of the Christian era.

As regards the name Ālupa, Dr. Bhandarkar suggested that it 'seems to be preserved in the name of the modern town of Alupai on the Malabar coast.'²¹ This is very improbable, because Āluvāy (Alwe) is situated in Travancore, while the inscriptions of the Ālupas are

¹ Ed. omits this verse.² Read -*śimhakarṇam*.— This word *śimhakarṇa* apparently is a technical term, relating to architecture.³ Read -*ghaṭitōpalā*; the preceding *saṁdhi* for the sake of the metre stands for *saṁdhi*.⁴ Read *dhṛitā*.⁵ Metre: Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh).1⁶ Observe the hiatus.⁷ Read *datvā*.⁸ Read *ch=drppitau*.⁹ Metre: Sragdharā.¹⁰ Read *puratō(?)*.¹¹ For the sake of the metre for -*vidhunitāḥ*.¹² Wrong for *vyōmni*, which would not have suited the metre.¹³ This *āstām* is wrongly used here for *āsātām* (from *ās*) or *syātām* (from *as*).¹⁴ Metre: Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh).¹⁵ The name of the queen is written here with (the dental) -n.¹⁶ Metre: Indravajrā.¹⁷ *Utkṛitā* wrong for *utkṛitā*.¹⁸ Metre: Mālinī.— Ed. omits the last Pāda of the verse and has instead of it *sa 1099*.¹⁹ See now above, Vol. VI. p. 10. ²⁰ See below, p. 16 and note 7.²¹ *History of the Dekkan*, p. 51, note 3.

found in South Canara, Kaṭṭur and Shimoga. The original meaning of the word Ālupa or Āluva is probably 'a ruler,' from the Dravidian root *āl*, 'to rule.'

A few individual names of kings are preserved to us. The Sorab plates of Vinayāditya were issued at the request of Guṇasāgar-Ālupendra's son Chitravāha-Mahārāja, who was in possession of the district (*vishaya*) of Edevoḷal in the N.E. of Banavāsi in North Canara.¹ According to the Harihar plates of Vinayāditya, which are dated two years after the Sorab plates, another village in the district (*bhōga*) of Edevoḷal, forming part of the Vanavāsi-maṇḍala, was granted at the request of Ālugarāja,² i.e. perhaps Chitravāha-Mahārāja. The same two princes (Guṇasāgara and Chitravāha) may be meant in an inscription at Kigga in the Koppa tāluka of the Kaṭṭur district,³ which states that, when Ālurasas, whose second name was Guṇasāgara, was ruling the Kadamba-maṇḍala,—Ālurasas, (his) great queen and (his son) Chitravāhana made a grant to a local temple.⁴ Another inscription (Kp. 37), which is on the other face of the same stone, is dated while some Chitravāhana was ruling Ponbuchchu,⁵ the modern Humcha.⁶ Finally, an inscription at Māvaḷi in the Sorab tāluka of the Shimoga district states that in the time of Prabhūtavarsha Gōindarasa, i.e. the Rāshtrakūṭa king Gōvinda III., a certain Chitravāhana ruled the Āluvakhēḍa six-thousand, while Rājādityarasa ruled the Banavāsi-maṇḍala.⁷

If the Chitravāhana of the first Kigga inscription was really the same person as the Chitravāha of the Sorab plates, it would follow that the Ālupa or Ālua prince Guṇasāgara was governor of the Kadamba-maṇḍala, i.e. the Banavāsi province, in or immediately before the time of the Western Chalukya king Vinayāditya, and that Guṇasāgara's son Ālugarāja Chitravāha or Chitravāhana (I.) granted two villages in the district of Edevoḷal, which formed part of the Banavāsi province, during Vinayāditya's reign. Consequently Chitravāhana I. seems to have succeeded his father Guṇasāgara in the government of Banavāsi. In the time of Gōvinda III., however, the Banavāsi-maṇḍala had been taken from the Ālupas and was entrusted to Rājāditya, while the Āluvakhēḍa six-thousand was administered by a second Chitravāhana, who on the strength of his name may be assumed to have belonged to the Ālupa family. To judge from the Māvaḷi inscription, he proved troublesome and had to be coerced by the force of arms. That Chitravāhana, whom the second Kigga inscription mentions as residing at Humcha, may or not be identical with this Chitravāhana II., but must be distinct from Chitravāhana I., whose capital was most probably Banavāsi. If this identification is correct, Ponbuchchu, the modern Humcha, would have been the head-quarters of the Āluvakhēḍa six-thousand, which in a later record is mentioned as Ālvakhēḍa among the boundaries of the Poysaḷa kingdom.⁸

Mr. Rice's volumes contain many records of certain later families which seem to be connected with the ancient Ālupas. These are the Chaṅgāḷvas,⁹ Koṅgāḷvas,¹⁰ Nāḍāḷvas,¹¹ Sāntaras,¹² and the rulers of Kaḷasa and Kārkaḷa.¹³

In the course of a tour in 1901, Mr. H. Krishna Sastri, B.A., discovered a number of archaic Kanarese pillar inscriptions of the Ālupas at Udiyāvāra near Udipi in the South Canara

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 147. A facsimile of the Sorab plates has since appeared in *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VIII. p. 92 of the Translations.

² *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 302, and *Ep. Carn.* Vol. XI. Dg. 66.

³ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI. Kp. 38.

⁴ A further remark on the same inscription will be found below, p. 21, note 3.

⁵ The Kanarese text has *pinduvvāḷe* for *Ponbuchchu-dāḷe* in the Roman text.

⁶ See p. 17 below.

⁷ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VIII. Sb. 10, with Plate facing p. 3 of the Roman texts.

⁸ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI. Cm. 180, line 5.

⁹ *Id.* Vol. IV. Introduction, p. 16; Vol. V. p. viii; Vol. IX. p. 19.

¹⁰ *Id.* Vol. V. p. vii; Vol. IX. p. 18.

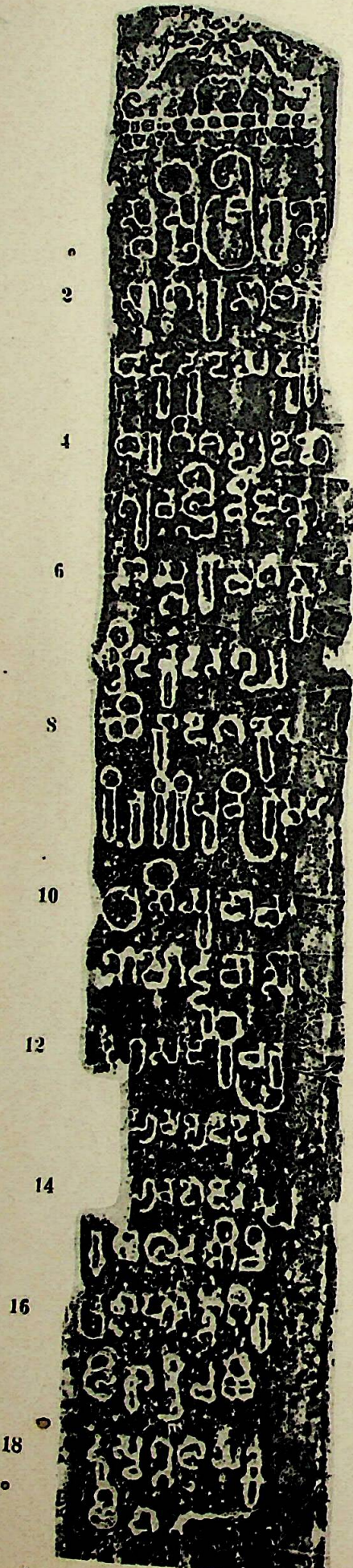
¹¹ *Id.* Vol. V. p. vii.

¹² *Id.* Vol. VI. p. 10; Vol. VII. p. 17; Vol. VIII. p. 6. Compare *Dyn. Kan. Distr.* p. 458 and note 2.

¹³ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI. p. 19. Compare above, Vol. VII. p. 109 ff. and Vol. VIII. p. 124 ff.

I. — Scale one-sixth.

II. — Scale one-fifth.



district. Of these records I now edit the eight most complete and important ones. Regarding some difficult points in them I have consulted my old friends Venkayya and Krishna Sastri, whose remarks proved of much assistance in unravelling the meaning of these enigmatical ancient documents.

The first five Udiyâvara inscriptions are on *Vīrakals*, i.e. stones set up as memorials of deceased heroes; the remaining three refer to grants of tolls. The three first inscriptions must all belong to the same period; for Nos. I. and II. mention a certain *Raṇasāgara*, and Nos. II. and III. one *Śvêtavāhana*. These two names and, in addition to them, *Chitravāhana* in No. I. look like those of *Ālupa* princes, among whom we have already found a *Guṇasāgara* and two *Chitravāhanas*. As the alphabet resembles that of the *Māvaḷi* inscription,¹ we may identify the *Chitravāhana* of No. I. with *Chitravāhana* II., who ruled the *Ālupakhēḍa* six-thousand in the time of *Gōvinda* III. Consequently Nos. I.-III. must be assigned to about A.D. 800. From the first few lines of No. I. we learn that *Chitravāhana* II. seized *Udiyâvara* in the course of a war with *Raṇasāgara*, who seems to have been a rival claimant to the throne. Nos. II. and III. refer to the storming of *Udiyâvara* by *Śvêtavāhana*, and No. II. records the death, on this occasion, of a follower of *Raṇasāgara*. From this it may perhaps be concluded that, after the time of the inscription No. I., *Raṇasāgara* succeeded in ousting *Chitravāhana* II., but that, later on, he was in his turn defeated by *Śvêtavāhana*, who may have been a near relative of *Chitravāhana* II.

The remaining *Udiyâvara* inscriptions date from the reigns of the two *Ālupa*, *Ālupa* or *Ālva* kings *Prithivīsāgara* (Nos. IV.-VI.) and *Vijayāditya* (Nos. VII. and VIII.) *alias* *Māramma* (No. VII.). It is impossible to say at present how these two princes were connected with *Chitravāhana* II., *Raṇasāgara* and *Śvêtavāhana*. But, as the alphabet of their inscriptions agrees with that of Nos. I.-III., they must be assigned to about the same period.

In each of the eight subjoined inscriptions *Udiyâvara* is referred to by one of its older names *Udayâpura* (Nos. V. and VIII.), *Udayapura* (Nos. II., III., VI., VII.) or *Udeyapura* (Nos. I. and IV.). In the three last it is mentioned together with *Paṭi* (No. VI.), *Pombuḷcha* (No. VII.) or *Ponvuḷcha* (No. VIII.). *Paṭi* and *Pombuchcha* are known to have been ancient names of the modern *Humcha* in the *Nagar tāluka* of the *Shimoga* district.² This *Humcha* seems to have been the capital of the *Ālupa* kings. For an inscription at *Kigga* is dated while *Chitravāhana* (II.) was ruling *Ponbuchchu*.³

I.—Inscription of *Chitravāhana* (II.) and *Raṇasāgara*.

This inscription (No. 94 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1901) is engraved on an octagonal pillar in front of the *Śambhukallu* temple at *Udiyâvara*. It records that a follower of *Chitravāhana* (II.) met with his death when the 'lord of the earth' (*viz.* *Chitravāhana*) occupied and entered *Udeyapura* (*Udiyâvara*) 'during the trouble of *Raṇasāgara*,' i.e. in the course of a war with the latter.

TEXT.

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Raṇa-
- 2 sāgaranā śam(sam)ka-
- 3 ṭaduḷ=Udeyapuram
- 4 dhareg[ī]śan=paḍe-po-
- 5 guvalli Vijana-
- 6 nāygarā magan=Kā-

¹ See above, p. 16 and note 7.

² See above, Vol. VIII. p. 126.

³ See p. 16 above.

- 7 ltide kadan-aggha-
- 8 li kâlega-kêsa-
- 9 ri kariripu-vikraman
- 10 aniyu[!]* dâva-
- 11 nam=odduvon-sâ-
- 12 hasad=ari-chakra-
- 13 [vyû*]haman=odedon
- 14 [â*]havad=ode[da]n=pa-
- 15 ra-[ba]lad=ani Chi-
- 16 travâhanarggâgi ka-
- 17 li-kânti eri-
- 18 du svarggâlayakk=ê-
- 19 ridon [||*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! When during the trouble of Raṇasāgara¹ the lord of the earth² occupied and entered Udeyapura,—Vijānāyga's³ son Kâltide, (*who was*) eminent in war, a lion in battle, brave as a lion, applying a cattle-rope⁴ to the array (*of his enemies*), breaking the body of bold hostile armies, breaking in battle the array of the enemy's forces, ascended to the abode of heaven, having fought⁵ (*with*) the splendour of a hero on account of Chitravâhana.

II.—Inscription of Raṇasāgara and Śvêtavâhana.

This inscription (No. 108 of 1901) is engraved on an octagonal pillar lying near a well in the back-yard of Rāghavēndrabhaṭṭa's house at Udiyâvara and commemorates the death in battle of a follower of Raṇasāgara. He fell while Udayapura (Udiyâvara) was entered by Śvêtavâhana, whom I take to have been the victorious opponent of Raṇasāgara. The dead warrior is described as a zealous devotee of the 'lord of Paṭṭi,' and he and his two immediate ancestors as adherents of the 'Pâsupata lord.' Paṭṭi (or Pombuchcha) is the modern Humcha.⁶ It may be concluded from the present inscription that this town was the seat of the head of a Śaiva maṭha.

TEXT.

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Raṇa[sâ]-
- 2 garanâ âlu Viñjan
- 3 Pra[hâ]rabhûsha-
- 4 ṇanâ magan Kâ-
- 5 makôḍan tammuttu-
- 6 mûvarâ Pâsupâ(pa)taṁ
- 7 namvrân g=ôva[do]râ

¹ I.e. 'the trouble caused by Raṇasāgara.'

² Viz. probably the Chitravâhana mentioned in L. 15 f.

³ Nāyga is a *tadbhava* of *nāyaka*.

⁴ With *dāvaṇam=oddu* compare *dāvani kaṭṭu*, 'to tie cattle in a row to a long rope fastened by two pegs,' in Kittel's *Kannada Dictionary*. Compare above, Vol. VIII. p. 134, and *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI. Introduction, p. 19, note 1. *Dāvani* is a *tadbhava* of *dāmanī*, 'a long rope to which calves are tied by means of shorter ropes' (Monier-Williams).

⁵ Here and in the four next inscriptions *eri* is the same as *iri*, 'to strike, to stab.'

⁶ See p. 17 above.

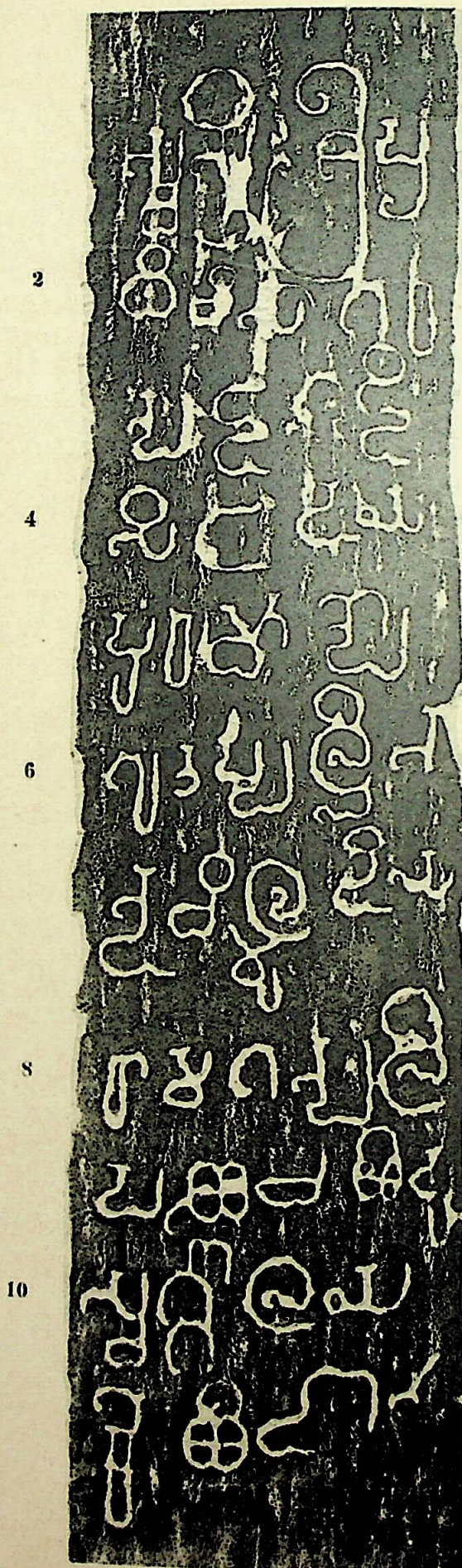
⁷ As suggested to me by Rai Bahadur Venkayya, *namvrân* is meant for the Tamil *nambirdaṇ*, 'lord' (literally: 'our lord'); read *nambirdaṇ*.

1

III. — Scale one-third.



IV. — Scale one-fourth.



- 8 nālageyan ki(ki)-
- 9 lpon Paṭṭi-
- 10 oḍeyong=¹ōā(va)-
- 11 doran=paṭṭ-aḷi-pā-
- 12 yvon Śvêtavâha-
- 13 nan Udayapu-
- 14 ramân poguva-
- 15 lli eṇidu śva(śva)-
- 16 rgga(rggâ)layakk=êṇi-
- 17 [don] [||*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! When Śvêtavâhana was entering Udayapura,—Rajasâgara's servant, Viñja Prahârabhûṣaṇa's son Kâmakôḍa, who pulled out the tongue of those who were not attached to the Pâśupata lord of those three persons themselves,² (and) who seized, destroyed and assaulted those who were not attached to the lord of Paṭṭi; ascended to the abode of heaven, having struck down (*his enemies*).

III.—Inscription of Śvêtavâhana.

This inscription (No. 105 of 1901) is engraved on an octagonal pillar in front of the same house as the preceding inscription and commemorates the death of another hero on the same occasion.

TEXT.

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Pāṇḍyavi-
- 2 llarasarâ maga-
- 3 n=Dêvu sâdu(dhu)-priyan=a-
- 4 sâdu(dhu)jana-varjitan-Śvê-
- 5 tavâhanar=Udaya-
- 6 puramân=poguvalli
- 7 eṇidu svarggâlaya-
- 8 kk=êṇidon [||*].

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! When Śvêtavâhana was entering Udayapura,—Pāṇḍyavillarasâ's son Dêvu, (*who was*) beloved by the good (*and*) shunned by wicked people, ascended to the abode of heaven, having struck down (*his enemies*).

IV.—Inscription of Prithivisâgara.

This inscription (No. 103 of 1901) is engraved on an octagonal pillar in the south-west corner of the court-yard of the Śambhukallu temple at Udiyâvara. It forms the memorial of a warrior who was killed when Prithivisâgara stormed Udayapura (Udiyâvara) after his coronation.

TEXT.

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Pri-
- 2 thivisâgara-

¹ Read *oḍeyong*—

² I.e. the Pâśupata priest whose adherents Kâmakôḍa, his father Prahârabhûṣaṇa (and his grandfather) Viñja were. I owe this explanation to Dr. Fleet. With *tammuttu-mûvar* compare *tammutt-ayvar* and *tammutt-aruvâr* in Kittel's *Kannada Grammar*, p. 241. Dr. Fleet has noted the similar expression *tammutt-irbbâr* or *tammutt-irbbor*, above, Vol. VI. p. 161, note 7.

- 3 n=pattam gatti-
- 4 si Ud[e]ya-
- 5 puramân=po-
- 6 gutappalli Na-
- 7 ndavilmuḍiya-
- 8 râ magan=Pali-
- 9 paṛe eṛidu
- 10 svarggâlaya-
- 11 kk-êṛidon [||*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! When Prithivisâgara, having had (*himself*) crowned, was entering Udeyapura,—Nandavilmuḍi's son Palipaṛe, having struck down (*his enemies*), ascended to the abode of heaven.

V.—Inscription of Prithivisâgara.

This inscription (No. 101 of 1901) is engraved on an octagonal pillar in the court-yard of the same temple and records that another follower of the Âlupa king Prithivisâgara fell at the storming of Udayâpura (Udiyâvara).

TEXT.

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Prithu(thi)visâgara
- 2 śrīmad-Âlupêndra dusṭa-bhaya-
- 3 ñkarargge ishṭa-bhṛityan=appa Po-
- 4 lokku Priyachelva [U]da[yâ]-
- 5 puraman pugutappa-
- 6 lli âha[pa](va)-ra[ṅga]du=uru-
- 7 bhaṭara [e]ṛidu Priyache-
- 8 lva chelva-śanpanna¹ ka(kha)la-
- 9 [ja*]na-varjjitan dharegi(gt)-
- 10 [śa*]ṅge ôvadora pata-
- 11 [t]iya aḷidu suralô-
- 12 kakke êṛidan [I*] Keḷeya
- 13 Vâl[e]ṛeyan niṛisida [||*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! When Polokku Priyachelva, who was the beloved servant of Prithivisâgara, the glorious Âlupêndra, the terror of the wicked, was entering Udayâpura,—(*this*) Priyachelva, (*who was*) endowed with beauty (*and*) shunned by wicked people, ascended to the world of the gods, having struck down great warriors on the stage of battle (*and*) having destroyed the foot-soldiers² of those who were not attached to the lord of the earth.³ (*His*) friend Vâlereya set up (*this memorial stone*).⁴

VI.—Inscription of Prithivisâgara.

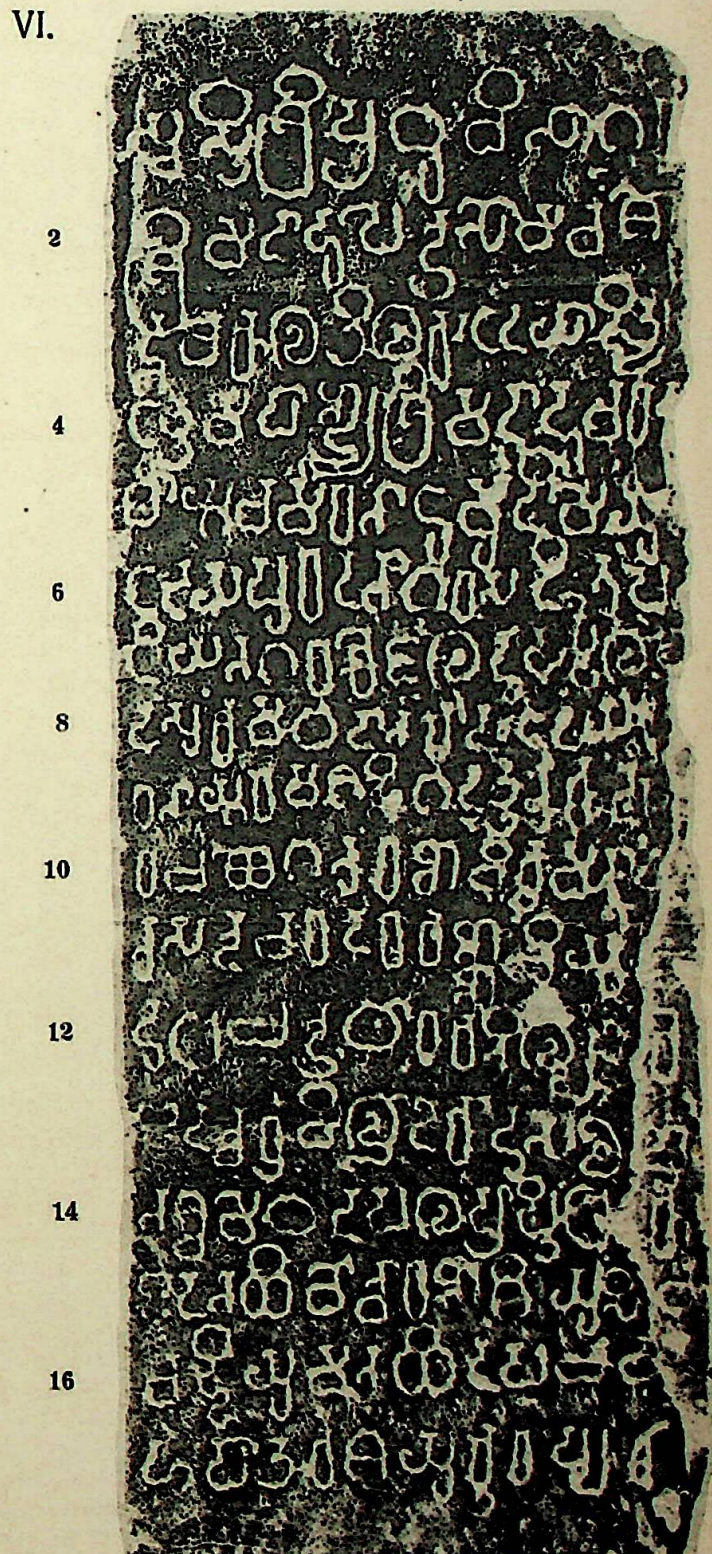
This inscription (No. 102 of 1901) is engraved on another octagonal pillar in the court-yard of the same temple. It opens with the name and *birudas* of the Âlupa or Âluva king

¹ Read *-sannanna*.

² As Mr. Krishna Sastri suggests, *patati* is perhaps a *tadbhava*, used collectively, of *padati*.

³ Viz. the Âlupa king Prithivisâgara.

⁴ Rai Bahadur Venkayya would prefer to take *eṛe* as synonymous with the Tamil *ēra* and to translate: "Keḷeya set up (this stone representing) a chief (with) a sword (in his hand)."



Scale one-fourth.

Prithivisāgara, who claimed descent from the lunar race and bore the surnames Udayāditya and Uttama-Pāṇḍya, and records that he confirmed a previous grant of tolls to the two cities (*nagara*) of Udayapura (Udiyāvara) and Paṭi. The last is evidently the same as Paṭṭi, the modern Humcha.¹ The imprecatory passage at the end of this inscription and of the two next ones (VII. and VIII.) mentions two sacred places : Vāraṇāśi and Śivavaḷḷi. The former is of course the modern Benares. Regarding the second, Mr. Krishna Sastri contributes the following information :—

“The Shivalli (Śivavaḷḷi) sect of Brāhmaṇas in South Canara take their name from this place. In the *Madras Manual of Administration*, Vol. III. p. 610, we are told that the town Oodipy (Uḍipi), ‘considered the most sacred spot in the Canarese country,’ is ‘formed of parts of Badagabett, Moodanidambore, Poollore and Shivully villages.’ In the *Madras Postal Directory* Shivalli figures as a village served by the Uḍipi post office.”

TEXT.

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Pṛidhu(thi)visāgara
- 2 śrīmad-Āḷupēndra Sōmavaṁśō-
- 3 dbhava kulatilakan Udayāditya
- 4 Uttama-Pāṇḍya śrīmad-Āḷuvara[sa]-
- 5 r-B[ō]ygavarmara nāṭu-mudimeyu[!]
- 6 Udayapurada nā(na)gara-sahitaṁ Pa-
- 7 ṭiya nagarakke jaladuḷaṁ sthala[du]-
- 8 ḷaṁ suṁkam=ardha-dāna kādar [!*] Udaya[pu]-
- 9 ranāygara magan=[S]iṁgadattanu[m] Ku[mā]-
- 10 ra Eṇeganuṁ Raṇavikrama[nātha]-
- 11 nu Sandavaradara Kaṇṇachiyu[m] [!*] [I]-
- 12 du a(ā)chandrathā(tā)rakaṁ nilpu[d=a]ke(kke) [!*]
- 13 Idan=vakram-illāde kādu salī[po]-
- 14 n=²aśvamēdhada pa(pha)la-prāpti aku(kkuṁ) [!*]
- 15 Idan=aḷivon=Vāraṇa(nā)śiyuṁ Si(śi)va-
- 16 vaḷḷiyuman=aḷida paṁcha[ma]-
- 17 ha(hā)pātaka-śaṁ(saṁ)yuktar=appar [||*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! During Bōygavarma's headmanship of the district,³ Prithivisāgara, the glorious Āḷupēndra, who sprang from the race of the Moon, the ornament of (*his*) family, Udayāditya Uttama-Pāṇḍya, the glorious Āḷuvarasa, confirmed the gift of one half (*of*) the tolls both on water and on land to the city of Paṭi, together with the city of Udayapura. (*The recipients of this gift were*)⁴ Udayapurānāyga's⁵ son Singadatta, Kumāra Erega, Raṇavikrama[nātha], and Sandavarada's (*son*) Kaṇṇachi. Let this stand as long as the moon and the stars! (*To*) him who without fraud confirms and grants this, shall be the acquisition of the fruit of a horse-sacrifice. He who destroys this, shall be covered with the five great sins (*of one*) who destroys Vāraṇāśi and Śivavaḷḷi.

¹ See p. 17 above.

² See Kittel's *Kannāḍa Grammar*, § 183, 8.

³ As suggested to me by Rai Bahadur Venkayya, *nāṭu-mudime* is the equivalent of the Tamil *nāṭṭu mudumai*, 'the headmanship of a district.' Compare *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI. Kp. 38, where *Kundavarmmarasaṁ mudime geye* (this is the reading of the Text in Kannāḍa characters, p. 323) has to be translated by 'while Kundavarmmarasa was headman.'

⁴ The words *idd paḍedor* may be supplied from VII. l. 10, and VIII. l. 10 f.

⁵ See above, p. 18, note 3.

VII.—Inscription of Vijayāditya Māramma.

This inscription (No. 98 of 1901) is engraved on two contiguous faces of another octagonal pillar in the court-yard of the same temple. Like the preceding inscription, it confirms a previous grant of tolls to the two cities of Udayapura (Udiyāvara) and Pombulcha (Humcha). The Ālupa or Ālva king who confirmed this grant was called Vijayāditya Māramma. Like the Prithivisāgara of the preceding inscription, he bore the surname Uttama-Pāṇḍya and traced his descent from the lunar race. Besides, he claimed the sovereign titles *Paramēśvara* and *Adhirājarāja*.

TEXT.

- 1 Ōm¹ svasti śrī [||*] Vija[y]āditya Ālu-
- 2 pēndra paramēśva(śva)ra ādhīr[ā]-²
- 3 jarājan Uttama-Pāṇḍyan=Śō(sō)mavamsō-
- 4 dbhava śrī-Māramm-Ālvarasar [U]³
- 5 Udayapurada naka(ga)ra-sahitaṁ Pombu-
- 6 lchada naka(ga)rakke suṅka kādudu saṅku-
- 7 rakke [pu]ṭṭige ondare maḷavege pa-
- 8 ḷti padināru palam aḍakeya pē-
- 9 ṅinga(ṅge) mūn[ū]ru velasina pēṅge
- 10 padina(nā)ru pala[m] [l*] Idā paḍedor Su-
- 11 sēnavadiyara Svarṇagōśasi Muttā-
- 12 varara Aḍiyapasettiyu Maṇḍukara
- 13 Parasēbyan Sēnavadiyara Nagakumāran [l*]
- 14 Idu a(ā)chandrātāraka[m] nilpūd=akke [l*] Ida kādo
- 15 aṭṭaguna⁴ asva(śva)mēda(dha)da pa(pha)lam=akke [l*]
- 16 Idan=aḷido B[ā]raṇāsiyu Śivavaḷliyu-
- 17 ma aḷida pañchamaha(hā)pātakan=ak[u](kkum) [l*]
- 18 Raṇadhāri-likhita ||⁴

TRANSLATION.

Ōm. Hail! Prosperity! Vijayāditya Ālupēndra *Paramēśvara* *Adhirājarāja* Uttama-Pāṇḍya, who sprang from the race of the Moon, the glorious Māramm-Ālvarasa, confirmed the tolls (*due*) to the city of Pombulcha together with the city of Udayapura, (*viz.*) per double bag (*of grain*),⁵ one and a half basket⁶ (*of grain*); per *maḷave*⁷ (*of cotton*), sixteen *pala* (*of cotton*); per load of areca-nuts, three hundred (*nuts*); (*and*) per load of pepper,⁸ sixteen *pala* (*of pepper*). They who obtained this (*were*) Susēnavadi's (*son*) Svarṇagōśasi,⁹ Muttavara's (*son*) Aḍiyapasetti, Maṇḍuka's (*son*) Parasēbya, (*and*) Sēnavadi's (*son*) Nagakumāra. Let this stand as long as the moon and the stars! (*To*) him who confirms this, let there be the eightfold fruit of a horse-sacrifice! (*To*) him who destroys this, shall be the five great sins (*of one*) who destroys Bāraṇāsi and Śivavaḷli. Written by Raṇadhāri.

¹ Expressed by a symbol.

² Read *adhirā-*.

³ Corrected from *a*. The engraver has for the sake of clearness repeated the *u* at the beginning of the next line.

⁴ In the original the final stop is represented by a four-petalled flower.

⁵ *Sakkura* is perhaps the same as *samkara* No. 4 in Kittel's *Kannaḍa Dictionary*: 'a double sack for manure and grain to be carried on the back of a bullock.'

⁶ *Putṭige* is the same as *puṭṭi*, 'a basket.'

⁷ Mr. Krishna Sastri suggests that this may be another form of *maṇa* or *maṇavu*, 'a maund.'

⁸ Originally I had taken *velasu* for *beḷasu*, 'corn.' But as the toll was not levied by measure, but by weight, I adopt Mr. Krishna Sastri's suggestion, who compares *meḷasu*, 'black pepper.'

⁹ With *gōśasi* compare *gōśasiḡa* in the inscription VIII. l. 11, and Dr. Fleet's remarks, above, Vol. VI. p. 255, note 2.

VII.

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CC-0. Jangamwadi Math Collection. Digitized by eGangotri

E. Hultsch.

Collotype by Gebr. Plettner, Halle.

VII.

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Udiyavara inscription VII (left column). The text is written in a vertical column in an ancient script, likely Grantha or Tamil, on a dark, rectangular stone fragment.

Udiyavara inscription VII (right column). The text is written in a vertical column in an ancient script, likely Grantha or Tamil, on a dark, rectangular stone fragment.

Scale one-fourth.

VIII.

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14

Udiyavara inscription VIII (left column). The text is written in a vertical column in an ancient script, likely Grantha or Tamil, on a dark, rectangular stone fragment.

Udiyavara inscription VIII (right column). The text is written in a vertical column in an ancient script, likely Grantha or Tamil, on a dark, rectangular stone fragment.

Scale one-fifth.

16

18

20

Udiyavara inscription VIII (far right column). The text is written in a vertical column in an ancient script, likely Grantha or Tamil, on a dark, rectangular stone fragment.

VIII.—Inscription of Vijayāditya.

• This inscription (No. 97 of 1901) is found on the same pillar as the preceding one (VII.). It is engraved on the same two contiguous faces as VII., but begins at the opposite end of the pillar, which must have been placed upside down when the new inscription (VIII.) was incised on it. A third face of the pillar bears six lines of writing (15-20) which appear to be connected with VIII. This circumstance enables us to conclude that VIII. was engraved at a later date than VII. When the writer of VIII. had reached line 14, he was confronted with the end of the inscription VII., and was therefore obliged to finish his copy on another face of the pillar.

The contents of VIII. resemble those of VII. The king is the same; only one of his names, Māramma, is omitted here. He is stated to have confirmed the same grant of tolls to the two cities of Udayāpura (Udiyāvāra) and Ponvulcha (Humcha). But the names of the local representatives receiving the grant differ from those in VII. This shows that some time must have elapsed between the incision of both records, although both belong to the same reign.

TEXT.

First and Second Faces.

- 1 Svasti śrī [I*] Vijayādhi(di)tyan;
- 2 Ālupēndrā paramēśva(śva)ra ā(a)-
- 3 dhi(dhi)rājārāja Uttama-
- 4 Pāṇḍyan-Śōmavañśōbhavan¹
- 5 Āluvarasar Arakellarā
- 6 nāṭu-mudī(di)meyuḷ Udayā-
- 7 purada naka(ga)ra-sahitaṁ Ponvulcha-
- 8 da naka(ga)rakke suṅkadā arddā(rddha)-[dā]na
- 9 kā[daha] avargge aṭṭagaṇa
- 10 asva(śva)mēda(dha)dā pa(pha)lam=akkum [I*] Idā
- 11 [pa*]ḍedor. Muttavurera² Saruvigōśāsiga
- 12 Koḍalsetṭiyarā Madāmma Vija[s]e-
- 13 ṭṭigarā Dharmmanāygan-Manuḡasā-
- 14 ttavar Sarvvavandu Puleyarmman [I*]

Third Face.

- 15 Ī okkal-paḍed[u]-
- 16 vu [I*] Idā aḷivo
- 17 Sivavāḷḷiyu³ Vā-
- 18 rāṇāsiyuman
- 19 aḷida pañchama-
- 20 hāpātakan=akkum⁴ [I*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! The eightfold fruit of a horse-sacrifice shall be to him—Vijayāditya Ālupēndra Paramēśvara Adhirājārāja Uttama-Pāṇḍya, who sprang from the race of the Moon, Āluvarasa—who, during Arakella's headmanship⁵ of the district, confirmed the gift of

¹ Read =Śōmavañśōbhavan.

² Read Muttavarera, as in VII. l. 11 f.

³ Read Śivavāḷḷiyum.

⁴ The u of *kkum* is expressed by two different symbols behind and below the *kk*.

⁵ See above, p. 21, note 3.

one half of the tolls to the city of Ponvulcha together with the city of Udayâpura. They who obtained this (were) Muttavara's (son) Saruvigôśâsiga, Kodalsetti's (son) Madâmma, Vijasetti's (son) Dharmianâyga,¹ Maṇugasâtta, Sarvavandu² (and) Puleyarma. These ryots obtained (it). (To) him who destroys this, shall be the five great sins (of one) who destroys Śivavaḷli and Vârâṇâsi.

No. 4.—TWO GRANTS OF INDRARAJA III.;
SAKA-SAMVAT 836.

By D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A.

These two epigraphic documents were first brought to the notice of the students of Indian antiquities by the late H. H. Dhruva, who published a transcript of them with his remarks in the *Zeitschr. D. Morg. Ges.* Vol. XL. p. 322 ff. They were afterwards edited with lithographs by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, with a translation by Mr. (now Prof.) S. R. Bhandarkar, in the *Journ. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVIII. p. 253 ff. About three years ago, when Prof. Hultzsch first thought of having the inscriptions re-edited in this Journal, no trace whatever of them could be found, and it was on a chance visit to the State Museum at Baroda in 1903 that I saw the plates exhibited there. On my informing Prof. Hultzsch of their whereabouts, he asked Rai Bahadur Venkayya to obtain them on loan through the Resident at Baroda from the Curator of the Baroda State Museum, and I re-edit the inscriptions at the suggestion of Prof. Hultzsch, and from the excellent ink-impressions supplied by Rai Bahadur Venkayya.

[Along with the two sets of plates, two seals were received from the Resident at Baroda in December 1903. As the seals had been detached from the plates, it was not possible to ascertain which seal belonged to which set. But before returning the plates and seals on the 7th December 1904, I put down some notes about them, of which the following is a copy.

[The plates measure on an average 13" by 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". The rings bearing both the seals had been cut before they were received in my office. The larger of the two seals measures about 3" by 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". The ring whose ends are secured at the bottom of the seal is 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter and $\frac{1}{2}$ " thick. The seal bears, in relief on a countersunk surface, as the principal figure, an image of Garuḍa—whose wings are distinctly seen—squatting on a seat which is probably meant to consist of two serpents. These appear to entwine his waist and to terminate in his hands, each of which is holding a hood. What looks like his sacred thread is perhaps a third serpent. The Garuḍa faces to the full front and has on his proper right a representation of Ganapati in the upper corner, lower down a *chauri*, and below it a lamp. On the proper left in the upper corner is a goddess riding on a lion, and below the lion a *svastika* surmounted by a *chauri*. On each side of the head of Garuḍa is a circle which may be meant for the sun and moon. Below the squatting Garuḍa is an inscription which is not quite distinct, but which seems to be श्रीमन्निबन्धनदेवस्य. Along the margin of the seal is a border of various indistinct emblems, among which a *liṅga* and an elephant-goad are recognisable. The emblems on the smaller seal, which measures about 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ " by 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ ", are also cut in relief on a countersunk surface, but are not quite distinct. The central figure is Garuḍa, squatting, as in the bigger seal, apparently on a couch consisting of two serpents, which seem to entwine his waist and to terminate in his hands. Each of the hands of Garuḍa appears to hold a hood. What looks like his sacred thread may be a third serpent. To his proper right at the upper corner is a projection which may stand for Ganapati, and below it is a lamp stand. To the proper left at the upper corner is another

¹ See above, p. 18, note 3.

² *I.e.* Sarvabandhu.

projection, which is perhaps intended to represent a goddess. Below the goddess is a lamp stand above a *svastika*. The ring whose ends are secured at the bottom of the smaller seal measures 3" in diameter and $\frac{1}{2}$ " in thickness. Two sets of impressions of each of the two inscriptions were sent to Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar in August 1903.—V.V.]

As regards the find-spot of the plates, H. H. Dhruva, who first edited them, says:—"On the 6th of July 1881, as a Dubla servant of Mulji Khushal, Patel of Bagumrâ, was furrowing the earth with the plough in his field, the ploughshare drew out of it these plates." This clearly shows that the plates were found at Bagumrâ, and consequently we must, as was first pointed out by Prof. Kielhorn,¹ speak of them as Bagumrâ, and not as Nausârî, charters of A.D. 915.

Each of the two sets consists of three copper-plates, which are, to judge from the impressions, about 13" long and 9" broad. The inscription is engraved on the inner sides of the first and third plates, and on both sides of the second plate. The engraving is clear and well executed. The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets. For some of the forms of individual letters attention may be drawn to *g* in *gatasya* and *svarggañ*, l. 13; to *ñ* in *lāñchhana*, l. 8, and *rājñah*, l. 13; to *m* in °*m=anyat=pu*°, l. 17, °*m=ānandī*, l. 37, and *grāmakūta*, l. 46; to *bh* in *bhūpañ*, l. 28; and to *s* in *sañtarppañ*°, l. 57, so far as the first record is concerned; and to *k* in *kānt-ēndu*-, l. 1; to *kh* in *sañkha*, l. 29; to *j* in *saras-āmbhōjā*, l. 5, and *jagati*, l. 7; and to *bh* in *kaustubha*, l. 2, so far as the second record is concerned. The language is Sanskrit throughout. In respect of orthography, the following points may be noticed. The letter *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*; consonants are doubled after *r*; *visarga* has been (permissibly) omitted once before the following *sth* in *vaksha-sthala*, l. 2 of both grants; *ṛ* has been substituted for *ñ* in *kāñchī*, l. 11 of No. II.; *visarga* followed by *s* has been at least thrice changed to that letter in *Raṇavigrahas=samabhava*°, l. 33, °*palakshitas=sōdrañgañ*, l. 51, and °*lakshais=sārddhaiñ*, l. 55 of the second record; *anusvāra* followed by a nasal has been twice changed to that letter in *sammānita*, l. 18 of No. I. and l. 20 of No. II., and in *gōp-āṅganānān=nayana*-, l. 6 of No. I.; the dental nasal has been used instead of an *anusvāra* before *s* in *sañsati*, l. 25 of No. I. and l. 27 of No. II. Lastly, the same word is spelt *lāñchhana* in No. I. l. 8, but *lāmchhana* in No. II. l. 9.

Each of these two records registers the grant of a village to a Brāhmaṇa, made by the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Indra III. or, as he is described in lines 43-45 of No. II., 'the P.M.P., the prosperous Nityavarshanarēndradēva, who meditated on the feet of the P.M.P., the prosperous Akālavarshadēva,' i.e. his grandfather Kṛishṇa II. Indra III. had, when the grants were made, gone to Kurundaka from his capital Mānyakhēṭa for the *paṭṭabandha*² festival. On that occasion he had himself weighed against gold, and, without coming out from the pan, gave away, together with twenty lakhs and a half of *drammas*, Kurundaka and other villages, granted afresh four hundred villages resumed by previous rulers, and finally bestowed the village of Tenna, according to No. II., on a Brāhmaṇa of the Lakshmaṇa *gōtra*, a student of the Vāji-Mādhyandina *sākhā*, and named Siddhapabhaṭṭa, the son of Śrī-Vennapabhaṭṭa, originally of Pāṭaliputra; and the village of Umvarā (or Umbarā), according to No. I., on a Brāhmaṇa of the same *gōtra* and student of the same *sākhā* as the above grantee, but named Prabhākarabhaṭṭa, the son of Rānapabhaṭṭa. The charters are dated, in words, on the 7th tithi of the bright fortnight of Phālguna of the Yuva-saṃvatsara, the Śaka year 836 (expired), which corresponds to the 24th February A.D. 915.

After the introductory *ōm svasti* and the opening verse invoking the protection of Viṣṇu and Śiva with which almost all the Rāshṭrakūṭa grants begin, we have verse 2 in praise of

¹ See above, Appendix to Vol. VII. p. 15, note 5.

² For the meaning of this word see above, Vol. VII. p. 27, note 2.

the god Kṛishṇa. In the verse following we find Indrarājadēva (III.), the royal grantor of the charters, compared to the god Upēndra (Viṣṇu). In verse 4 we are informed that the god Brahman sprang from the water-lily in the navel of Viṣṇu, from Brahman his son Atri, from Atri the Moon, and from the Moon the dynasty of the Yadus, where Kṛishṇa was born. In the next verse we are told that there arose king Dantidurga in the Sātyaki branch of the Yādu dynasty, to whom of herself repaired the goddess of sovereignty of the Chālukya family. This means that Dantidurga was the first Rāshtrakūṭa king who defeated the Chālukyas and made himself master of their dominions. From verse 6, if we notice the *double entendre* clearly intended, we learn that Dantidurga first reduced the lowermost, i.e. southern, country, then turned his arms against the *Madhyadēśa*, and finally conquered the city of Kāñchī. According to an inscription in the Daśāvatāra cave at Elurā,¹ Dantidurga subdued the rulers of Kāñchī, Kāliṅga, Kōsala, Śrīśaila, Mālava, Lāṭa, Tāṅka, and so forth. If we are right in understanding verse 6 as we have done, Dantidurga first gained victories in the South and conquered the kings of Śrīśaila, Kāliṅga, and so forth, then turned to the central part of India and subjugated the princes of Kōsala, Mālava, Lāṭa, and so forth, and finally came back again to the South and vanquished the lord of Kāñchī.

Verse 8 tells us that after Dantidurga his paternal uncle Kṛishṇarāja (I.) came to the throne. The next verse makes mention of his son Nirupama(-Dhruva), but omits the name of his elder brother Gōvinda II., probably because the author of the inscription wanted to give a direct genealogy of the royal grantor, with reference to whom Gōvinda II. was a collateral prince, while he mentioned the name of Dantidurga as the latter was the founder of the dynasty. But by no means can this omission be taken as favouring the view that Gōvinda II. did not reign. I have elsewhere adduced reasons for dissenting from this view;² and in support of my position may now be stated the incontrovertible fact that the Dhuliā copper-plate grant³ of Gōvinda II.'s nephew and feudatory Suvarṇavarsha-Karka distinctly refers itself to his reign, and gives the date Śaka 701, when we must consequently suppose Gōvinda II. to have been alive and wielding supremacy. Verse 10 informs us that Nirupama(-Dhruva) won two white parasols in battle, one from the lord of Kōsala and the other from the king of the North. Who these princes were we have no means to determine. But it looks tempting to identify the king of the North either with the Indrāyudha mentioned in the Jaina *Harivaṃśa*, or with Chakrāyudha, the ruler of Kanauj and contemporary of Dharmapāla of the Pāla, and of Gōvinda III. of the Rāshtrakūṭa, dynasty.⁴

Verse 11 says that from Nirupama(-Dhruva) sprang Jagattuṅga(-Gōvinda III.), who, in his turn, begat Śrīvallabha(-Amōghavarsha I.). The next verse tells us that Amōghavarsha

¹ *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. V. p. 88.

² *Journ. Bo. Br. R. A. S.* Vol. XX. p. 133 f.

³ Above, Vol. VIII. p. 183.

⁴ In an unpublished grant of Amōghavarsha I. in the possession of my brother Prof. S. R. Bhandarkar, two princes of the names of Chakrāyudha and Dharma are mentioned as having gone to the Himālayas to do homage to Gōvinda III. who had gone thither on an expedition of conquest. It can hardly be seriously doubted that Dharma is Dharmapāla, the second prince of the Pāla dynasty, and that Chakrāyudha is the same as the Chakrāyudha of the Bhāgalpur grant, whom Dharmapāla restored to his lost throne. Prof. Kielhorn (*Nachrichten von der K. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen*, 1905, p. 803) has already identified this Chakrāyudha with the Chakrāyudha of the Gwalior Br. R. A. S. Vol. XXI. p. 422, note 2). We have thus four princes, viz. Gōvinda III., Nāgabhaṭa, Chakrāyudha and Dharmapāla, who were contemporaries. We know from Rāshtrakūṭa records that Gōvinda III. reigned from A.D. 794 to 813. We must, therefore, suppose Dharmapāla to have flourished about this time. As this synchronism was not known before, it was but right to assign Dharmapāla to A.D. 861, the date of the Pathārī inscription referring itself to the reign of the Rāshtrakūṭa prince Parabala (*Nachrichten von der K. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen*, 1901, p. 525 f.). But now we see that this date would be rather too late for Dharmapāla. Besides, there is nothing to show that this Parabala is, as a matter of fact, identical with Parabala, the father-in-law of Dharmapāla.

I. raised the glory of the Raṭṭa sovereignty immersed in the ocean of the Chalukyas and thereafter assumed the epithet Viranārāyaṇa. If we read between the lines, we cannot fail to notice that the Rāshtrakūṭa sovereignty had been shaken by the Chalukyas of Vēṅgī to its very foundations in the early part of Amōghavarsha's reign. The Chalukya contemporary of Amōghavarsha I. was Narēndramrigarāja-Vijayāditya II.,¹ who, in an Eastern Chalukya record, is represented to have fought, during twelve years, by day and night, a hundred and eight battles with the armies of the Gaṅgas and the Raṭṭas. The latter can be no other than the Rāshtrakūṭas of Mālkhēḍ, and it thus appears that Narēndramrigarāja-Vijayāditya II. was a powerful king. We can, therefore, very well understand that he might have for a time eclipsed the glory of the Rāshtrakūṭas. Amōghavarsha I., however, was by no means slow to retrieve his lost reputation, and seems to have wreaked a terrible vengeance upon the Chalukyas, whom, as verse 13 informs us, he destroyed, just as a man burns chick-pea plants, the stalks of which have been pulled out by the root. That he inflicted a severe defeat on the Eastern Chalukyas can also be seen from the Cambay and Sāṅglī charters,² in which he is said to have gratified the god Yama with unprecedented morsels of cakes which were the Chalukyas. Verse 13 incidentally gives us the information, if my interpretation is correct, that the Chalukyas whom Amōghavarsha I. vanquished had devastated Stambapura, which is the same as Tāmralipta, identified with the modern Tamlūk, the head-quarters of the subdivision of the same name of the Midnāpur district, Bengal.

From Śrīvallabha(-Amōghavarsha I.), who was a comet of destruction to the Chalukya family (v. 14), sprang Kṛishṇarāja (II.), whose fights with the Gūrjaras used to be still remembered by old men, as we are informed in verse 15. I have elsewhere pointed out that the Gūrjaras, with whom the Rāshtrakūṭas were often at war, ruled over Northern India and had their capital at Mahōdaya or Kanauj, and consequently the Gūrjara prince defeated by Kṛishṇarāja II. (A.D. 888-911) must have been Mahēndrapāla (A.D. 899-907), the patron of the poet Rājasēkhara.

Kṛishṇarāja II. had a son of the name of Jagattuṅga (v. 16), who married Lakshmi, the daughter of Raṇavighraha, the son of Kokkalla of the Haihaya, i.e. Kalachuri, dynasty (vv. 17-19). It is worthy of note that Raṇavighraha is here called *Chēd-īśvara*, i.e. lord of Chēdi. The same fact is hinted by a verse in Jahlaṇa's *Sāktimuktāvalī*, quoted by Dr. Bhandarkar in his paper on the Karhāḍ plates of Kṛishṇa III.,³ which purports to say that of rivers the Narmadā, of kings Raṇavighraha, and of poets Surānanda were the ornaments of Chēdi. The name Raṇavighraha does not occur in the list of the names of the Kalachuris of Chēdi. From a Ratanpur inscription,⁴ however, we learn that Kokkalla had eighteen sons, of whom the first-born was a ruler of Tripurī, and the others lords of *maṇḍalas*, i.e. minor chiefs. If this statement deserves any credence, Raṇavighraha, being a ruler of Tripurī, i.e. of Chēdi, and not of a *maṇḍala*, was the eldest son, and the successor of Kokkalla. But from the Benares copper-plate inscription⁵ it appears that Kokkalla was followed by his son Mugdhatuṅga-Prasiddhadhavalā. We may, therefore, suppose that Raṇavighraha and Mugdhatuṅga-Prasiddhadhavalā were one and the same prince.

The issue of the marriage of Jagattuṅga with Lakshmi was Indrarāja (III.), whose epithets Raṭṭa-Kandarpadēva and Śrī-Kīrti-Nārāyaṇa are mentioned in verses 20 and 21. The next verse contains a *double entendre*, and so far as its mythological sense goes, it does not present any difficulty. But the historical sense of this verse is by no means clear. This much is certain that it records the defeat of a king of the name of Upēndra by the Rāshtrakūṭa prince Indrarāja III. But who this Upēndra was, and how the epithets *kṛita-*

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 100.

² Above, Vol. IV. p. 280.

³ Above, Vol. VII. p. 43 ; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 252 f.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 33.

⁵ *Id.* Vol. II. p. 301.

Gôvardhan-ôddhâra and *hêl-ônmulita-Mêru*, used in connection with the kings Upêndra and Indrarâja respectively, are to be interpreted, is far from clear. At one time I thought that Upêndra referred to Mahîpâla of the Pratihâra dynasty of Mahôdaya, for whom I then contended that the Bhâgalpur grant of the Pâla dynasty gave the other name Chakrâyudha.¹ But I have stated above that, beyond all doubt, Dharmapâla and Chakrâyudha, whom he re-instated on the throne, were contemporaries of the Râshtrakûta prince Gôvinda III.² Chakrâyudha cannot, therefore, be identified with Mahîpâla, who was a contemporary of Indra III., the great-great-grandson of Gôvinda III. According to Pandit Bhagwanlal Indrajî,³ the word *Mêru* in the expression *hêl-ônmulita-Mêru* signifies *Mêra* or *Mêhra*, and the whole expression speaks of the defeat of some contemporary *Mêhra* king of North Kâthiâwâd by Indrarâja III. Prof. Kielhorn, on the other hand, holds that *Mêru* probably is Mahôdaya,⁴ i.e. Kanauj, implying thereby that it records the capture of Kanauj by Indrarâja III. specified in the Sânglî charter. With regard to the other expression, viz. *kṛita-Gôvardhan-ôddhâra*, no interpretation has been proposed, and we must wait for the publication of other inscriptions to enable us to understand perfectly the historical sense of this verse.

In the preamble of the prose passage preceding the formal part of the inscription, the *P. M. P. Śrīman-Nityavarshanarēndradēva*, i.e. Indrarâja III., is spoken of as "meditating on the feet" of the *P. M. P. Śrīmad-Akâlavarshadēva*, i.e. his grandfather Kṛishṇa II. This indicates that Jagattuṅga, the father of Indrarâja III., did not come to the throne. The same may be concluded from the statement of our inscriptions that the battles of Kṛishṇarâja II. were remembered and described by old men in Indra III.'s time. This shows that hardly a generation had passed since the occurrence of that event, and that consequently there was no Râshtrakûta sovereign intervening between Kṛishṇa II. and Indra III. The same conclusion is pointed to by the fact that the Khârêpâtaṅ grant of Raṭṭarâja,⁵ in setting forth the Râshtrakûta genealogy, takes the succession direct from Kṛishṇa II. to Indra III. and refers to Jagattuṅga only further on as the father of Amôghavarsha-Vaddiga. But our conclusion is placed beyond all doubt by the Dêoli and Karhâd plates of Kṛishṇa III.,⁶ which distinctly speak of Jagattuṅga as having died without obtaining the sovereignty.

The composer of our inscriptions was Trivikramabhaṭṭa, the son of Nêmaditya. There can hardly be a doubt that he is identical with Trivikramabhaṭṭa, the author of the *Nalachampû*, of the Śâṇḍilya *gôtra*, and the son of Nêmaditya (*var. lect. Dêvâditya*).⁷ Another Śâṇḍilya-kavi-chakravartin Trivikrama was the sixth ancestor of the astronomer Bhâskarabhaṭṭa, a contemporary of king Bhôja of Dhârâ. The oldest mention of Trivikrama is in Bhôja's *Sarasvatikanṭhâbharana*, while he himself quotes Bâṇa. The authorship of a *Madâlasâ-champû* is also attributed to this Trivikrama.

As regards the localities mentioned in the grants, Pâtaliputra from where the grantee of No. II. emigrated is obviously Paṭṇâ, the principal town of the district of the same name in Bengal, and Mânyakhêṭa, the capital of the royal grantor, is Mâlkhêḍ in the Nizam's Dominions. Kurundaka, where Indrarâja III. had repaired for his *paṭṭabandha*, was first identified by Mr. A. M. T. Jackson with Kurundwâḍ at the junction of the Kṛishṇâ and Pañchagangâ in the Southern Marâṭha country.⁸ In No. I. the village granted is Umvarâ (or Umbarâ) near Kammanijja in the country of Lâṭa, and the boundaries specified are Tôlejaka to E., Mōgalikâ to S., Samki to W., and Javalakûpaka to N. Umvarâ, as was first pointed

¹ Above, Vol. VII. p. 32.

² *History of Gujarat*, in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I. Part I. p. 130.

³ See above, Appendix to Vol. VIII. p. 16, note 2.

⁴ Above, Vol. III. p. 298.

⁵ Weber, *Berlin Catalogue*, Vol. II. p. 1205.

⁶ See above, p. 26, note 4.

⁷ Above, Vol. IV. p. 283; Vol. V. p. 193.

⁸ *History of Gujarat*, p. 130, note 3.

out by Dr. Bhandarkar, is the modern Bagumrā, with the prefix *bag*.¹ Tōlājaka and Mōgalikā cannot be identified, but Sankī and Javalakūpaka are Sanki, one mile S. W. of Bagumrā, and Jolwa, one and a half mile N. of Bagumrā. In No. II. the village granted is Tenna near Kammanijja, and the boundaries specified are Vāraḍapallikā (or Bāraḍa²) to E., Nāmbhitāṭaka to S., Valisā (or Balisā) to W., and Vavviyāṇa (or Babbīyāṇa) to N. They have been identified with Ten, Bārdoli, Nadida, Wanesa and Baben respectively. Kammanijja, in the vicinity of which lay both the villages granted, is Kāmrej. All these villages are to be found in the Nausārī division of the Baroda State. The Bagumrā grant of the Gujarāt Rāshtrakūṭa Dhruva II. mentions Trennā, both as a village and a territorial division, and speaks of the village of Trennā as having been bestowed upon a certain Brāhmaṇa by his grandfather Dhruva I. (A.D. 834-35). "The explanation of its being given away again by the present record," as Dr. Fleet has rightly said, "is, no doubt, to be found in the statement, made in the present record, that Indra III. gave away four hundred villages which had been confiscated by previous kings; this was evidently one of them."³

TEXT³ OF No. I.

First Plate.

- 1 स्वस्ति⁴ [॥] स⁵ वोव्याद्देधसा धाम यन्नाभिकमलं कृतं । हरश्च यस्य
कान्तेन्दुकलया कमलंकृतम् ॥ [१*] जयति⁶
- 2 विवुधवन्धुर्विध्यविस्तारिवक्ष्यलविमलविलोलल्लोस्तुभः कंसकेतुः । मुखसरसिज-
रङ्गे यस्य नृ-
- 3 त्यन्ति लक्ष्म्याः स्मरभरपरिताम्यतारकास्ते कटाक्षाः ॥ [२*] स⁷ जयति
भुजदण्डसंश्रयश्रीः समर-
- 4 समुद्धृतदुर्हरारिचक्रः । अपहृतवलिमण्डलो⁸ नृसिंहः सततसुपेन्द्र इवन्द्रराज-
देवः ॥ [३*]
- 5 अस्ति¹⁰ श्रीनाथनाभिस्फुरदु[र]सरसाभोजजन्मा स्वयंभू(१)स्तस्मादचिः सु-
तोभृदमृतकरपरिस्त्र-
- 6 न्द¹¹ इन्दुस्ततोपि । तस्माद्[श्री] यदूनां जगति स ववुधे यस्य तैस्तैर्वि-
लासैः शार्ङ्गी गोपाङ्गनानान्न-
- 7 यनकुवलयैरर्चमानश्चचार ॥ [४*] [त]त्रान्वये¹³ विततसात्यकिवंशजन्मा श्रीद-
न्तिदुर्गनृप-
- 8 तिः पुरुषोत्तमोभूत् । चालुक्यवंशजलधेः¹³ स्वयमेव लक्ष्मीर्यं शंखचक्र[कर]-
लाञ्छन-

¹ Journ. Bo. Br. R. A. S. Vol. XVIII. p. 256.

² Ind. Ant. Vol. XXXI. p. 396.

³ From inked stampages supplied to me by Rai Bahadur Venkayya.

⁴ The : is not well-formed.

⁵ Metre: Ślōka (Anushtubh).

⁶ Metre: Mālinī.

⁷ Read विवुधवन्धु⁹.

⁸ Metre: Pushpitāgrā.

⁹ Read "बलि".

¹⁰ Metre: Sragdharā.

¹¹ Read "परिचन्द".

¹² Read "वंश".

¹³ Metre: Vasantatilakā; and of the next verse.

- 9 माजगाम ॥ [५*] क[त्वा]स्पदं हृदयहारिजघन्यभागे खैरं पुनर्मृदु विमर्द्य
च मध्यदे-
- 10 शं [*] यस्यासमस्य [सम]रे वसुधाङ्गनायाः कांचीपदे प[द]मकारि करेण
भूयः ॥ [६*] आ^१ सेतोः सानुव-
- 11 ^२प्रप्रवलकपि[कुलो]लूनफुल्ल[लव]ङ्गादा [कैला]साङ्गवानोचलच[र]णरणनूपुरो-
न्नादितान्तात् ।
- 12 यस्याङ्गा भूमिपालाः करमुकुलमिल[नौ]लिमालायमानामानमैरुत्तमाङ्गैरवनि-
तललुठञ्जा-
- 13 नवो मानयन्ति ॥ [७*] जित्वा^३ जगन्निजभुजे[न पु]नर्जिगीषोः स्वर्गं विजेतु-
मिव तस्य गतस्य राज्ञः । तत्रा-
- 14 भवत्परमधानि पदे पितृव्यः श्रीकृष्णराजनृपतिः प्रथितप्रतापः ॥ [८*] दि-
क्सुन्दरीवदनचान्दनपत्र-
- 15 भंगलीलाय[म]गनघनविस्तृतकान्तकीर्तिः । श्रीराष्ट्रकूटकुलशैलमलंकरिणोस्तस्मा-
दभू-
- 16 त्रिरुपमो निरवद्यशौर्यः ॥ [९*] कीर्तिः^४ कुन्दरुचः^५ समस्तभुवनप्रस्थानकुम्भः
सितो लक्ष्म्याः
- Second Plate; First Side.*
- 17 लक्ष्म्याः^६ पाणितले विलासकमलं पूर्णैन्दुविम्बद्युति^७ । एकं कं पितकोसले-
श्वरकरादाच्छिन्नमन्यत्पु-
- 18 नर्येनोदीच्यनराधिपाद्यश्च इव श्वेतातपत्रं^८ रणे ॥ [१०*] तस्मात्तेभे^९ जग-
त्सुंगी जन्म सम्मानि-
- 19 त[द्विज]ः । सोपि श्रीवल्लभं स्तुनं राजराजमजीजनत् ॥ [११*] निमग्नां
[य]श्चलुक्वाब्धौ^{१०} रट्टराज्यश्चि-
- 20 यं पुनः [*] पृथ्वीमिवोद्वरन्धीरो^{११} वीरनारायणोभवत् ॥ [१२*] समूलोन्मूलित-
स्तस्मान्दण्डेनानी-^{१२}
- 21 तकाण्टकः । ^{१३}योदहहेषिणश्चण्डचलुक्वांश्चणकानिव ॥ [१३*] ^{१४}[उच्चैश्चलु]क्वाकुल-
कन्दलकालके-

^१ Metre: Sragdharā.^२ Read °प्रवल°.^३ Metre: Vasantatilakā; and of the next verse.^४ One of the two circles of the *visarga* has been omitted.^५ The repetition of this word is superfluous.^६ Corrected by the engraver from श्वेतातापत्रं.^७ Metre: Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh); and of the next two verses.^८ °न्धीरो is also possible.^९ Metre: Vasantatilakā.^{१०} Read °स्तम्बा°.^{११} Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.^{१२} Read °विम्ब°.^{१३} Read °क्वाब्धौ.^{१४} Read °दहदहेषि°.

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50 यथादुर्बलस्य स्यात्प्रमाणं वा यथा नाना विहितं न वक्तव्यं रात्रि एव गच्छ पुरुषस्तथा
 52 पुनरुक्तं दृष्टव्यं तद्विधानं न कथं विदुः स गौ एव उक्तं नाना मयामं यस्यापु
 54 तः तालककंदं दैवा नामाग गौरु कापि विमं तः मंती गामं उक्तं तस्मात्स वत्स कृपकत्
 56 यथाप्युक्तं वृत्त्यापत्तिं न स्यादुक्तं स पौरिकं स्यात्तदुक्तं गोदं स्तोत्राय नान
 58 विविक्तं नाना दिग्गजायायात्तत्तमसि गामं वृत्तिं वृत्त्याय विरहितः कं कृप काला
 60 ती तदुक्तं स्यात्तदुक्तं नाना मयामं विदुः स गौ एव उक्तं नाना मयामं विदुः स गौ एव
 62 यी पुरुषस्तथा तदुक्तं नाना मयामं विदुः स गौ एव उक्तं नाना मयामं विदुः स गौ एव
 64 मयामं विदुः स गौ एव उक्तं नाना मयामं विदुः स गौ एव उक्तं नाना मयामं विदुः स गौ एव

- 22 तोस्तस्मादक्षणचरितोजनि क्षणराजः । पीतापि कर्णपुटकैर[स]क्षज्जने[न]
कीर्त्तिः परिभ्र-
- 23 मति यस्य शशाङ्ककान्तिः ॥ [१४*] ^१उद्यद्दीधितिरन्नचालजटिलं व्याकष्टमी-
दृग्धनुः (।) क्रुधेनोप-
- 24 रि वैरिवीरशिरसामेवं विमुक्ताः शराः । धारासारिणि से[न्द्र]चापवलये यस्ये-
25 त्य[म]ब्दागमे^३ ग[र्ज]द्गुर्ज[र]सङ्गरव्यतिकरं जीर्णो जनः श[न्स]ति^३ ॥ [१५*]
अजनि^४ जनि-
- 26 तभङ्गो वैरिवृ[न्द]स्य तस्मादधरितमदनश्रीः श्रीजगत्तुंग[दे]वः । ध्व[ज]सरसि-
27 जशङ्खप्रोक्तसच्चक्रपाणिर्विभवविजितविष्णुर्वल्लभो वीर[ल]क्ष्याः ॥ [१६*] ^५[आ]-
सीत्कोप्य-
- 28 य हैहयान्वयभवो भू[प]ः ^६[स]हस्रार्जुनो गर्जद्गु[र्ज]यरावणोर्जितलसद्दोर्हण्ड-
कण्डू-
- 29 हरः । विश्रान्तैः श्रवणेषु नाकसदसां यत्कीर्त्तिनामाक्षरैः सिद्धैः सान्द्रसुधा-
रसेन लि-
- 30 खितैर्व्याप्ताः ककुब्भित्तयः^७ ॥ [१७*] वंशे तस्य सपत्नवंशपरशोः कोक्कलभूपा-
त्मजो^८ राजा श्रीर-
- 31 णवियद्दः समभवच्चेदीश्वरः कीर्त्तिमान् । ^९यस्यारातिपुरंभिमण्डनमुषः सर्वोपि
पृथ्वीप-
- 32 तिः सूर्यस्येन्दुरिव प्रयाति विकलः पक्षचये मण्डलम् ॥ [१८*] ^{१०}सकलगुण-
गणाब्धेर्विष्फुरद्वा-^{१०}
- 33 मधाम्नः कलितकमलपाणिस्तस्य लक्ष्मीः सुताभूत् । यदुकुलकुसुदेन्दुः
सुन्दरीचित्तहारी

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 34 हरिरिव परिणिन्ये तां जगत्तुंगदेवः ॥ [१९*] चतुर्दधितटा[न्त]ख्यातशौर्योय
ताभ्यामभवदरि-
- 35 चरद्दो रष्टकन्दर्पदेवः । मनसि क्षतनिवासः कान्तसीमन्तिनीनां सकल-
जनशरणः पु-
- 36 खलावण्यराशिः ॥ [२०*] ^{११}मदनममृतविन्दुस्यन्दमिन्दोश्च विम्बं^{१२} नवनलिनमृणालं
चन्दनं चन्द्रिकां

^१ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

^३ Read शंसति.

^५ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita; and of the next verse.

^६ The first *sa* is not well-formed and looks almost like *ta*.

^८ The letter *tma* is not well-formed.

^{१०} Read °गणाब्धेर्विष्फुर°.

^२ Read °मब्दागमे.

^४ Metre: Mālinī.

^७ Read ककुब्भित्तयः.

^९ Metre: Mālinī; and of the next two verses.

^{११} Read °विन्दु°.

^{१२} Read विम्बं.

- 37 च । अपरमपि यदीयैर्जन्मनिर्माणशेषैरणुभिरिव चकार स्पष्ट[म]ानन्दि वेधाः
॥ [२१*] देवो^१
- 38 यश्चतुरम्बुराशिरशनारोचिष्णुविश्वभरामाक्रामन्निजविक्रमेण समभूत्^२ श्रीकीर्त्ति-
नारा-
- 39 यणः [१*] श्रुत्वा जन्म यदीयमाकुलधियां जग्मुः स[मं] विद्दिषां दैन्यं
वक्त्ररुचौ मनांसि च भ-
- 40 यं सेवांजलिं मौलयः ॥ [२२*] 'कृतगोवर्द्धनोद्धारं [हे]लोन्धूलितमेरुणा ।
उपेन्द्र-
- 41 मिन्द्रराजेन जित्वा येन न विस्मितम् ॥ [२३*] 'सकलजननमस्यः सोऽथ
कृत[त्वा] नमस्या-
- 42 भुवनपतिरनेकान्देवभोगाग्रहारान् । उपरि पर[शु]रामस्यैककुशामदान-
- 43 स्फुरितगुणगरिम्णस्थागकीर्त्या बभूव^३ ॥ [२४*] स च परमभट्टारकमहाराजा-
धिराजपरमेश्वर-
- 44 रश्मीमदकालवर्षदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वर-
- 45 श्रीपृथ्वीवल्लभश्रीवल्लभश्रीमन्नित्यवर्षनरेन्द्रदेवः कुशली सर्वानिव यथासंवध्य^४
- 46 'मानात्राष्टपतिविषयपतिग्रामकूटयुक्तकनियुक्तकाधिकारिकमहत्तरादी-
- 47 न्समादिशत्यस्तु वः संविदितं यथा श्रीमान्यखेटराजधानीनिवेशिना श्रीप-
- 48 द्दवन्धाय^५ कुरुन्दकमागतेन मया मातापित्रोरात्मनश्चैहिकामुषिकपुण्य-

Third Plate.

- 49 यशोभिद्वय्ये (i) लक्ष्मणगोत्राय वाजिमाध्यन्दिनसत्रद्वयचारिणे¹⁰ राणपभट्टसुताय
50 प्रभाकरभट्टाय लाटदेशान्तर्गतकम्पणिजसमीपे उम्बरानामग्रामः यस्य पू-
51 र्वतः तोलेजकं दक्षिणतो भोगलिका पश्चिमतः संकीर्णम उत्तर[तो]
जवलकूपकमे-
- 52 वमाघाटचतुष्टयोपलक्षितः सोद्वंगः सपरिकरः सदण्डदशा[प]राधः सीत्यद्यमान-
- 53 पिष्टिकः¹¹ सधान्यहिरण्यादेयोभ्यन्तरसि[द्धा] पूर्वदेवब्रह्मदायरहितः¹² शकनृप-
काला-
- 54 तीत[सं]वत्सरशतेष्वष्टासु¹³ षट्त्रिंशदुत्तरेषु [यु]वसंवत्सरफाल्गुनशुद्धसप्तम्यां संपन्ने

¹ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.⁴ Metre: Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh).⁷ Read 'संवध्य'.⁸ This *mā* appears to have been first inadvertently omitted and then engraved quite close to the rim.⁹ Read 'वन्धाय'.¹³ Read 'ब्रह्म'.² Read 'रन्वु'.⁶ Metre: Mālinī.³ Read समभूच्छी'.⁶ Read बभूव.¹⁰ Read 'सत्रद्वय'.¹¹ Read 'पिष्टिकः'.¹² The inner stroke of *śh* in *śhva* is wanting.

- 55 श्रीपट्टवन्धोत्सवे¹ तुलापुरुषमारुह्य तस्मादनुत्तरता च कुरुन्दकादीन्प्राभान्
 56 अन्यान्यपि² पूर्वपृथ्वीपालवि[लु]प्तानि चत्वारि ग्रामशतानि विंशतिद्रुम-
 लक्षैस्सा-
 57 द्वैः सह विप्रेभ्यो विमुच्य³ वलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रातिथि[सं]तर्पणार्थम्(1)-
 58 द्यौदकातिसर्गेण दत्तोऽस्योचितया⁴ ब्रह्मदायस्थित्या भुञ्जतो [भो]जयतः कृषतः
 59 कर्षयतः प्रतिदिशतो वान्यस्मै न केनचिदप्यापि परिपंथना कार्या [1*] तथा-
 गामिभिरस्म-
 60 'हंशैरन्यैर्वा सामान्यं भूमिदानफलमवेत्य खदायनिर्विशेषोयमस्मद्ब्रह्मदायो-
 नुमन्त-⁵
 61 व्यः [1*] यश्चान्नानाज्ञोपयति स पंचभिर्माहापातकैः संयुक्तः स्यादुक्तं च
 भगवता व्यासेन ॥ ४-
 62 द्वि⁶ वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः । आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च
 तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥ [२५*] सा-
 63 मान्योय⁸ धर्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः । सर्वानेतान्मा-
 विनः पार्थिवेन्द्रान्
 64 भूयो भूयो [य]ाचते रामभद्रः ॥ [२६*] श्रीत्रिविक्रमभट्टेन नेमादित्यस्य
 स्रुतना कृता प्रशस्तेयं श्री [11*]

TEXT OF No. II.

First Plate.

- 1 श्रीं स्वस्ति । स वीर्याद्देधसा धाम यन्नाभिकमलं कृतं । हरश्च यस्य
 [का]न्तेन्दुकलया कम-
 2 लंकृतम् ॥ [१*] जयति¹⁰ विबुधवन्धुर्विन्ध्यविस्तारिवक्षस्थलविमलविलोलल्लौ-
 स्तुभः कंस-
 3 तुः¹¹ । सुखसरसिजरङ्गे यस्य नृत्यन्ति लक्ष्म्याः स्म[र]भरपरिताम्यतारकास्ते
 कटा-
 4 द्याः ॥ [२*] स जयति भुजदण्डसंश्रयश्रीः समरसमुद्धृत[दु]र्वैरारिचक्रः ।
 अपहृतवलिम-¹²

¹ Read °वन्धोत्सवे.⁴ Read ब्रह्म°.⁶ Read °सहस्र°.⁸ Metre: Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh); this verse was left incomplete for want of space.¹⁰ Read विबुधवन्धु°.² Read °मान्यान्यपि.⁵ Corrected by the engraver from °हंशै°.⁷ Metre: Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh).¹¹ Read कंसकैतुः.³ Read वलि°.⁸ Metre: Śālini.¹² Read °वलि°.

- 5 ण्डलो नृसिंहः सततमुपेन्द्र इवेन्द्रराजदेवः ॥ [३*] अस्ति श्रीनाथनाभि-
स्फुरदुरुसरसांभोज(1)-
- 6 जन्मा [ख]यंभूस्तस्मादन्निः सुतोभूदमृतकरपरिख्यन्द¹ इन्दुस्ततोपि । त[स्मा]-
हंशो यदूनां
- 7 जगति स वदधे यत्र तैस्तैर्विलासैः शार्ङ्गी गोपाङ्ग[नानां] नयनकु-
वलये-
- 8 रर्यमानश्चचार ॥ [४*] तत्रान्वये विततसात्यकिवंशजन्मा श्रीदन्तिदुर्ग-
नृपतिः
- 9 पुरुषोत्तमीभूत् । चालुक्यवंशजलधेः स्वयमेव लक्ष्मीर्यं शं[ख]चक्रकरलाङ्क-
- 10 न[म]जगाम ॥ [५*] कृत्वास्यदं हृदयहारिजघन्यदेशे खैरं पुनर्मृदु विमर्द्य
च मध्यदेशं ।
- 11 यस्यासम[स्य] समरे वसुधाङ्गनायाः ²काण्चीपदे पदमकारि करेण भूयः
॥ [६*] आ सेतोः सा-
- 12 ³नुवप्रप्रवलकपिङ्गु[लो]ल्लून्फुल्लवङ्गादा ⁴कैलासान्न[वा]नीचलचरणरणन्नपुरो-
- 13 न्नादितान्तात् । यस्यान्नां भूमिपालाः करमुकुलमिलनमौ[लि]मालायमा-
नामानमैरु-
- 14 त्तमाङ्गैरवनितललुठज्जानवो मानयन्ति ॥ [७*] जित्वा जगन्निजभुजेन पुनर्जि-
गीषोः स्वर्गं
- 15 विजेतुमिव तस्य गतस्य राज्ञः ।(1) तत्राभवत्परमधात्ति पदे पितृव्यः
श्रीकृष्णराजनृप-
- 16 तिः प्रथितप्रतापः ॥ [८*] दिक्षुन्दरीवदनचान्दनपत्रभंगलीलायमानघनविस्तत-
[का]न्तकी-

Second Plate; First Side.

- 17 तैः [1*] श्रीराष्ट्रकूटकुलशैलमलंकरिणोस्तस्मादभून्निरुपमो निरवद्यशौर्यः
॥ [९*] कीर्त्तैः कु-
- 18 न्दरुचः समस्तभुवनप्रस्थानकुम्भः सितो लक्ष्म्याः पाणितले विलासकमलं पूर्ण-
- 19 न्दुविम्बद्युति⁵ । एकं कंपितकोसलेश्वरकरादाच्छिन्नमन्यत्पु[न]र्येनोदीचनरा-
धिपाद्य-
- 20 श इव श्वेतातपत्रं रणे ॥ [१०*] तस्मात्तेभे जगत्तुङ्गो जन्म सम्मानि-
तद्विजः । सोपि श्रीवल्ल-

¹ Read °परिख्यन्द.

² Read °हवानो°.

³ Read काष्ठी°.

⁴ Read °विस्व°.

⁵ Read °प्रबल°.

[illegible]

१८ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ कुलपते त्वं गच्छस्व मे कल्याणं ॥ विरयं गच्छस्व मे कल्याणं ॥
 २० कुरु मे कल्याणं ॥ मे कल्याणं कुरु मे कल्याणं ॥ मे कल्याणं कुरु मे कल्याणं ॥
 २२ मे कल्याणं कुरु मे कल्याणं ॥ मे कल्याणं कुरु मे कल्याणं ॥ मे कल्याणं कुरु मे कल्याणं ॥
 २४ मे कल्याणं कुरु मे कल्याणं ॥ मे कल्याणं कुरु मे कल्याणं ॥ मे कल्याणं कुरु मे कल्याणं ॥
 २६ मे कल्याणं कुरु मे कल्याणं ॥ मे कल्याणं कुरु मे कल्याणं ॥ मे कल्याणं कुरु मे कल्याणं ॥
 २८ मे कल्याणं कुरु मे कल्याणं ॥ मे कल्याणं कुरु मे कल्याणं ॥ मे कल्याणं कुरु मे कल्याणं ॥
 ३० मे कल्याणं कुरु मे कल्याणं ॥ मे कल्याणं कुरु मे कल्याणं ॥ मे कल्याणं कुरु मे कल्याणं ॥
 ३२ मे कल्याणं कुरु मे कल्याणं ॥ मे कल्याणं कुरु मे कल्याणं ॥ मे कल्याणं कुरु मे कल्याणं ॥

[illegible][illegible]

- 21 भं स्तुनं राजराजमजीजनत् ॥ [११*] निमग्नां यश्चलुक्वाधौ^१ रट्टराज्य-
 श्रियं पुनः [१*] पृथ्वी[मि]वोद्धर-
 22 श्रीरो वीरनारायणीभवत् ॥ [१२*] ^२समूलोन्मूलितस्तस्मान्दण्डेनानीतकण्टकः ।
 योदहृद्दे^३
 23 क्षिणश्चण्डचलुक्वांश्चणकानिव ॥ [१३*] उच्चैश्चलुक्वकुलकन्दलकालकेतोस्तस्मादक्ष-
 24 णचरितोजनि क्षणराजः । पीतापि कर्णपुटकैरसक्तजनेन कीर्त्तिः परि-
 25 भ्रमति यस्य शशाङ्ककान्तिः ॥ [१४*] उद्यद्दीधितिरत्नजालजटि[लं]
 व्याकृष्टमी-
 26 दृग्धनुः क्रुद्धे[नो]परि वैरिवीरशिरसामेवं विमुक्ताः शराः । धारासारिणि
 सेन्द्रचापव-
 27 लये यस्येत्यमब्दागमे^४ गर्ज्जङ्गूरसंगरव्यतिक[रं] जीर्णो जनः शंसति^५
 ॥ [१५*] अ-
 28 जनि जनितभंगो वैरि[वृ]न्दस्य तस्मादधरितमदनश्रीः श्रीजगत्तुंगदेवः ।
 ध्वजसर-
 29 सिजशंखप्रोल्लसच्चक्र[पाणि]र्विभवविजितविष्णुर्व्वल्लभो वीरलक्ष्म्याः ॥ [१६*]
 आसीत्कोप्यथ
 30 हैहयान्वयभवो भूपः सहस्रार्जुनो गर्ज्जङ्गूरयरावणोर्जितलसद्दोर्हण्डकण्डूह-
 31 रः [१*] विश्रान्तेः श्रवणेषु ना[क]सदसां यत्कीर्त्तिनामाक्षरैः सिद्धैः^६
 सान्द्रसुधारसेन लिखि-
 32 तैर्व्याप्ताः ककुब्भित्तयः^७ ॥ [१७*] वंशे तस्य सपत्नवंशपरशोः कोक्लभूपा-
 त्तजो राजा [श्री]-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 33 रणविग्रहसमभवच्चेदी[श्च]रः कीर्त्तिमान् । यस्यारातिपुरन्धिमण्डनमुषः रावर्षीपि^८
 पृथ्वीप-
 34 तिः सूर्यस्येन्दुरिव प्रयाति विकलः पक्षक्षये मण्डलम् ॥ [१८*] सकलगुण-
 गणाब्धेर्व्विष्णुरद्वाम-^९
 35 धाम्नः कलितकमलपाणिस्तस्य लक्ष्मीः सुताभूत् । यदुकुलकुसुदेन्दुः सुन्द-
 रीचित्तहारी

^१ Read °क्वाधौ.

^२ Read °सम्वा°.

^३ Read °दहृद्दे°.

^४ Read °मब्दागमे.

^५ Read शंसति.

^६ Read सिद्धैः.

^७ Read ककुब्भित्तयः.

^८ Read रावर्षीपि.

^९ Read °गणाब्धेर्व्विष्णुर°.

- 36 हरिरिव परिणिन्ये तां जगत्तुङ्गदेवः ॥ [१८*] चतुर्दधितटान्तस्थातशौर्योथ
ताभ्याम[भ]व-
- 37 दरिघरद्वो रङ्गकन्दर्पदेवः । मनसि कृतनिवासः कान्तसीमन्तिनीनां ^१सवाल-
जनशरणः पु-
- 38 खलावण्यराशिः ॥ [२०*] देवो ^२यश्चतुरम्बुराशिरशनारोचिष्णुविश्वम्भरामाक्रा-
मन्निजविक्रमेण स-
- 39 मभूत् श्रीकीर्तिनारायणः । श्रुत्वा जन्म यदीयमाकुलधियां जग्मुः समं
विद्विषां
- 40 दैन्यं वक्त्ररुचो मनांसि च भयं सेवांजलिं मौलयः ॥ [२१*] कृतगो-
वर्षनोद्धारं हेलो-
- 41 न्मूलितमेरुणा [१*] उपेन्द्रमिन्द्रराजेन जित्वा येन न विस्मितम् ॥ [२२*]
सकलजनममस्यः^४
- 42 सोथ कृत्वा नमस्यान्भुवनपतिरनेकान्देवभोगाग्रहारानां^५ उपरि परशुरामस्यैक-
- 43 कुग्रामदानस्फुरितगुणगरिम्णस्त्यागकीर्त्या बभूव^६ ॥ [२३*] स च परमभट्टारक-
महाराजाधिराज-
- 44 परमेश्वरश्रीमदकालवर्षदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वर-
- 45 श्रीमन्त्रित्यवर्षनरेन्द्रदेवः कुशली सर्वानेव ^७यथासंवध्यमानकात्राष्टपतिविषयपति-
ग्राम-
- 46 कूटयुक्तकनियुक्तकाधिकारिकमहत्तरादीन्समादिशत्यस्तु वः संविदितं यथा
श्रीमान्य-
- 47 खेटराजधानीनिवेशिना श्रीपट्टवन्धोत्सवाय^८ कुरुन्दकमागतेन मया माता-
पित्रोरात्म-
- 48 नक्षैहिकासुषिकपुण्ययशोभिष्टब्धये (१) लक्ष्मणसगोत्राय वाजिमाध्यन्दिनसब्रह्मचा-^९

Third Plate.

- 49 रिणे पाटलिपुत्रविनिर्गत[श्रीवेन्न]पभट्टसुताय सिद्धपभट्टाय लाटदेशान्तर्गत-
कम्मणिज्ज-
- 50 समीपे तेजनामग्रामः [१*] यस्य पूर्वतो वारडपल्लिका [१*] दक्षिणतो
नाम्नीतटकं [१*] पश्चिमतो वली-

^१ Read सकल°.^४ Read जनमस्यः.^७ Read संवध्य°.^२ Read रम्बु°.^५ Read हारान्।.^८ Read वन्धो°.^३ Read समसूची°.^६ Read बभूव.^९ Read सब्रह्म°.

- 51 शा [1*] उत्तरतो वव्वियणग्रामः [1*] एवमा[घा]टचतुष्टयोपलक्षितस्त्रीद्वंगः
सपरिकर[ः] सदण्ड-
- 52 दशापराधः सौत्यद्यमानविष्टिकः सधान्यहि[र]ण्या[दे*]योभ्यन्तरसिद्धया शकनृप-
कालातीतसंवत्सर-
- 53 शतेष्वष्टासु षट्त्रिंशदुत्तरेषु युवसंवत्सरफाल्गुनशुद्धसप्तम्यां संपन्ने श्रीपट्टवन्धोत्स-¹
- 54 वे तुलापुरुषमारुह्य तस्मादनुत्तरता च कुरुन्दकादीन् ग्रामानन्यान्यपि पूर्व-
पृथ्वीपालवि-
- 55 तुमानि चत्वारि ग्रामशतानि विंशतिद्रुमलक्षैस्सार्द्धैः सह विमुच्य ²वलि-
चरुवैश्वदेवाग्नि-
- 56 ह्रीन्नातिथिसंतर्पणार्थम(1)द्योदकातिसर्गेण दत्तोस्योचितया ³ब्रह्मदायस्थित्या
- 57 भुञ्जतो भोजयतः कृषतः कर्षयतः प्रतिदिशतो वान्यस्मै न केनचिदल्पापि
परि-
- 58 पन्थना कार्या [1*] तथागामिभिर्भद्रनृपतिभिरस्मद्वंशैरन्यैर्वा सामान्यं
भूमिदानफल-
- 59 सवेत्य स्वदायनिर्विशेषोयम[स्म]द्ब्रह्मदायोनुमन्तव्यः⁴ [1*] यश्चाज्ञानाल्लोपयति
स पंचभिर्भृहा-
- 60 पातकैः संयुक्तः स्यादु[क्तं] च भगवता व्यासेन । षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे
तिष्ठति भूमिदः [1*] आ[च्छे]-
- 61 त्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥ [२४*] अ[ग्ने]रपत्यं पथमं⁵
सुवर्णं भूर्वैष्णवी सूर्यसुताश्च [गा]-
- 62 वः [1*] लोकत्रयं तेन भवेद्वि दत्तं यः कांचनं गां च महीं च दद्यात् ॥
[२५*] सामान्यो[यं] धर्मसेतुनृपाणां
- 63 काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः । सर्वानेतान्माविनः पार्थिवेन्द्रान् भूयो भूयो
याचते रामभद्रः ॥ [२६*]
- 64 श्रीत्रिविक्रमभट्टेन [ने]मादित्यस्य सूनुना । कृता शस्ता प्रशस्तेयमिन्द्रराजां-
न्निसेविना ॥ [२७*] श्रीः [॥*]

TRANSLATION OF No. II.

Om. Hail!

(Verse 1.) May he (Vishṇu), the water-lily (*springing from*) whose navel was made (*his*)
abode by Vēdhas (Brahman), protect you, and Hara (Śiva) whose head is adorned by the beauti-
ful crescent of the moon !

¹ Read °वन्धी°.⁴ Read °सदन्नल्ल°.² Read वलि°.⁵ Read प्रथमं.³ Read ब्रह्म°.

(V. 2.) Victorious is (Kṛishṇa), (*who is*) the comet (*of destruction*) to Kamsa (*and is*) the friend of the gods, on whose chest, extensive as the Vindhya (*mountain*), dangles the pure Kaustubha, (*and*) on the stage of whose lotus-like face dance the side-glances of Lakshmi, with the pupils (*of her eyes*) languid through excess of love!

(V. 3.) Ever victorious is the king Indrarāja (III.), whose long arms (*were made her*) refuge by the goddess of Wealth, who has rooted out in battles the circle of (*his*) enemies difficult to withstand, who has seized the territories of the mighty, (*and who is*) the lion (*i.e.* the best) among men, just as Upendra (Vishṇu) is ever victorious, whose long arms (*were made her*) support by (*the goddess*) Lakshmi, who held up in battles (*his*) discus bearing spokes and difficult to resist, who carried off Bali and (*his*) legions (*to Pātāla*), (*and who was*) a man-lion (*in his fourth incarnation*).

(V. 4.) The self-existent (Brahman) was born of the wide and blooming water-lily springing from the navel of (Vishṇu) the lord of Śrī; of him was born (*his*) son Atri; (*and*) of him again (*i.e.* of Atri) the Moon that overflows with rays of nectar. From him there grew on earth the lineage of the Yadus, amongst whom (*at one time*) flourished (Vishṇu) the wielder of the Śārṅga (bow) (*in his eighth incarnation as Kṛishṇa*), who was worshipped by the lotus-eyes of cowherdresses with every kind of flirtation.

(V. 5.) In that family there arose the illustrious king Dantidurga, born in the great Sātyaki branch, the best of men, whose hand (*bore*) the (*auspicious*) marks of the conch and discus, (*and*) to whom of herself came the goddess of wealth of the Chālukya family, just as (*in that family*) there arose Purushōttama (Kṛishṇa), who prolonged the line of Sātyaki,¹ who (*held*) the conch and discus in (*his*) hands as (*his peculiar*) characteristics, (*and*) to whom of herself came (*the goddess*) Lakshmi from the ocean.

(V. 6.) The hand (*i.e.* the prowess) of this (*prince*), matchless in battle, having (*first*) established itself on the beautiful lowermost region of the earth, and having again overcome in a gentle manner at its own will the central region (*Madhyadēśa*), again established itself in the province of Kāñchī, just as the hand (*of a lover*), after (*first*) establishing itself on the hips of a woman, attractive to the heart, and pressing again gently at its will (*her*) waist, again establishes itself on the region (*below the waist*) where the girdle (*is worn*).

(V. 7.) His orders, forming a wreath on (*their*) crests with which came in contact (*their*) hands (*joined*) like buds, (*all*) kings respect with (*their*) heads slightly bent (*and*) with (*their*) knees rolling about on the surface of the earth, from Sētu (Rāmēśvaram), where the blossoming *lavaniga* (trees) are destroyed on the declivities of mountain-tops by hosts of powerful monkeys, as far as the Kailāsa (*mountain*), the outskirts of which resound with the jingling anklets on the moving feet of Bhavāni.

(V. 8.) When that king, after conquering the world by his own arm, had gone to heaven as if to conquer (*it*), being desirous of a fresh victory,—(*his*) paternal uncle, the illustrious king Kṛishṇarāja (I.), of well-known prowess, occupied his position of supreme majesty.

(V. 9.) Nirupama, of spotless valour, sprang from that (*king*), whose fame, solid, extensive and bright, diverted itself in the form of the lines of sandal-painting on the faces of the beauties, (*viz.*) the quarters, (*and*) who adorned the mountain (*consisting of*) the family of the glorious Rāshṭrakūṭas.

(V. 10.) From the hand of the trembling lord of the Kōśalas was snatched away by him in battle one white (*regal*) parasol, which was the white (*auspicious*) water-pitcher for the setting out of (*his*) fame, bright as the *kunda* (flower), on a journey over the whole world, (*and*) which

¹ "Patr. of Yuyudhāna (a warrior in the Pāṇḍu army who acted as the charioteer of Kṛishṇa and belonged to the Vṛishṇi family)."—Monier-Williams' Dictionary.

was the toy-lotus, resplendent as the disc of the full moon, on the palm of the hand of Lakshmi; another again (*was snatched away by him*) from the king of the northern (*country*) as if it were (*his*) glory.

(V. 11.) From him obtained birth Jagattuṅga, who honoured the twice-born; he in his turn begat as son the king of kings Śrīvallabha.

{V. 12.) This (*prince*), possessed of fortitude, on raising again the glory of the Raṭṭa kingdom, drowned in the ocean of the Chalukyas, became (*i.e.* assumed the epithet of) Viranārāyaṇa, just as (Vishṇu), again uplifting the earth, drowned in the ocean, became Viranārāyaṇa (*i.e.* the heroic Nārāyaṇa).

(V. 13.) Having, by means of punishment, put down obnoxious persons, he destroyed the fiery Chalukyas, (*his*) enemies, who had completely devastated (*the city of*) Stamba,¹ just as (*a gardener*), after removing the thorns by means of a stick, burns chick-peas, the stalks of which have been plucked out with the roots.

(V. 14.) From him, who was the comet of destruction to the plantain tree, (*vis.*) the high family of the Chalukyas, was born Kṛṣṇarāja (II.), of spotless life, whose fame, bright as the moon, wanders about, though constantly drunk by the people by means of the cavities of (*their*) ears.

(V. 15.) On the advent of clouds, when there is a heavy downpour of rain (*and*) when the circular rainbow (*appears in the sky*), the old men thus describe the event of his fight with the roaring Gūrjara :—"Thus did (*he*) in anger draw (*his*) bow, studded with a series of gems darting forth rays; thus did (*he*) discharge arrows at the heads of the warriors of (*his*) enemy."

(V. 16.) From him was born the illustrious Jagattuṅgadēva, who caused the destruction of the multitude of (*his*) enemies, who surpassed the beauty of Madana, who was the beloved of the goddess of Heroism, (*the palm of each of*) whose hands (*bore the auspicious sign of*) a discus shining by means of (*the marks of*) a banner, a lotus and a conch, (*and*) who (*thus*) by (*his*) greatness excelled Viṣṇu.

(V. 17.) There was a king (*named*) Sahasrārjuna, sprung from the Haihaya lineage, who relieved the itching sensation² of the powerful and shining long arms of the roaring and invincible Rāvaṇa, (*and*) the letters (*setting forth*) whose fame and name, finding a resting-place in the ears of the gods, (*and*) written by the Siddhas with the dense fluid of nectar, covered the walls of the quarters.

(V. 18.) In the dynasty of him who was an axe to the families of (*his*) enemies, there arose the renowned illustrious king Raṇavigraha, the son of king Kokkalla (*and*) the lord of Chēdi, into whose circle (*of feudatory princes*), pilferer as he was of the ornaments of the wives of (*his*) enemies, entered every enfeebled lord of the earth on the destruction of (*his*) partisans, just as the moon, destitute of (*all*) the digits, enters the disc of the sun at the end of the (*dark*) fortnight.

(V. 19.) From him who was the receptacle of a collection of all virtues (*and*) the abode of resplendent majesty, there was born a daughter (*named*) Lakshmi, possessed of lotus-like hands, [just as from the ocean, which is the abode (*of the sun*) of intensely gleaming rays, there sprang Lakshmi, possessed of a lotus in (*her*) hand]; Jagattuṅgadēva, the moon to the night-lotus of the Yādu race (*and*) the ravisher of the hearts of beautiful women, married her (*vis.* Lakshmi, the daughter of Raṇavigraha), just as Hari, the moon to the night-lotus of the Yādu race (*and*) the ravisher of the hearts of beautiful women, married her (*vis.* the goddess Lakshmi).

¹ The same as Tāmralipta, *i.e.* Tamlūk; see p. 27 above.

² [Compare *Śitupālavadha*, I. 48.]

(V. 20.) From these two sprang Ratṭa-Kandarpadēva, whose bravery was known as far as the shores of the four oceans, who was a grinding-stone to (*his*) enemies, who dwelt in the hearts of beautiful women, who was a refuge to all men, (*and*) who was a store of merit and beauty, [just as from (Hari and Lakshmi) sprang the god Kandarpa (*i.e.* Cupid), whose prowess is known as far as the shores of the four oceans, who is a grinding-stone to (*his*) enemies, who abides in the minds of beautiful women, who is a refuge to all persons, (*and*) who is a store of heavenly beauty].

(V. 21.) This king, overrunning, by means of his own valour, the earth shining with the girdle of the four oceans, became (*i.e.* was known as) Śrī-Kīrti-Nārāyaṇa, just as the god (Vishnu), covering, with his stride, the earth shining with the girdle of the four oceans, was known as Śrī-Kīrti-Nārāyaṇa; on hearing of whose birth, the lustre of the faces, the minds, and the heads of (*his*) enemies, whose understanding was bewildered, simultaneously experienced dejection, fear, and the cavity of the hands folded (*as a mark of*) servitude.

(V. 22.) This Indrarāja (III.), having uprooted Mēru (Mahōdaya?) with ease, was not puffed up with pride at (*his*) defeating (*king*) Upēndra who had saved Gōvardhana, just as the god Indra, who uprooted (*Mount*) Mēru with ease, was not puffed up with pride at (*his*) vanquishing (*the god*) Upēndra (Kṛishṇa) who had uplifted the Gōvardhana (*mountain*).¹

(V. 23.) This lord of the earth, entitled to obeisance from all men, on founding many endowments to temples and *agrahāras* (to Brāhmaṇas), to be respected (*by all*), became, in point of fame for charity, superior to Paraśurāma, the greatness of whose merits shone by the gift of a single insignificant village.²

(Ll. 43-56.) And he, the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara*, the prosperous Nityavarshanarēndradēva, who meditates on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara*, the prosperous Akālavarshadēva, being well, commands all the lords of provinces (*rāshṭra*), lords of districts (*vishaya*), chiefs of villages, leading persons, officials, employés, functionaries, *etc.*, according as they are concerned :—

"Be it known to you that by Me, who resides at the capital of Mānyakhēṭa (*and*) who has come to Kurundaka for the glorious festival of the binding of the fillet,—for the enhancement of the religious merit and fame, in this world and the next, of (*My*) parents and Myself—with heartfelt devotion—eight centuries of years increased by thirty-six having elapsed since the time of the Śaka king, on the seventh (*tithi*) of the bright (fortnight) of Phālguna in the Yuva-samvatsara—having, on the completion of the glorious festival of the binding of the fillet, ascended the *Tulāpurusha*,³ and having, without coming down from the pan, given away, together with twenty lakhs and a half of *drammas*, Kurundaka and other villages, and four hundred villages besides, that had been confiscated by previous kings,—was bestowed to-day, by pouring water from the hand, for the sake of the *Bali*, *Charu*, *Vaiśvadēva*, *Agnihōtra* and *Atithisantarpana*,—upon Siddhapabhaṭṭa, of the Lakshmaṇa *gōtra*, a student of the Vāji-Mādhyandina (*śākhā*), (*and*) the son of Śrī-Vennapabhaṭṭa who had come from Pāṭaliputra,—the village of the name of Tenna in the vicinity of Kammanijja situated in the country of Lāṭa, defined by the four boundaries, *viz.* to the east Vāraḍapallikā, to the south Nāmbhitāṭaka, to the west Valiśā, (*and*) to the north the village of Vavviyana,⁴ together with the royal share,

¹ There can hardly be a doubt that this verse is intended to yield two meanings, one mythological and the other historical. The first is clear, but the historical sense is by no means evident; see above, p. 27 f.

² There is here a play on the word *ku*, which means both 'the earth' and 'insignificant.'

³ "Gift of gold, *etc.*, equal to a man's weight."—Monier-Williams' *Dictionary*.

⁴ According to No. I. l. 49 ff.—"upon Prabhākaraḥṭṭa, of the Lakshmaṇa *gōtra*, a student of the Vāji-Mādhyandina (*śākhā*), and the son of Rānapabhaṭṭa,—the village of the name of Umvarā in the vicinity of Kammanijja situated in the country of Lāṭa, defined by the four boundaries, *viz.* to the east Tōlējaka, to the south Mōgalikā, to the west the village of Saṅki, (*and*) to the north Javalakūpaka."

with the appurtenances, with (*the proceeds of the punishments for*) faults and the ten offences, with (*the right to*) forced labour as it arises, with the assessment in grain and gold.

(Ll. 56-59.) "No hindrance should in the slightest degree be caused by any one to him while enjoying (*this village*), allowing (*others*) to enjoy (*it*), cultivating (*it*), causing (*it*) to be cultivated, or assigning (*it*) to another, in accordance with the manner of a gift to a Brāhmaṇa. Likewise, this My gift to a Brāhmaṇa should be assented to, just as if it were their own gift, by the good kings of the future, whether My descendants or others, bearing in mind that the fruit of a gift of land is common (*both to the grantor and to the preserver*)."

[L. 59 f. and vv. 24-26 contain the usual admonitions to future rulers.]

(V. 27.) This praiseworthy panegyric¹ was composed by the illustrious Trivikramabhaṭṭa, the son of Nēmāditya (*and*) serving the feet of Indrarāja.

No. 5.—RAGHOLI PLATES OF JAYAVARDHANA II.

BY HIRA LAL, B.A., M.R.A.S.; NAGPUR.

These plates were kindly sent to me by Mr. C. E. Low, I.C.S., Deputy Commissioner of the Bālāghāt district, Central Provinces. They were found in the village Ragholi belonging to the Sāletekri Zamīndārī, now under the Court of Wards and included in the Baihar tahsil of that district, by a cultivator while ploughing the field. There are three copper-plates, of which the second and third bear writing on both sides; the third plate has only two lines on the reverse side. The plates are broader in the middle than at the top or at the bottom. At the broadest part they measure nearly $6\frac{7}{8}$ inches, and the average height is $5\frac{1}{2}$ ". They are held together by a circular ring, $2\frac{5}{16}$ " in diameter, which is somewhat thicker and rugged at the place where the two ends are soldered together. A circular seal with tasselled borders is attached to the ring and was put on it before the ends of the ring were soldered together. The seal has in two lines the legend *Śrī-Jayavardhanadēvasya*, which is enclosed by ornamental circles running round the bottom of the tassels. The ring was cut and resoldered by Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya, who kindly took for me the impressions which are reproduced on the accompanying Plate. The copper-plates were found when Mr. Low was writing the *Gazetteer of the Bālāghāt District*, in which an extract from my translation has already appeared.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, written in characters belonging to the northern class of alphabets. The average size of the letters is about $\frac{1}{4}$ ". They are badly formed and somewhat difficult to read. The first 20 lines of the inscription (excepting the opening words *Om svasti Śrīvardhanapurāt*) and again lines 35 to 45 are in verse. The rest is Sanskrit prose. Final forms of *t* occur in lines 1 and 38, and one of *m* in line 45. The letter *b* is not distinguished from *v*. A notable orthographical peculiarity occurs in lines 32 f. and 40 f., where we find *mv* written for *m* in *tāmora* and *kamvala*. On the other hand *b* is omitted in *kuṭumina* (l. 24) for *kuṭumbinaḥ*, but regularly expressed by *v* in *dalāmvu* (l. 41). The letters with a *rēpha* at the top sometimes assume a very peculiar shape such as in *sarva* (l. 25) and *varsha* (l. 37). At other places they have the usual form, as in *surva* (l. 29). There is also a tendency to change the final forms of nasals into *anusvāra* in contravention of the accepted grammatical rules, as in *pramukhām* (l. 24) and *purushām* (l. 25). The *ka* of *kamvala* in line 40 f. has a peculiar form and differs from other *kas* occurring in the inscription.

¹ The word *prastā* is here evidently used in the same sense as *prastā*.

castes, which trace their origin to some such inanimate objects as scarecrows, dirt from Mahādēva's body, or the sweat of his brow. In fact the aboriginal Gonds aver that their leader Lingo liberated the first men of the tribe from a cave in the Iron valley in the Red hill by removing a stone 16 cubits high with which Mahādēva had closed the mouth of the cave, and out came 16 scores of Gonds at once.¹ The Śailōdbhava origin would thus appear something like an improvement on this story. Recognising the tendency, which has always existed and still exists, to adopt eponymous names under the influence of what Sir Alfred Lyall calls the gradual Brāhmanising of castes, it would not be surprising to find a family with a dubious patronymic insinuating a non-Brāhmanical origin, preferring a metronymic connected with so holy a deity as the Ganges, in spite of the Kshatriya mode of calling themselves after the male parent. It will then be asked why in the present grant the Śailavaiṣṇava was at all mentioned, to which an answer may be found in the fact that there are always three classes of people: the conservatives or those who would stick to the old things only, the moderates who would tolerate both the new and the old, and the extremists who would wholly discard the old, and probably the donor of the present grant belonged to the second class. All this is, however, extremely hypothetical, and I only hazard it in the hope that a better explanation may be forthcoming. By the way I may mention that it was the Gāṅgavaiṣṇava kings of Orissa who revived Sun-worship and built many temples dedicated to that deity;² and again most of the officials, such as *samāhartṛi* and *sannidhātṛi* (l. 24), are those chiefly found in the grants of Orissa kings. These are other items in support of the donor's family connection with Orissa.

With regard to the places mentioned in the grant, I identify Khaddikā with Khadi, a village three miles north-east of Ragholi where the plates were found. It is only a Sanskritised name like Lañjikā³ for Lanji, which is also not very far away from this place. Kaṭēraka is probably the present Katera near Katangi, 60 miles west of Ragholi. I cannot identify Chaṭṭullīha, unless it is a mistake for Raghullīha or Ragholi, where the plates have been found. With the elision of a little stroke in the first letter, and giving a slightly slanting position to the second, the word would read as Raghullīha. This may find support from the fact that the engraving of the grant is very defective, and that several other mistakes have been committed in lines 33, 40, 44, etc. I cannot find in the Central Provinces a place answering to Śrīvardhana-pura. It could not be Śrīvardhana in the Bombay Presidency, the famous seaport referred to by European travellers as Ziffardān and celebrated as the birth-place of the first Peshwa.⁴ From what has been stated above, the family would seem to have come from a seaport in the east rather than from the west. But the place must be searched for nearer home, and it may be that it is now non-existent. The probability is that it was situated somewhere near Rāmtek in the Nāgpur district. Five miles from this place there is a village called Nagardhan which was known as Nandivardhana⁵ in olden times, and local traditions assert that the surrounding country was ruled from that place by Kshatriya Rājas.⁶ The village contains ancient remains and is mentioned as the name of a district together with Nāgpur in the Dēoli plates of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III. dated in the year 940 A.D.⁷ It is plain therefore that

¹ Cunningham's *Reports*, Vol. IX. p. 158.

² See Hunter's *Orissa*, Vol. I. p. 279 f. Dr. Hunter says:—"At a remote period, Sun-worship, driven out of Vēdic India by materializing superstitions, found shelter on the secluded Eastern coast. Its existence in Orissa in ancient times is proved not only by the fact of a specific division of the country being devoted to it, but also by the rock writings The most exquisite memorial of Sun-worship in India, or I believe in any country, is the temple of Konārak upon the Orissa shore."

³ In the Ratanpur inscription of Jājalladēva, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 33.

⁴ *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XI. p. 467.

⁵ Mr. Craddock's *Settlement Report*, 1895, p. 15.

⁶ It may be borne in mind that this part of the country was for a long time under Gonds and afterwards the Marāṭhas, and as a rule the memory of these only survives.

⁷ Above, Vol. V. p. 196 f.

Nandi¹ ardhana must have been a place of great importance before it gave its name to the district. I hold that this was founded by a successor of Jayavardhana II. who removed the capital from Śrīvardhanapura, also named after a king of the same line, to the place to which he gave his own name.¹ The Rāshtrakūṭas rose in power on this side in the eighth century, and it is probably they who displaced the Śailavarmśa dynasty of the Vindhya mountains. Nandivardhana or Nagardhana is about 100 miles from Ragholi, and both were included in the same district about a century ago. It may also be stated that, so far as I have been able to find, there are no other villages ending in *vardhana* in Bālāghāt or any of the surrounding districts, and the name is so peculiarly different from those of other villages in the locality that it may almost be called unique; for these reasons the location of Śrīvardhanapura round about Nandivardhana or Rāmtek carries at least a certain probability with it.

TEXT.²

Seal.

1 श्रीजयव-

2 र्जनदेवस्य [॥*]

First Plate.

- 1 श्री स्वस्ति श्रीवर्जनपुरात् [॥*] ³कैलासाचलतुङ्गशृङ्ग-
- 2 विपुलद्रोणोजयेश्वरभुः⁴ प्रख्यातो भुवि शैलवं-
- 3 शतिलकः श्री — —⁵वर्जनो यो नृपः । तत्पुत्रः पृथव-
- 4 र्जनो निजभुजव्याकुलदृष्टः⁶ मुया⁷ देशं गौर्जरमास-
- 5 साद सहसा विक्रान्तिभिर्यस्ततः ॥ [१*] तदंशप्रभवो
- 6 व्यजोर्जनदलं सौवर्जनो भूपतिर्भूचक्रक-
- 7 मलम्बविक्रमयशः⁸ पुत्रत्रयं त्वीरसं । ते-
- 8 ⁹षामुर्जितवैरिदारणपटुं पौण्ड्राधिपं क्षाप-
- 9 तिं हत्वैको विषयं तमेव सकलं जग्राह श्री-
- 10 र्यान्वितः ॥ [२*] ताभ्यामन्यतमो विहृत्य सहसा द-
- 11 र्पोद्धतं दारुणं काशं काशिनराधिपं सित-

Second Plate; First Side.

- 12 गुणो जग्राह जेता द्विषां । तत्पुत्रो जयवर्जने-
- 13 ति वचसा ख्यातो वरो भूभृतां विन्ध्ये विन्ध्यनरेशमेव

¹ It is noticeable that all names of this line end in *vardhana*.

² From the original plates. I am indebted to Pr. f. Hultzsch for a few corrections in my readings.

³ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita; also of the two next verses.

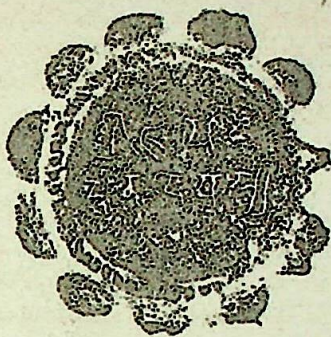
⁴ Read 'जवर्ज'.

⁵ There are two letters here which appear to have been struck off by the engraver. The metre also shows that they were redundant.

⁶ Read पुरा.

⁷ Read 'लम्ब'.

⁸ Read 'मूर्जित'.



i.

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ii a.

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ii b.

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iii a.

34

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38

40

42

44

iii b.

46

- 14 सुचिरं हत्वा चकार स्थितिं ॥ [३*] ¹मातङ्गदानक्षतदीनचे-
 15 ष्टः ²सर्वज्ञितानेकविशालवंशः । विन्ध्येश्वरो विन्ध्य
 16 इवाचलश्रीः श्रीवर्द्धनस्तस्य सुतो वभूव³ ॥ [४*] ⁴तस्या-
 17 व्यजः सकलवैरिविनाशदक्षो जातो महा-
 18 गुणनिधिर्जयवर्द्धनाख्यः । लक्ष्मीप्रगाढ-
 19 परिरंभणपीडिताङ्गं दृष्ट्वा दिवं यमगमय-
 20 वेव कीर्तिः ॥ [५*] परममाहेश्वरो मातापितृपादा-
 21 नुध्यातः सकलविन्ध्याधिपतिः महाराजाधिरा-
 22 जपरमेश्वरश्रीजयवर्द्धनदेवः कुशलो

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 23 कटेरकविषयीयखट्वाकायां ब्राह्मणा[न्*]⁵ संपूज्य प्रति-
 24 वासिनोन्यांश्च कुटुम्बिन⁶ (1) समाहर्तृसन्निधादप्रसुखां⁷
 25 यथाकालाध्यासिनः सर्वराजपुरुषां⁸ विषयपतीं-
 26 श्च समान्नापयति [॥*] विदितमस्तु भवता⁹ यथास्माभिर-
 27 यं ग्रामः सनिधिः सोपनिधिः सर्वकरादान-
 28 समेतः प्रतिषिद्धचाटभटप्रवेशः सदशा-
 29 पराधः सर्वपीडाविवर्जितः चटुस्त्रिहप्रतिष्ठि-
 30 तश्रीमदादित्यभट्टारकाय अधिष्ठानविन्नमिकया
 31 ¹⁰कात्तिक्यामुदकपूर्वमाचन्द्रार्कग्रहसमकालोप-
 32 भीगार्थं मातापितृचोरात्मनश्च पुण्याभिष्टुत्ये ता-
 33 ¹¹म्नशासनेन प्रतिपादित इत्यवगत¹² समुचितभो-

Third Plate; First Side.

- 34 गभागादिकं भक्ता¹³ सुखं वस्तुव्यं ॥ तथा चोक्तं धर्म-
 35 शास्त्रे ॥ ¹⁴बहुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिः सगरादि-
 36 भिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं ॥ [६*]
 37 षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः । आ-

¹ Metre: Indravajra.² Read सर्वज्ञिता°.³ Read वभूव.⁴ Metre: Vasantatilaka. The simile here is विरुद्धमतिकारिका; compare श्रीनयीगाद्विदुमिव गतेत्यस्युधिं यस्य कीर्तिः in the *Śāhityaparakāśa*, 7th *ullāsa*, *śloka* 241. For this parallel quotation I am indebted to Pandit Hirananda Sastri, M.A.⁵ Read ब्राह्मणान्.⁶ Read कुटुम्बिनः.⁷ Read प्रसुखान्.⁸ Read पुरुषान्.⁹ Read भवता°.¹⁰ Read कार्तिक्या°.¹¹ Read ताव°.¹² Read इत्यवगत.¹³ Read सुखा.¹⁴ Read बहु°.

- 38 च्छेत्ता चानुतन्ता¹ च तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥ [७*] स्वद-
 39 तां परदत्ता² वा यो हरेत वसुन्धरां । स विष्ठा-
 40 यां कर्मिभूता³ पितृभिः सह पच्यते ॥ [८*] इति क-
 41 'म्वलदतास्वविन्दुलोलां श्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्य-
 42 जीवितं च सकलमिदमुदाहृत⁴ च बुद्ध्या⁵ न हि पुरु-
 43 षैः परकीर्तयो विलोप्याः ॥ [९*] श्रीश्रीवर्धनदेव-
 44 स्य पाद[पद्मोप]जीविना⁶ । श्रीमहाचण्डपालेन लि-

Third Plate ; Second Side.

- 45 खितं शासनं शुभम् । [१०*] प्रवर्द्धमानविज-
 46 यरान्ये सख⁸ ३ कार्त्तिके [१] दिन ३० [११*]

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) *Om. Hail! From Śrīvardhanapura.*

(Verse 1.) (*There was*) king Śrīvardhana (I.), the lord of the family of her⁹ who was born in the great valley of the lofty peaks of the Kailāsa mountain, (*and*) famous on (*this*) earth (*as*) the ornament of the Śailavamśa. His son Prithuvardhana, formerly having drawn the sword with his own arm, at once overcame the Gaurjara country by (*his various*) attacks.

(V. 2.) King Sauvardhana, who was born in his family, begat three sons of his own, who in due course acquired the glory of heroism on the circle of the earth. One of them, possessing valour, having killed the Pauṇḍra king who was skilled in rending up (*his*) powerful enemies, took the whole of that country.

(V. 3.) The third of them,¹⁰ of white (*i.e.* pure) character, the vanquisher of foes, having forcibly killed the self-conceited (*and*) cruel king of the Kāśis, took Kāśi (*from him*). His son, known by the name of Jayavardhana (I.), the best of kings, having killed the lord of the Vindhya, took up his residence in the Vindhya for a long time.

(V. 4.) His son was Śrīvardhana (II.), the lord of the Vindhya, who possessed immovable (*permanent*) wealth like the immovable Vindhya mountain itself, who banished poverty by gifts of elephants, (*and*) who augmented the prosperity of various (*other*) big families.

(V. 5.) His son, skilled in destroying all (*his*) enemies (*and*) a treasury of great virtues, was called Jayavardhana (II.). The goddess of Wealth so closely embraced him that the goddess of Fame, as if (*jealous of her cowife*), out of anger ascended to the heavens.¹¹

¹ Read चानुतन्ता.

² Read परदत्ता.

³ Read कर्मिभूता.

⁴ Read कमलदत्तास्वविन्दु⁰.

⁵ Read सुदाहृतं.

⁶ Read बुद्ध्या.

⁷ The words in brackets are very common in inscriptions; see *e.g. Ind. Ant.* Vol. IV. p. 210, note 3.

⁸ Read संवत्.

⁹ I take *drōṇīja-vamśa* to stand for *drōṇījā-vamśa* in accordance with Pāṇ. VI. 3. 63. and to mean the *Gaṅgā-vamśa*.

¹⁰ Literally, 'another than the two.'

¹¹ The idea is that he was very wealthy, and that his fame reached up to the heavens.

(L. 20.) The devout worshipper of Mahāśvara (Śiva), who meditated on the feet of his parents, the lord of the whole Vindhya, the *Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara*, the illustrious Jayavardhanadēva, being in good health, having worshipped the Brāhmaṇas in (*the village*) Khaddikā in the district (*vishaya*) of Kaṭēraka, issues a command to the inhabitants and other householders (*as well as*) revenue collectors, receivers of public property and so forth, as they are appointed from time to time, (*and*) to all state officers and provincial governors.

(L. 26.) "Let it be known to you that this village is given by Us, with hidden treasures (*and*) deposits, together with (*the right of*) taking all the dues, with the prohibition for the regular or irregular forces to enter (*the village*), with (*the fines leviable on*) the ten offences,¹ free from all troubles, to (*the temple of*) the holy Āditya-bhaṭṭāraka (*i.e.* the Sun-god) set up at Chaṭṭulliha, at the request of the residence (*vis.* Śrīvardhanapura, l. 1), on the Kārttikī (*tithi*), with libations of water, to be enjoyed as long as the moon, the sun and the planets endure, for the purpose of increasing the religious merit of (*Our*) parents and of Ourselves, by (*this*) copper-plate charter. Knowing this, let (*all*) live happily, enjoying (*their*) due portion of rights, *etc.* And it is thus enjoined in the *Dharmaśāstra* :"—

[Here follow four of the customary imprecatory verses.]

(V. 10.) (*This*) auspicious charter was written by the illustrious Mahāchandaṇapāla, who subsisted on the lotus-feet of the illustrious Śrīvardhanadēva.

(L. 45.) The year 3 of the augmenting and victorious reign, the 30th day of Kārttika.

No. 6.—MALIYAPUNDI GRANT OF AMMARAJA II.

By PROFESSOR E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.; HALLE (SAALE).

This interesting record of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty was first published in 1905 by Messrs. A. Butterworth and V. Venugopal Chetti in their *Nellore District Inscriptions*, p. 164 ff., with seven photographic Plates. The original copper-plates had been "discovered by Mr. Venugopal Chetti in the Rāmaṅgēśvarasvāmī temple at Madanūr, a village about 10 miles from Ongole, Nellore district." I re-edit the inscription from ink-impressions supplied by Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya, to whom the original plates were kindly forwarded at my request by Mr. Butterworth, and who contributes the following remarks on them :—

"These are five copper-plates, measuring $9\frac{1}{2}$ " by about $4\frac{5}{8}$ ". The first and last plates bear writing only on their inner side and have raised rims about $\frac{3}{8}$ " high only on their engraved side. The three remaining plates, which bear writing on both sides, have rims of the same height projecting on both sides.² Through holes ($\frac{7}{8}$ " in diameter), bored on the left margin of each plate, is passed a circular ring, which appears to have been cut and re-soldered before the plates came into my hands. The ring measures $5\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter and is a little more than $\frac{1}{2}$ " thick. Its ends, which are slightly thinner, are secured in the upper part of an expanded lotus flower of eight petals. To the lower part of the same lotus, which is fashioned into a rim-like projection, is soldered a circular seal, which measures $2\frac{1}{4}$ " in diameter and is nearly $\frac{3}{8}$ " thick. It bears, in relief on a countersunk surface, the legend *Śrī-Tribhuvandāku[śa]* in the centre, in characters similar to those of the inscription. Below

¹ These were probably killing (murder), theft, wrong action (adultery), slander, harsh language, untruthfulness, incoherent conversation, uncivility, atheism and perverse behaviour, enumerated as *daśadhā pāpakarma* in the *Sukranṭi*, *adhyāya* 3, *śloka* 6.

² The high rims are responsible for the fact that some symbols at the beginning and the end of lines have not come out well in the ink-impressions.

the legend is an expanded lotus flower, and above it a running (?) boar facing the proper left. In front of the boar is an elephant goad, and behind its tail a crescent."

The alphabet is of the same Telugu type as in other grants of the same dynasty and period. No distinction is made between secondary *ô* and *au*, and secondary *i* and *û* is often written as *i* and *u*. Final *k* occurs in line 32, *t* in ll. 8, 30 and 51, *n* in ll. 10, 18, 24, 37, 39, 52, and *m* in ll. 5, 7, 9, 11, 12, 51, 54, 55 and 60. The *jihvāmālīya* is used in ll. 42, 51, and the *upadhmanīya* in ll. 10, 41, 43, 46 and 51.

The following orthographical irregularities deserve to be noted. Against one of Pāṇini's rules (VIII. 4, 49) the *sh* of *varsha* is doubled in ll. 8 and 11, but not in ll. 13, 18, 25 and 40. Some spellings are due to the Telugu pronunciation. Thus we find *yētaḍ* (l. 57) for *ētaḍ*, *yuttara* (ll. 54 f. and 57, but not in l. 59) for *uttara*, *raḥṣhaṇāyayiva* (l. 47 f.) for *raḥṣhaṇāy-aiva*, *aruha* (l. 50) for *arha*, *kṛishṭa* (l. 39) for *kṛishṇa*. Dental *n* is employed instead of lingual *ṇ* in *Kiranapuram* and *kṛishṇa* (l. 43), *punya* (ll. 49, 50), *ābharana* (ll. 49, 53), *ganēsa* (l. 50), *yuttarāyana* (l. 54 f.). The vowel *ṛi* is replaced by *ri* in *kṛishṇa* (l. 43), *śadriśō* (l. 52) and *kṛitvā* (l. 56). The palatal sibilant is improperly used in *śaṁha* (l. 50) for *saṁgha* and *śadriśō* (l. 52) for *sadriśō*.

The language is Sanskrit prose, interspersed with 20 Sanskrit verses. In ll. 56-60 some names of villages, tanks and fields appear in their Telugu forms. At the end of the record the usual imprecatory verses and the names of the *Ājñapti*, composer and writer are missing.

As the inscription records a grant to a Jaina temple, it opens with an invocation of the Jaina religion (v. 1). Ll. 3-41 contain the genealogy of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty down to *Samastabhuvanāśraya Vijayāditya* (VI.) or *Ammarāja* (II.), the date of whose coronation is given in the same two verses (18 f.) as in his *Paḍaṅkalūru* grant.¹ The genealogical portion contains two passages of historical importance, the first (ll. 13-16) describing the reign of *Vijayāditya* III., and the second (ll. 22-32) the accession of Chālukya-Bhīma II.

The Pithāpuram inscription of Mallapadēva reports that *Vijayāditya* III. slew Maṅgirāja, burnt Chakrakūṭa, terrified Saṅkila, residing in Kiranapura and joined by Kṛishṇa, restored his dignity to Vallabhendra, and received elephants as tribute from the king of Kalinga.² The slaying of Maṅgi is referred to also in three other inscriptions.³ The second of them adds the burning of Kiranapura, and the third states that the king, having terrified Kṛishṇa and Saṅkila, completely burnt their city. Hitherto we did not know who Maṅgi and Saṅkila were. Verse 3 of the Maliyapūṇḍi grant calls the former 'the king of the great Nodamba-rāshṭra' and the second 'the lord of the excellent Dā[ha]la.' Thus Maṅgi seems to have been one of the Pallavas of Nalambavāḍi⁴ and Saṅkila an early chief of Dāhala (or Chēdi). While two of the above-mentioned inscriptions couple the name of Saṅkila with that of Kṛishṇa, the Maliyapūṇḍi grant (v. 3) states that Saṅkila was 'joined by the fierce Vallabha.' The *Nellore District Inscriptions* (p. 169, note 5) correctly conclude from this that Saṅkila's ally Kṛishṇa was a Vallabha, i.e. a Rāshṭrakūṭa. Hence my former identification of this Kṛishṇa with the Paramāra king Kṛishṇarāja⁵ must be wrong, and he may be identified, as was done by Dr. Fleet,⁶ with the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa II. The latter is known to have been connected with the Chēdi family, being the son-in-law of Kokkalla (I.) and the brother-in-law of Śaṅkuka.⁷ I feel no hesitation in identifying Saṅkila of Dāhala with Śaṅkuka (or Śaṅkaragaṇa) of Chēdi, the son of Kokkalla I., but am unable to identify Kiranapura, where Saṅkila resided according to the

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 16. Ll. 23-34 of this grant are identical with ll. 32-41 of the Maliyapūṇḍi grant.

² Above, Vol. IV. p. 239 f.

³ Above, Vol. V. p. 126, verse 5; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 213, text line 16 f.; *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 42, verse 10 (compare above, Vol. IV. p. 226 and notes 7 and 8).

⁴ *Dyn. Kan. Distr.* p. 332 f.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 102.

⁶ Above, Vol. IV. p. 227.

⁷ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 263.

Piṭhāpuram inscription and Kṛishṇarāja according to the Maliyapūṇḍi grant (v. 15). In two grants the burning of this Kiraṇapura,¹ the residence of Kṛishṇa and Saṅkila,² is attributed to Vijayāditya III. himself. Verse 15 of the Maliyapūṇḍi grant informs us that this feat was in reality performed by a military officer named Pāṇḍaraṅga. It is perhaps worth noting that another Rāshṭrakūṭa prince named Kṛishṇarāja is mentioned in a grant of A.D. 888.³ Between the slaying of Maṅgi and the victory over Saṅkila the Maliyapūṇḍi grant mentions that Vijayāditya III. 'defeated the Gaṅgas who took refuge on the peak of Gaṅgakūṭa.' As suggested in the *Nellore District Inscriptions* (p. 169, note 3), this statement may or may not be a mere variant of one in the Piṭhāpuram inscription, according to which the king burnt Chakrakūṭa.⁴ He is elsewhere said to have 'defeated the unequalled Gaṅgas.'⁵ Finally the new grant reports that Vijayāditya III. bore the surname Parachakrarāma (l. 14).

The Maliyapūṇḍi grant gives a vivid description of the struggles that took place after the death of Vikramāditya II. Five years passed in continual wars between the rival claimants, among whom Yuddhamalla, Rājamārtanḍa and Kaṇṭhikā-Vijayāditya are mentioned by name. Then Rājabhīma (or Chālukya-Bhīma II.) succeeded in restoring order by slaying Rājamārtanḍa, defeating and banishing Kaṇṭhikā-Vijayāditya and Yuddhamalla, and killing many other rebels. Yuddhamalla (II.) is the son of Tāla, to whom one grant of Chālukya-Bhīma II. attributes a reign of seven years,⁶ while two other grants,⁷ like the Maliyapūṇḍi grant, take no official notice of his reign. Rājamārtanḍa is perhaps the same as Rājamayya in the Kaluchumbarru grant,⁸ and he is mentioned also in the Kolavennu plates.⁹ In editing these plates I committed a mistake, which has been endorsed by Dr. Fleet¹⁰ and Prof. Kielhorn,¹¹ in taking Rājamārtanḍa as a surname of Chālukya-Bhīma II. As stated in the *Nellore District Inscriptions* (p. 170, note 4), the Maliyapūṇḍi grant now shows that Rājamārtanḍa was a distinct person. Dr. Fleet has already noticed that ll. 17-19 of the Kolavennu plates contain a verse,¹² the first half of which I would now, with the help of his remarks, correct as follows:—

यस्तातबिक्कनाख्यं धल्लदि मुन्निविवराजमार्त्तख्ण्डी [1*]

Thus the verse mentions four enemies of Chālukya-Bhīma II.:—Tātabikyana, Dhalādi (or Dhalaga), Munniṇiṇa and Rājamārtanḍa. Kaṇṭhikā-Vijayāditya, whom the king banished along with Yuddhamalla II., is undoubtedly the same as Kaṇṭhikā-Bēta or Vijayāditya V., the son of Amma I. and the ancestor of the Eastern Chālukyas of Piṭhāpuram.¹³

The subjoined grant was made at a winter solstice (*uttarāyana*, l. 54 f.). The donee was a temple of Jina (*Jinālaya*) in the south of Dharmapuri (v. 17), which was in charge of a priest of the Yāpaniya-saṅgha¹⁴ (v. 18). It had been founded by the Kaṭakarāja (l. 54) Durgarāja (v. 16) and was named Kaṭakābharana-Jinālaya (v. 17 and l. 53), evidently after a surname of the founder. At his request (l. 54) the grant was made, and the grant portion opens with a pedigree of his family. His ancestor Pāṇḍaraṅga is stated to have burnt Kiraṇapura, the residence of Kṛishṇarāja (v. 15), and accordingly must have been a military officer of Vijayāditya III.¹⁵ His son Niravadyadhavala was appointed Kaṭakarāja (l. 44 f.). His son was the Kaṭakādhipati Vijayāditya (l. 45 f.), and his son was Durgarāja (v. 16).

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 213, text line 17.

² *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 42, verse 10 (compare above, Vol. IV. p. 226 and note 7).

³ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 66.

⁴ Compare above, Vol. IV. p. 227.

⁵ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 42, verse 10.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 214, text line 31.

⁷ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 44; above, Vol. V. p. 188, note 3.

⁸ Above, Vol. VII. p. 181.

⁹ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 46 and note 1.

¹⁰ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 269, and above, Vol. VII. p. 182.

¹¹ *Lists of Southern Inscr.* No. 562.

¹² Above, Vol. VII. p. 181 f.

¹³ Above, Vol. IV. p. 227.

¹⁴ Compare *ibid.* p. 338 f.

¹⁵ See notes 1 and 2 above.

Pāṇḍaraṅga (the Pāṇḍaraṅga of v. 15) is mentioned as *Ājñapti* in a grant of Vijayāditya III.¹ The title *Kaṭakarāja* or *Kaṭakādhipati*, i.e. 'superintendent of the royal camp,' which was borne by his three lineal descendants, seems to be peculiar to the court of the Eastern Chālukya kings. Dr. Fleet remarked that the grants of Amma I. and Amma II. mention *Kaṭakarāja*, *Kaṭakēśa* and *Kaṭakādhiśa* as *Ājñapti*, and came to the conclusion that these two words were not proper names, but mere titles.² The Maliyapūṇḍi grant now shows that in each case they refer to one of the three direct descendants of Pāṇḍaraṅga, who bore that title, viz. Niravadyadhavala, Vijayāditya and Durgarāja. It seems preferable to take also *Kaṭeyarāja* in the grant of Chālukya-Bhīma I.³ as a vulgar form of *Kaṭakarāja*, the title of Vijayāditya, and not as a proper name.

The object of the grant was the small village (*grāmaṭikā*) of Maliyapūṇḍi (l. 55) in the district (*vishaya*) of Kamma-nāṇḍu (l. 42). Its boundaries are given in l. 56 f. The northern boundary, Dharmavuramu, is the Telugu form of Dharmapurī, to the south of which the *Jinālaya* was situated (v. 17). According to the *Nellore District Inscriptions* (p. 174, note) both Dharmapuram and the western boundary, Kalvakuru, are now in the Addanki division of the Ongole tāluka. Of two inscriptions at Dharmavaram (p. 966 ff. of the same work) the first mentions Guṇakenalla (Vijayāditya III.), Pāṇḍaraṅga, the burning of Kiranapura, and Dharmavuram. An inscription at Addanki (p. 896 f. of the same work) also refers to Pāṇḍaraṅga and Dharmavuram. Maliyapūṇḍi itself, the village granted, does not exist any more at present (*ibid.* p. 167), but its former position is fixed by the identification of two of its boundaries. The district of Kamma-nāṇḍu, to which it belonged, is identical with the Kamma-rāshṭra or Kammāka-rāshṭra of other inscriptions. To my former remarks on this geographical name⁴ may be added that it occurs as *Kammāka-raṣṭha* in the Jaggayyapēta inscriptions of Purisadata.⁵ This Prākṛit form renders my suggestion that *Kammāka* may be meant for *Kammāṅka*⁶ untenable; for the latter would have become in Prākṛit *Kammaṅka*, and not *Kammāka*.

TEXT.

First Plate.

- 1 ॐ भद्रं स्यान्नजगन्नुताय सततं श्रीमज्जिनेन्द्रप्रभोरुद्दामाततशसन[1]-
- 2 य विलसद्भार्वावलंबाय च । सामर्थ्यात्खलु यस्य दुष्कलिकता दोषाश्च
मित्योद्भव[1]⁸ (1) दु-
- 3 वर्तमानि च भूतले न वितता शान्तिश्च नित्यं चिते[:*] ॥ [१*] ॐ स्वस्ति
श्रीमतां सकलभुवनसं-⁹
- 4 स्तूयमानमानव्यसगोत्राणां हारितिपुत्राणां कौशिकिवरप्रसादलब्धरा-
- 5 ज्ञानास्मावृग[१*]परिपालितानां स्वामिमहासेनपादानुध्यायिनाम् भगव-
- 6 न्नारायणप्रसादसमासादितवरवराहलाञ्छनेक्षणक्षणवशिकतारातिमण्ड[ला]-¹⁰

¹ Above, Vol. V. p. 125, verse 9.

² Above, Vol. V. p. 130.

³ Above, Vol. VII. p. 184 f.

⁴ Above, Vol. VIII. p. 238.

⁵ See Bhagwanlal Indrajī's transcript in *Notes on the Amaravati Stupa*, p. 56, and Bühler's transcripts in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 258 f. and in *Amaravati and Jaggayyapēta*, p. 110 (compare Plate lxii. f.).

⁶ Above, Vol. VIII. p. 234.

⁷ From two sets of ink-impressions.

⁸ Read मित्योद्भवा.

⁹ The *anusudra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

¹⁰ Read 'वशीकृता'.

- 7 नामश्वमेधावभ्युत्थानपवित्रीकृतवपुषाम्¹ चालुक्यानां कुलमलंकरिणोऽस्त्या[श्]-
 8 यवज्ञमेन्द्रस्य भ्राता कुञ्जविष्णुवर्द्धनोष्ट[ः]² दश वर्षाणि³ वेङ्गिमण्डलमपालयत् ।
 तदाक-

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 9 जो जयसिंहस्त्रयस्त्रिंशतम् । तदनुजेन्द्रराजनन्दनो विष्णुवर्द्धनो नव । तत्सू-
 नुर्म्मगियुवराज-
 10 पञ्चविंशतिन्तत्पुत्रो जयसिंहस्त्रयोदश । तदवरज[:*] कोक्किलिष्यत्सासान् ।
 तस्य ज्येष्ठो भ्राता
 11 विष्णुवर्द्धन[स्त्र]मुच्चाव्य [स]मत्रिंशतम्⁴ (i) वर्षाणि [ः]⁵ तत्पुत्रो विजया-
 दित्यभट्ट[ः]⁶ रकोष्टादश । तत्सुतो
 12 विष्णुवर्द्धनष्षड्विंशतम् । नरेन्द्रमृगराजाख्यो मृगराजपराक्रमः [ः]⁷ विजयादित्य-
 13 भूपालः⁸ चत्वारिंशत्समाष्टभिः [॥ २*] तत्पुत्रः कलिविष्णुवर्द्धनोऽर्ध्ववर्षं । त-
 14 त्युत्रः परचक्रामापरनामधेयः [ः]⁹ हत्वा भूरिनोदंबराद्रनृपतिं मङ्गिमहा-
 संग-
 15 र⁷ गंगानाश्रितगङ्गकुटशिखरान्निर्जित्य सड्ड[ः]¹⁰ लाधीशं संकिलमुग्रवल्गुभयुतं
 यो भ[ः]¹¹-
 16 ययित्वा चतुश्चत्वारिंशतमन्दकांश्च विजयादित्यो ररच चितिं । [३*]
 तदनुजस्य लब्ध-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 17 यौवराज्यस्य विक्रमादित्यस्य सुतश्चालुक्यभिमस्त्रिंशतं⁹ [ः]¹⁰ तस्याग्रजो
 विजयादित्यः
 18 षण्मासान् [ः]¹¹ तदग्रसूनुर्ममराजस्त्रय वर्षाणि । तत्सूनुमाक्रम्य बालं
 चालुक्यभिमपि-⁹
 19 तुव्ययुद्धमल्लस्य नन्दनस्तालनृपो मासमेकं । नानासामन्तवर्गैरधिकबल-
 युतैश्च-¹⁰
 20 तमातङ्गसैनो¹¹ हत्वा तं तालराजं विषमरणमुखे सार्द्धमत्युग्रते-
 21 जाः [ः]¹² एकाब्दं सम्यग्भोनिधिवलयवृतामन्वरत्नरिचि¹³ श्रीमान्चालुक्य-

¹ Read °वपुषां.

⁴ Read °चिंशतं वर्षाणि.

⁷ Read °संगरे गंगानाश्रितगङ्गकुट°.

⁸ Read सड्डाड्डला°; in contravention of the rules, the first half of the verse ends in the middle of a compound word.

⁹ Read °नीम°.

¹² Read °चरित्री श्रीमान्चालुक्यभीम°.

² Read वर्षाणि.

⁵ Read °पालयत्ता°.

³ Read जयसिंह°.

⁶ Read °नोडंब°.

¹⁰ Read °वर्गो° and °युतैश्च°.

¹¹ Read °सेनेहत्वा°.

22 भिमचित्तिपतितनयो विक्रमादित्यभूपः । [४*] पञ्चादहमहमिकया विक्र-
मादित्यास्त-

23 म[य*]ने राक्षसा इव प्रजाबाधनपरा दायादराजपुत्रा राज्याभिलाषिणे
युद्धमत्तरा-

24 ¹जमार्त्तण्डलकण्टिकाविजयादित्यप्रभृतयो विग्रहिभूता² आसन् [१*] विग्र-

Third Plate; First Side.

25 हेनैव पंच वर्षाणि गतानि [१*] ततः [१*] ³योवधिद्र[१]जमार्त्तण्डन्तेष[१]
येन रणे कृतौ [१*] क-

26 ण्डिकाविजयादित्ययुद्धमत्तो⁴ विदेशगौ । [५*] अन्ये मान्यमहिभृतोपि⁵
बहवो⁶ दु-

27 अष्टवृत्ताद्वताः⁷ देशोपद्रवकारिणः प्रकटिताः कालालय⁸ प्रापिताः [१*]
⁹दोर्हण्डेरि-

28 तमण्डलाग्रलतया यस्योग्रसंग्रामकावाञ्छा¹⁰ तत्परभृन्पैश्व¹¹

29 शिरसो मालिव सन्धार्यते । [६*] नादग्वा¹² विनिवर्तते रिपुकुलं कोपाग्निरा
मूल-

30 तः शुभ्रं य[स्य] यशो न लोकमखिलं सन्तिष्ठते न भ्रमत् [१*] द्रव्या-
भोधरराशिरप्यनुदिनं¹³

31 सन्तप्यमाने भृशं दारिद्र्योग्रतरातपेन जनसंसखे¹⁴ न नो वर्षति । [७*] स
चालुक्यभिमनसा¹⁵ वि-

32 जयादित्यनन्दनः [१*] द्वादशाव्यात्समास्त्वयक्¹⁶ राजभिर्मो धरातलं । [८*]
तस्य महेश्वरभू-

Third Plate; Second Side.

33 ¹⁷तेरुमासमानाकृतेः कुमारामः [१*] लोकमाहादेव्याः¹⁸ खलु यस्त्वमभवदम्भ[रा]-

34 जाख्यः ॥ [८*] जलजातपत्रचामरकलशांकुशलक्षणां [क*] करचरणतलः [१*]
लसदाजा-

¹ As remarked in the *Nellore District Inscriptions*, p. 178, note 1, the ल after मार्त्तण्ड is superfluous; it was perhaps engraved because the writer had in his mind the frequent word मण्डल.

² Read विग्रहीभूता.

³ Read 'महीभू'.

⁴ Read 'वृत्तीकृता'.

⁵ Read perhaps 'सांयामिकस्याञ्छा'.

⁶ Read 'भृन्पैश्व' as proposed in the *Nellore District Inscriptions*, p. 178, note 6; य is engraved on an erasure.

⁷ Read नादग्वा.

⁸ Read जनवासखे.

⁹ Read द्वादशाव्यात्समास्त्वयजानमीनी.

¹⁰ Read योवधीद्रा.

¹¹ The *aksharas* वी and दु are engraved on an erasure.

¹² Read 'लयं'.

¹³ Read 'मत्तो'.

¹⁴ Read 'दीर्घण्डे'.

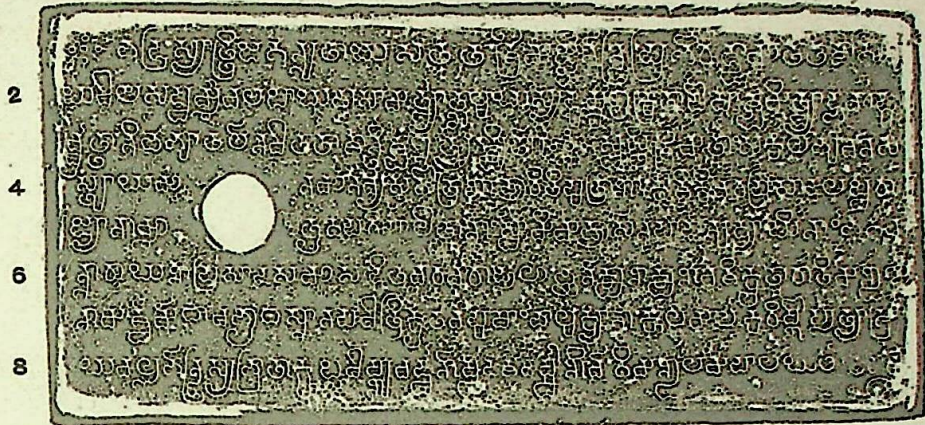
¹⁵ The *anusvāra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

¹⁶ Read 'भीम'.

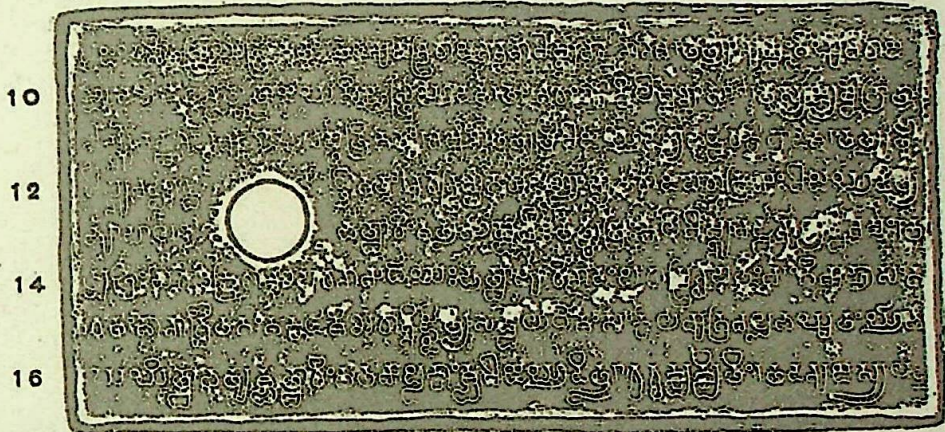
¹⁷ Read 'मूर्त्ति'.

¹⁸ Read 'महा'.

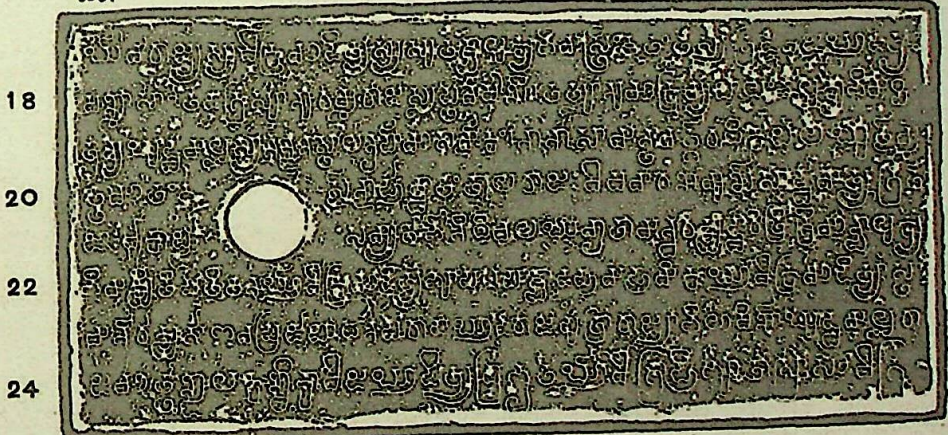
i.



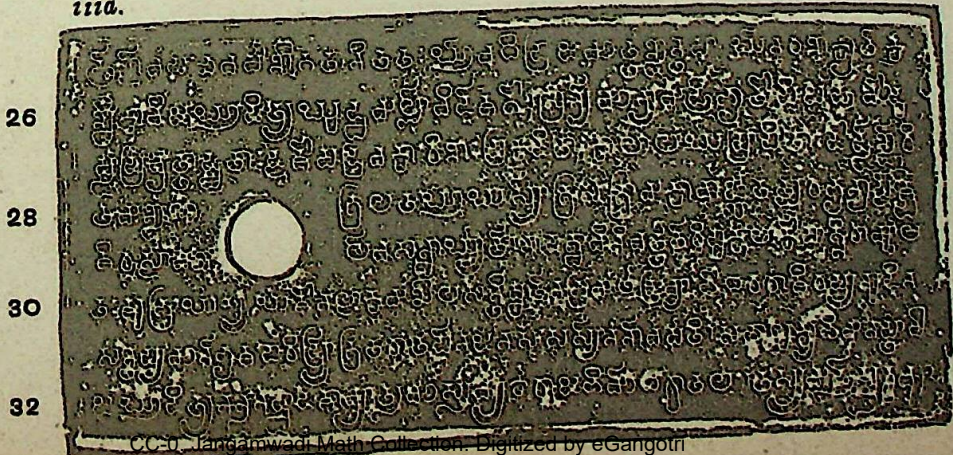
ii.



iii.



iiii.



- 22 भिमचितिपतितनयो विक्रमादित्यभूपः । [४*] पञ्चादहमहमिकया विक्र-
मादित्यास्त-
23 म[य*]ने राक्षसा इव प्रजाबाधनपरा दायदराजपुत्रा राज्याभिलाषिणो
युद्धमक्षरा-
24 ¹जमार्त्तण्डलकण्डिकाविजयादित्यप्रभृतयो विग्रहिभूता² आसन् [१*] विग्र-

Third Plate; First Side.

- 25 हेनैव पंच वर्षाणि गतानि [१*] ततः [१*] ³योवधिद्र[१]जमार्त्तण्डन्तेष[१]
येन रणे कृतौ [१*] क-
26 ण्डिकाविजयादित्ययुद्धमक्षो⁴ विदेशगौ । [५*] अन्ये मान्यमहिभृतोपि⁵
बहवो⁶ दु-
27 ष्टप्रवृत्ताक्षता(ः)⁷ देशोपद्रवकारिणः प्रकटिताः कालालय⁸ प्रापिताः [१*]
⁹दोर्हण्डेरि-
28 तमण्डलाग्रलतया यस्योग्रसंग्रामकावाज्ञा¹⁰ तत्परभृन्पैश्व¹¹
29 शिरसो मालेव सन्धार्यते । [६*] नादग्वा¹² विनिवर्तते रिपुकुलं कोपाग्निरा
मूल-
30 तः शुभ्रं य[स्य] यशो न लोकमखिलं सन्तिष्ठते न भ्रमत् [१*] द्रव्या-
भोधरराशिरप्यनुदिनं¹³
31 सन्तप्यमाने भृशं दारिद्र्योयतरातपेन जनसंसखे¹⁴ न नो वर्षति । [७*] स
चालुक्वभिमनसा¹⁵ वि-
32 जयादित्यनन्दनः [१*] द्वादशाव्यात्समास्त्रम्यक्¹⁶ राजभिर्मो धरातलं । [८*]
तस्य महेश्वरमू-

Third Plate; Second Side.

- 33 ¹⁷तेरमासमानाकृतेः कुमारभः [१*] लोकमाहादेव्याः¹⁸ खलु यस्मभभवदम्भ[रा]-
34 जाख्यः ॥ [९*] जलजातपत्रचामरकलशांकुशलक्षणां [क*] करचरणतलः [१*]
लसदाजा-

¹ As remarked in the *Nellore District Inscriptions*, p. 178, note 1, the ल after मार्त्तण्ड is superfluous; it was perhaps engraved because the writer had in his mind the frequent word मण्डल.

² Read विग्रहीभूता.

³ Read 'महीध'.

⁴ Read 'महीध'.

⁵ Read 'महीध'.

⁶ Read perhaps 'साशमिकसाज्ञा'.

⁷ Read 'मूयपैश्व' as proposed in the *Nellore District Inscriptions*, p. 178, note 6; य is engraved on an erasure.

⁸ Read 'नादग्वा'.

⁹ Read 'जनवासखे'.

¹⁰ Read 'द्वादशाव्यात्समास्त्रम्यक्'.

¹¹ Read 'महीध'.

¹² Read 'महीध'.

¹³ Read 'योवधिद्र'.

¹⁴ The *aksharas* बी and दु are engraved on an erasure.

¹⁵ Read 'लय'.

¹⁶ Read 'दोर्हण्डे'.

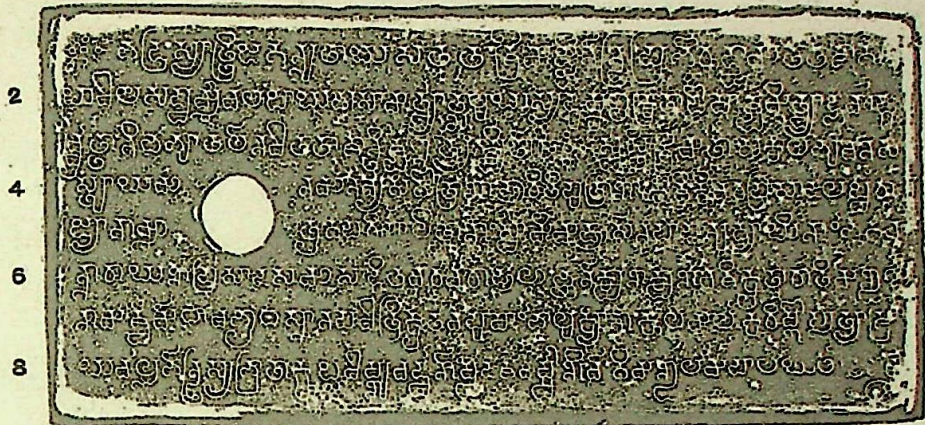
¹⁷ The *anusudra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

¹⁸ Read 'मीन'.

¹⁹ Read 'मूय'.

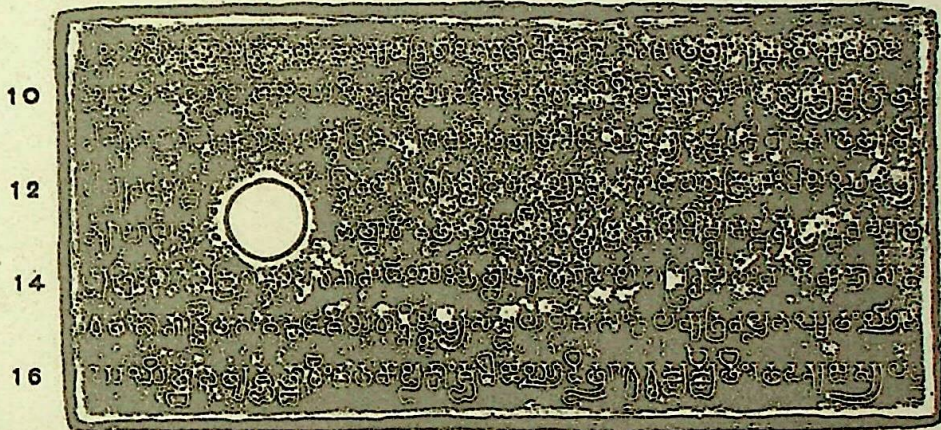
²⁰ Read 'महा'.

i.

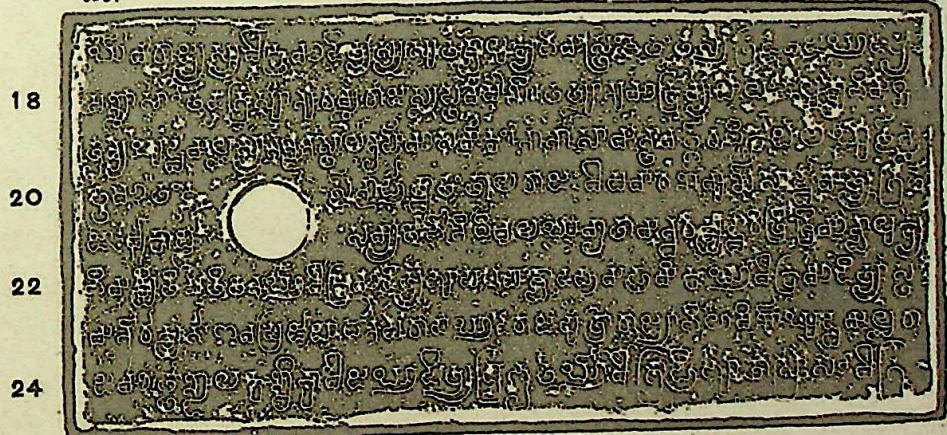


W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

ii.



iii.



iiii.



SCALE .45
FROM INK-IMPRESSIONS SUPPLIED BY RAI BAHADUR V. VENKAYYA.

E. HULTZSCH.

34

36

38

40

Text in the first manuscript block, containing lines 34 through 40. The text is in an ancient script, likely Pāli, and includes a circular hole on the left side.

42

44

46

48

Text in the second manuscript block, containing lines 42 through 48. The text is in an ancient script, likely Pāli, and includes a circular hole on the left side.

50

52

54

56

58

Text in the third manuscript block, containing lines 50 through 58. The text is in an ancient script, likely Pāli, and includes a circular hole on the left side.

60

Text in the fourth manuscript block, containing line 60. The text is in an ancient script, likely Pāli, and includes a circular hole on the left side.

35 न्ववलंबितभुजयुगपरिघो गिरिन्द्रसानुरक्तः¹ ॥ [१०*] विदितधराधिपविद्यो
विविधायु-

36 धकोविदो² विलिनारिकुलः - [1*] करितुरगागमकुशलो हरचरणांभोजयुग-

37 लमधुपश्चिमां ॥ [११*] कविगायककल्पतरुर्दिजमुनिदिनान्धवभुजन-³

38 सुरभिः [1*] याचकगणचिन्तामणिरवनीशमणिर्महोद्यमहसा द्युमणिः ॥
[१२*] गिरिरसवसु-

39 संख्यान्दे शकसमये मार्गशीर्षमासेस्मिन् [1*] कष्टत्रयोदशदिने शृगुवारे
मैत्रनक्षत्रे [॥ १३*]

40 धनुषि रवौ घटलग्ने द्वादशवर्षे तु जन्मनः पटं [1*] योधादुदयगिरीन्द्रो
रविमिव लोका-

Fourth Plate ; First Side.

41 नुरागाय ॥ [१४*] स⁴ समस्तभुवनाश्रयश्चैविजायदित्यमहाराजाधिराजपरमे-
श्वरपरम[धा]-

42 भूमिकोम्भराजकृष्णनाण्डविषयनिवासिनो⁵ राट्टकुटप्रसुखान्कुटुंबिनस्सर्व्व[1*]नित्यमाज्ञा-
पयति [1*]

43 आर्या[1*] ।⁶ किरनपुरमधाक्षीत्किष्पूराजस्थितं⁷ यस्त्रिपुरमिव⁸ महेशपरण्ड-
रंग[1*] प्रतापि⁹ [1*] तदिह [सु]-

44¹² खसहाश्वोरन्वितस्याप्यशक्यं¹³ गणनममलकीत्तेस्तस्य¹⁴ सत्साहसानाम¹⁵ ॥ [१५*]
तस्य[1*]ल-

45 जो निरवद्यधवल[ः] कटकराजपट्टशोभितललाटः¹⁶ [1*] तत्तनयो विजया-
दित्यकट-

46 काधिपति[ः] । वृत्त¹⁷ । तत्पुत्रो¹⁸ दुर्गराजपरवरगुणनिधिर्धार्मिकस-
त्यवादि¹⁹ त्यागि भो[गी]

47 महात्मा समितिषु विजयि²⁰ विरलक्ष्मिनिवासः²¹ [1*] चालुक्यानां च लक्ष्म्या
यदसिरपि सदा रक्षणा[य]-²²

¹ Read गिरौन्द्रसानूरक्तः.

² Read विलीना°.

³ Read मुनिदीनाम्°.

⁴ Read कर्ण°.

⁵ Read विजयादित्य°.

⁶ Read धार्मिकी°.

⁷ Read कुट°.

⁸ Read किरण°.

⁹ Read धाक्षीत्किष्पूराजस्थितं, as suggested in the *Nellore District Inscriptions*, p. 173, note 2.

¹⁰ Corrected from महाराज°.

¹¹ Read प्रतापी.

¹² Read सहचैर°.

¹³ Read शक्यं.

¹⁴ Read कौत्ते°.

¹⁵ Read सानाम्.

¹⁶ The *visarga* was added subsequently.

¹⁷ Read वृत्तं.

¹⁸ Read दुर्ग°.

¹⁹ Read वादी त्यागी.

²⁰ Read विजयी वीरलक्ष्मी°.

²¹ The *visarga* was added subsequently.

²² Read रक्षणायैव.

- 48 यिव वंश[:*] ख्यातो यस्यापि वेंगीगदितवरमहामण्डलालंबनाय ।
 [१६*] तेन कृतो धर्मपु[रीद]-
 49 क्षिणदिशि सज्जिनालयश्चारुतरः [१*] कटकाभरणशुभांकितनाम^१ च ^२पुन्यालयो
 वसति [॥ १७*]

Fourth Plate; Second Side.

- 50 ^३[श्री]ग्रापुनियशंहप्रपुन्यकोटिमडुवगनेशमुख्यो^४ यः [१*] ^५पुन्यारुहणनन्दिगच्छो
 जिननन्दिमुनिश्वरो[य]^६ ग-
 51 [ण]धरसदृशः । [१८*] तस्याग्रशिष्य^७प्रथितो ध(र)रायाम्^८ (।) दिव[१*].
 कर[१*]ख्यो मुनिपुंगवोभुत्^९ [१*] यक्षेवल्लभ[१*]ननिधि-
 52 मंहाम्ना स्वयं जिनानां शदिशो^{१०} गुणौघे ॥ [१९*] श्रीमान्दिरदेवमुनिसु-
 तपोनिधिरभवदस्य शिष्य^{१०} धीम[१]न् [१*] य-
 53 आतिहार्यमहिमा^{११} संपन्नमिवाभिमन्यते लोकः^{१२} [॥ २०*] ^{१३}तदधिष्ठितकटक[१*]-
 भरणजिनालय[१]-^{१४}
 54 य कटकराजविज्रमे^{१५} खण्डस्फुटनवक्त्रोपिलिप्रपुजादिसन्नसिद्ध्यर्थम्^{१६} (।) यु-
 55 त्तरायननिमित्ते मलियपूण्डिनामग्रामटिका सर्व्वकरपरिहार(म्)मुदक-
 56 पुर्व्व^{१७} कृत्वा दत्ता । अस्य ग्राम[स्य*]वधयः पूर्व्वतः मुंजुन्यरु^{१८} ॥ दक्षिणतः
 यिनिमिलि ॥ पश्चि[म]-
 57 तः कल्लकुर ॥ युत्तरत[:]^{१९} धर्मवुरसु ॥ ^{२०}वेतन्नामस्य चेत्रावधयः पूर्व्वतः
 गोक्षनि-
 58 गुण्ड ॥ आग्नेयत[:] रावियपेरियचे^{२१}वु । दक्षिणतः स्थापितशिला ॥
 नैरित्य^{२१} स्थ[१*]पितशिलैव [१*]

Fifth Plate.

- 59 पश्चिमतः मत्स्यप^{२२} को^{२३}बोयुतट[१]कश्च ॥ वायव्यतः स्थापितशिलैव ।
 उत्तरतः दुब[चि]वु [१*]
 60 ईशान्याम्^{२३} (।) कल्लकुरि एव्कोकचेनि सिमैव^{२३} सीमा ॥

^१ Read "भरण". The whole compound seems to be meant for कटकाभरणशुभनामाङ्कितः, which would have offended against the metre.

^२ Read पुण्या.

^३ Read श्रीयापनीयसंचप्रपुन्य.

^४ Read "गणेश" or perhaps, for the sake of the metre, "गणेश्वर".

^५ Read पुण्याह and compare below, p. 56, note 2.

^६ Read धरायां.

^७ Read "भूत".

^८ Read शिष्यो.

^९ Read यस्मिन्तिहार्यमहिमा.

^{१०} Read "धिष्ठित".

^{११} Read "भरण".

^{१२} Read "नवक्त्रावलिप्रपुजादिसन्नसिद्ध्यर्थमुत्तरायण".

^{१३} Or possibly मुंजुन्यरु.

^{१४} Read उत्तरतः.

^{१५} Read नैरित्यां.

^{१६} Read ऐशान्यां.

^{१७} Read "मुनीश्वर".

^{१८} Read सदृशो गुणौघैः.

^{१९} Read लोकाः.

^{२०} Read "विज्रमे".

^{२१} Read "पूर्व्व" कृत्वा.

^{२२} Read एत.

^{२३} Read सीमैव.

ABRIDGED TRANSLATION.

Verse 1 invokes the religion (*śāsana*) of the lord Jinendra.

(Line 7.) Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana (I.), the brother of Satyāśraya-Vallabhendra who adorned the family of the Chālukyas, ruled the Vēṅgi country (*maṇḍala*) for eighteen years; his son Jayasimha (I.) for thirty-three; Vishṇuvardhana (II.), the son of his younger brother Indrarāja, for nine; his son Maṅgi-yuvarāja for twenty-five; his son Jayasimha (II.) for thirteen; his younger brother Kokkili for six months; his eldest brother Vishṇuvardhana (III.), having expelled him, for thirty-seven years; his son Vijayāditya (I.)-bhaṭṭāraka for eighteen; his son Vishṇuvardhana (IV.) for thirty-six.

(V. 2.) King Vijayāditya (II.), surnamed Narēndramṛigarāja, who had the courage of a lion, for forty years with eight.¹

(L. 13.) His son Kali-Vishṇuvardhana (V.) for one year and a half. His son, whose other name was Parachakrarāma,

(V. 3.) (*was*) Vijayāditya (III.), who, having slain in a great battle Maṅgi, the king of the great Nodamba-rāshṭra, having defeated the Gaṅgas who took refuge on the peak of Gaṅgakūṭa, and having terrified Saṅkila, the lord of the excellent Dā[ha]la, who was joined by the fierce Vallabha, ruled the earth for forty-four years.

(L. 16.) Chālukya-Bhima (I.), the son of his younger brother Vikramāditya (I.) who had received the dignity of Yuvarāja, for thirty. His eldest son² Vijayāditya (IV.) for six months. His eldest son Ammarāja (I.) for seven years. Having overcome his infant son, Tāla-nṛipa, the son of Yuddhamalla (I.), the paternal uncle of Chālukya-Bhima (I.), for one month.

(V. 4.) Having slain at the head of a rough battle this Tāla-rāja together with crowds of different vassals, who were joined by a superior army (*and*) had troops of furious elephants, the glorious king Vikramāditya (II.), the son of king Chālukya-Bhima (I.), of very fierce power, righteously ruled for one year the earth surrounded by the girdle of the oceans.

(L. 22.) Afterwards at the setting (*i.e.* the death) of Vikramāditya (II.), the kinsmen-princes who were desirous of the kingdom, (*vis.*) Yuddhamalla, Rājamārtanḍa, Kaṇṭhikā-Vijayāditya, *etc.*, were fighting for supremacy, oppressing the subjects like Rākshasas (*at the setting of the sun*). In mere war five years passed away. Then (*succeeded*)—

(V. 5 f.) The fierce warrior who slew among those Rājamārtanḍa; who in a battle made Kaṇṭhikā-Vijayāditya and Yuddhamalla go to a foreign country; the curved sword wielded by whose strong arm dispatched to the abode of Death many others who, though respectable kings, had shown themselves puffed up by evil conduct (*and*) causing distress to the country; (*and whose*) command is carried on the head like a garland by the eager kings of the earth.

(V. 8.) This Rājabhima (II.), the son of Vijayāditya (IV.) (*and*) grandson of Chālukya-Bhima (I.), righteously ruled the surface of the earth for twelve years.

(V. 9.) Ammarāja (II.), who was born to him by Lōkamahādēvi, as Kumāra to Mahēśvara by Umā;

(V. 13 f.) Who—as the eastern lord of mountains, to redden the world, (*puts on himself*) the sun—put on, to please the world, the fillet in the twelfth year of (*his*) birth, in the year reckoned by the mountains (7), the flavours (6) and the Vasus (8)—(*i.e.* 867)—of the Śaka era,

¹ The reading of the text seems to be meant for चत्वारिंशत्समा षट्मिः, which would however be against the metre.

² The other Eastern Chālukya inscriptions show that *agraja* has to be taken here to mean 'the first-born son,' and not, as usually, 'the elder brother.' A similar use of the word *agrajanman* is noted by Dr. Fleet, above, Vol. VII. p. 181.

in this month of Mārgaśīrsha, on the thirteenth day of the dark (*fortnight*), on Thursday, in the Maitra (Anurādhā) *nakshatra*, while the sun (*was*) in Dhanu, in the Ghata *lagna*;

(L. 41.) This *Samastabhuvanāśraya*, the glorious Vijayāditya (VI.), the *Mahārājādhirāja* *Paramāśvara*, the very pious Ammarāja (II.) thus commands all the *ryōts*, headed by the *Rāshṭrakūṭas*, inhabiting the district (*vishaya*) of Kamma-nāṇḍu:—Lords!

(V. 15.) Even one possessed of thousands of mouths (*would be*) unable to count the great achievements of that valiant Pāṇḍaraṅga, of spotless fame, who burnt Kiraṇapura, the residence of Kṛishṇarāja, as Mahēsa (Śiva) (*burnt*) Tripura.

(L. 44.) His son (*was*) Niravadyadhavala, whose forehead was decorated with the fillet of Kaṭakarāja. His son (*was*) the Kaṭakādhipati Vijayāditya.

Verse (16.) His son (*was*) Durgarāja, whose sword always (*served*) only for the protection of the fortune of the Chālukyas, and whose renowned family¹ (*served*) for the support of the excellent great country (*maṇḍala*) called Vēṅgi.

(V. 17.) There is on the southern side of Dharmapuri a very charming excellent temple of Jina (*Jinālaya*) founded by him, an abode of merit, and marked with the auspicious name of Kaṭakābharāṇa.

(V. 18.) (*There was*) the lord of ascetics Jinanandin, who resembled the Gaṇadharas, belonged to the pure and worthy² Nandi-gachchha (*and*) was the chief lord of the Koṭimaḍuva(?)-gaṇa, which is to be worshipped (*as belonging to*) the holy Yāpaniya-saṅgha.

(V. 19.) His first disciple was a chief of ascetics called Div[ā]kara, renowned on earth, a store of highest knowledge (*and*) high-souled, who resembled the Jinas themselves by great virtues.

(V. 20.) His disciple was the wise ascetic Śrīmāndiradēva, a store of great austerities, whom people desire as if he were possessed of the power of *pratihārya*.³

(L. 53.) To the Kaṭakābharāṇa-Jinālaya superintended by him there was given, at the request of the Kaṭakarāja, for the cost of repairs of breaks and cracks, offerings, worship, *etc.*, and of an alms-house (*sattra*), on the occasion of the winter solstice (*uttarāyana*), the small village named Maliyapūṇḍi, with exemption from all taxes, with libations of water.

(L. 56.) The boundaries of this village (*are*): in the east Muñjuny[u]ru; in the south Yinimili; in the west Kalvakuru; in the north Dharmavuramu.

(L. 57.) The boundaries of the fields of this village (*are*): in the east the Gollani-guṇṭha (*pond*); in the south-east the Rāviya-periya-cheṇuvu (*tank*); in the south a demarcation stone; in the south-west also a demarcation stone; in the west Malkapaṇṇu and the Koṛabōyu-taṭāka (*tank*); in the north-west also a demarcation stone; in the north the Duba-cheṇuvu (*tank*); in the north-east the boundary (*is*) also the boundary of the Evvōka-chēnu (*field*) in Kalvakuru.

No. 7.—PLATES OF VIJAYA-DEVAVARMAN.

By PROFESSOR E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.; HALLE (SAALE).

Two sets of excellent ink-impressions of this grant were sent to me by Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya, who had received the original plates from the Collector of the Kistna district.

¹ The word *vaṇṣa* means also 'a cane;' see *Nellore District Inscriptions*, p. 173, note 5.

² It is not quite impossible that *punyāruha* is a mistake for *Punḍya*; compare the *Punnāgavṛkṣhamālagana* of the Nandisaṅgha, above, Vol. IV. p. 338.

³ According to Buddhist works, *pratihārya* or *pratihārya* means 'jugglery, working miracles;' see the *St. Petersburg Dictionary*.

"The plates belong to the Head Assistant Collector of Narsapur, in whose office they have been lying for a long time. The person from whom they were originally obtained is not known."

"The copper-plates are four in number. Their length is $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches, and their height $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches at the ends and $2\frac{1}{8}$ inches in the middle. Their margins are not raised into rims. The ring was cut by me (*viz.* Mr. Venkayya) for the first time. Its diameter is $2\frac{5}{8}$ inches, and its thickness slightly over $\frac{1}{4}$ inch. The ends of the ring are secured at the base of an oval seal, measuring $2\frac{1}{8}$ by $1\frac{1}{8}$ inches. The seal is all but obliterated; but a faint trace of some quadruped—perhaps a tiger—can be seen."

The inscription on the plates is carefully engraved and on the whole in a state of very good preservation. The alphabet resembles that of the three grants of Simhavarman¹ and of the plates of Vijaya-Nandivarman.² But neither *t* nor *n* have a loop at the left. As in the Hīrahaḍagalli plates,³ the former is distinguished by a slight curve at the right; compare *e.g.* the *ta* of *etassa* (l. 8) with the *na* of *vayanena* (l. 7). As first members of a consonant group both look the same; see the *ttā* of *āchchhēttā* and the *ntā* of *ch=ānumantā* (l. 17). Final forms of *t* and *m*, followed by a mark of punctuation which looks like a right angle, occur at the end of lines 17 and 19. The numerical symbol 20 occurs in line 11, the symbols 3 and 10 are used in the date (l. 15), and the plates ii.a, ii.b, iii.a, iii.b and iv. are numbered consecutively, like the pages of a modern book,⁴ with the symbols 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 on the left margin; on the first plate the sacred syllable *ōm* occupies the place of the figure 1.

The language is Prākṛit prose, with the exception of the last plate which bears two of the customary Sanskrit verses. While in the cave inscriptions every double consonant is expressed by a single letter, the orthography of the prose part of the subjoined plates agrees in this respect with that of the literary Prākṛit and of the British Museum plates of Chārudēvi.⁵ In *saṁvachchhara* (l. 14) *v* is doubled after *anusvāra*. The language of the new plates is more archaic than that of the literary Prākṛit in one important point: single consonants between vowels generally remain unchanged.⁶ Thus *k* is preserved in *bhaṭṭāraka* (l. 3); *kh* in *parukha* (l. 7); *g* in *bhagavato* (l. 1); *j* in *vijaya* (ll. 1, 6, 14), *yājñ* (l. 5) and *mahārāja* (l. 6); *t* in *bhagavato* (l. 1), *anujjhāta* (l. 2 f.), *bhāṇitavva* and *eta* (l. 8), *pariharitavva* (l. 13 f.); *th* in *ratha* (l. 2); *d* in *pāda* (ll. 2 and 3) and *padesa* (l. 10); *dh* in *medha* (l. 5). But elision and *ya-śruti* have taken place in *addhiya* (l. 11) for *ārdhika*, *niyattana* (l. 10) for *nivartana*, *vayana* (l. 7) for *vachana*, and at the beginning of the enclitic *cha* in *duvaggāna ya* (l. 12) and *pariharitavvo ya* (l. 13 f.).⁷ The word *Pausa* (l. 15) appears in its Sanskrit form.⁸ Dental *n* occurs in *anujjhāta* (l. 2 f.), *Sālankāyana* (l. 4), *yājñ* (l. 5), *gharaṭṭhāna* (ll. 11 and 12) = Sanskrit *grihasthāna*, and lingual *n* in *bhāṇitavva* (l. 8), *Gaṇasamma* (l. 9), *duvaggāna* and *rakkhaṇa* (l. 12), *samāṇatta* (l. 13) = Sanskrit *samāñāpta*,⁹ and *saṁvachchharāṇi* (l. 14). Both *n* and *ṇ* appear in *vayanena* (l. 7), *niyattanān[i]* (l. 10) and *manussāṇam* (l. 11).¹⁰ Among the remaining Prākṛit words may be noted the two numerals *terasa* (l. 15) and *visam* (l. 11),¹¹ and of other inflected words the ablative *Veṅḡipurā* (l. 1), the genitives *Devavammassa* (l. 6) and *Gaṇasammassa* (l. 9),¹² the two differently formed locatives *Elūre* (l. 7) and *padesamhi* (l. 10), and the instrumental *parihārehi* (l. 13).

The inscription is dated on the tenth *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Pausa in the thirteenth year (in words and figures, l. 14 f.) of the *Mahārāja Vijaya-Dēvavarman* (l. 6), who issued

¹ See above, Vol. VIII. p. 160.

² *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 175 ff.

³ *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 2 ff.

⁴ Another instance, in which the single pages of a grant are numbered, are the British Museum plates of Chārudēvi; see above, Vol. VIII. p. 144.

⁵ Above, Vol. VIII. p. 144 and note 5.

⁶ Compare Prof. Pischel's Prākṛit grammar, § 189.

⁷ Compare *ibid.* § 88.

⁸ Compare *ibid.* § 184.

⁹ Compare *ibid.* § 61a.

¹⁰ Compare *ibid.* § 402.

¹¹ Compare *ibid.* § 224.

¹² *Ibid.* §§ 443 and 445.

this grant from Vēṅgipura (l. 1) and addressed it to the villagers of Ēlūra (l. 7). The donee was named Gaṇaśarman (l. 9) and received twenty (in words and figures, l. 11) *nivartanas* of land, evidently near Ēlūra, together with a site for his house and a site for the houses of his servants.

The king is described as 'the performer of horse-sacrifices, the Śālaṅkāyana, the fervent Māhēśvara, who is devoted to the feet of the lord (his) father, (and) who meditates at the feet of the holy Chitrarathasvāmin.' Nearly the same epithets are applied in another set of plates to the *Mahārāja* Vijaya-Nandivarman,¹ who was the son of the *Mahārāja* Chaṇḍavarman, issued his grant likewise from Vēṅgipura, and addressed it to the inhabitants of a village in the district of Kudrāhāra.² This family may be designated the Śālaṅkāyana Mahārājas of Vēṅgipura. As Dēvavarman's grant is in Prākṛit, he was presumably an ancestor of Chaṇḍavarman's son Nandivarman, whose grant is in Sanskrit.

Vēṅgipura, the capital of the Śālaṅkāyanas, has been identified with Pedda-Vēgi, a village near Ellore in the Godavari district.³ The correctness of this identification is confirmed by the existence of a small mound which, on a visit to Pedda-Vēgi in 1902, was shown to me by the villagers as the site of the ancient temple of Chitrarathasvāmin,⁴ the family deity of the Śālaṅkāyana Mahārājas. Other indications point to the same part of the country. The plates of Vijaya-Nandivarman were found in the neighbouring Kolleru lake,⁵ and Ēlūra, to whose inhabitants the subjoined edict was addressed, is no doubt the modern town of Ēlūru (Ellore), 7 miles from Pedda-Vēgi.

TEXT.⁶

First Plate.

Om⁷ [!*

- 1 Sirī-vijaya-Vēṅgipurā [!* Bhagavato
- 2 Chittarathasāmi-pādānu-
- 3 jjhātassa bappabhattāraka-pādabhattassa

Second Plate; First Side.

- 4 paramamāhessarassa Śālaṅkāyanassa
- 5 assamedhayājino
- 6 mahārāja-sirī-Vijaya-Devavammassa

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 7 vayanena Ēlūre muḷuḍa-pamukho
- 8 gāmo bhāṇitavvo [!* Etassa
- 9 Ba[bhura]-sagottassa Gaṇasammassa

Third Plate; First Side.

- 10 sundara-padesamhi bhūmi-niyattanān[i]
- 11 vīsaṁ 20 gharatthānaṁ addhiya-manussānaṁ
- 12 duvaggāṇa ya gharatthānaṁ parihāra-rakkhaṇaṁ

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 175 ff.

² This is the actual reading of the plates; see above, Vol. VI. p. 316 and note 4.

³ *South-Ind. Pal.* p. 16, note 1; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 93.

⁴ Compare the quotation from the *Madras Journal*, Vol. XIX. (which is at present inaccessible to me), above, Vol. IV. p. 143, note 7.

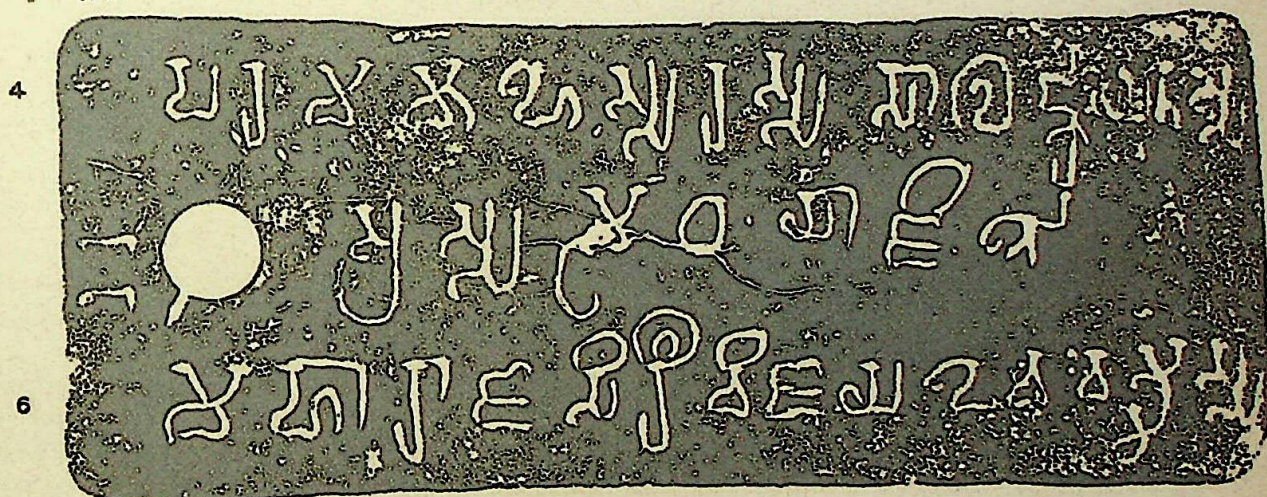
⁵ *South-Ind. Pal.* p. 135, note 1.

⁶ Expressed by a symbol, which stands on the left margin of line 2, ⁷ From two sets of ink-impressions.

i.



ii a.



ii b.



iii a.

10

12

ਮੁਖਿ ਪਾਦ ਮਝਿ ਭੁਭਿਸੰਨ੍ਹ ਕੁਲਿ
ਮੁਖਿ ਮਿਥਿ ਘੁਲਿ ਭੁਭਿਸੰਨ੍ਹ ਕੁਲਿ
ਮੁਖਿ ਮਿਥਿ ਘੁਲਿ ਭੁਭਿਸੰਨ੍ਹ ਕੁਲਿ

iii b.

14

ਮੁਖਿ ਪਾਦ ਮਝਿ ਭੁਭਿਸੰਨ੍ਹ ਕੁਲਿ
ਮੁਖਿ ਮਿਥਿ ਘੁਲਿ ਭੁਭਿਸੰਨ੍ਹ ਕੁਲਿ
ਮੁਖਿ ਮਿਥਿ ਘੁਲਿ ਭੁਭਿਸੰਨ੍ਹ ਕੁਲਿ

iv.

16

ਮੁਖਿ ਪਾਦ ਮਝਿ ਭੁਭਿਸੰਨ੍ਹ ਕੁਲਿ
ਮੁਖਿ ਮਿਥਿ ਘੁਲਿ ਭੁਭਿਸੰਨ੍ਹ ਕੁਲਿ
ਮੁਖਿ ਮਿਥਿ ਘੁਲਿ ਭੁਭਿਸੰਨ੍ਹ ਕੁਲਿ

Third Plate ; Second Side.

- 13 samānattam [1*] Evañ savva-parihārehi parihari-
 14 tavvo ya [1*] Vijaya-sainvachchharāpi
 15 terasa 10 3 Pausha-kālapakkha-dasamī [10?][1*]

Fourth Plate.

- 16 Shasṭīm varsha-sahasrāpi svarggē kriḍati bhūmi-daḥ [1*]
 17 āchchhettā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva naraké¹ vasēt ||
 18 Bahubhir=vasudhā dattā bahubhiḥ=ch=ānupālītā [1*]
 19 yasya yasya yadā bhūmiḥ² tasya tasya tadā phala[m] ||

TRANSLATION.

Om. (Line 1.) From the prosperous and victorious Vēṅgīpura. The villagers³ of Ēlūra, headed by the *Muḷuḍa*,⁴ must be addressed (*as follows*) by the word of the glorious *Mahārāja Vijaya-Dēvavarman*, the performer of horse-sacrifices, the Śālaṅkāyana, the fervent Māhēśvara, who is devoted to the feet of the lord (*his*) father, (*and*) who meditates at the feet of the holy⁵ Chitrarathasvāmin :—

(L. 8.) "It has been ordered that to this⁶ Gaṇasārman of the Ba[bhura]⁷ *gōtra* (there have to be made over) twenty—20—*nivartanas* of land in a handsome locality, a house-site (*for himself, and*) a house-site for the men who receive half the crop⁸ and for (*his*) door-keepers,⁹ (*and*) that the immunities (*granted to him*) have to be protected. And thus he must be exempted with all immunities. (*In*) the victorious year thirteen—13—(*of the reign*), (*on*) the tenth—[10]—*tithi* of the dark fortnight of Pausha."

[Ll. 16-19 contain two of the usual verses.]

No. 8.—BENARES INSCRIPTION OF PANTHA.

By P. DAYA RAM SAHNI.

I edit this inscription from two rubbings kindly supplied to me, one by Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, Superintendent, Archæological Survey; Northern Circle, and the other by Mr. G. D. Ganguli, Curator, Provincial Museum, Lucknow. A transcript of it has been published before in 1886 by Prof. Hultzsch in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Vol. XL. p. 55.

The slab on which the inscription is engraved is said to have been discovered in the vicinity of the modern city of Benares, and is one of the twenty-four objects which were presented, at the instance of Mr. J. H. Marshall, to the Lucknow Museum by the Principal of Queen's

¹ This word looks almost like *naraké*.

² Read *bhūmiḥ*.

³ Literally, 'the village.'

⁴ This looks like a Dravidian word, which however cannot be traced in the dictionaries. The plates of Vijaya-Nandivarman (l. 4) seem to read, instead of it, *Munuda*; but the apparent *nu* in the middle of this word may be in reality an obliterated *ṣu*.

⁵ The genitive *bhagavato* refers to *Chittarathasāmi*, the first member of the following compound. This is of course a grammatical blunder of the officer who drafted the inscription.

⁶ The pronoun 'this' evidently had been uttered by the king in the presence of the donee, just as *ditṭhām* in the plates of Vijaya-Nandivarman, l. 5.

⁷ Prof. Kielhorn suggests to me that this doubtful word may be meant for *Babhrū*.

⁸ On *drādhika* or *ardhastri* see the *Mitāksharā* on Yājñavalkya, I. 166. The Prākṛit form *addhika* occurs in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 6, text line 39.

⁹ The Sanskrit original of *duvagga* seems to be *dvārga*, which may be taken in the sense of *dvārgha*.

College, Benares, in December 1903.¹ In discussing these sculptures, Dr. Vogel also noticed this stone, but failed to ascertain its precise find-spot.²

Judging from the rubbings, the slab which bears the extant portion of the inscription measures 26" by 15" (66 cm. by 38 cm.). The stone-mason has done his work with great care and neatness, and the letters are deeply cut.

The inscription consists of eight lines, but it is far from complete. About one-fifth of the entire slab is broken away along the proper left edge, and consequently lines 1-7 have each lost a number of syllables, which varies from nine to fourteen. The first three syllables of the first line and the first *akshara* of the second line have also disappeared owing to a small piece of stone having chipped off from the upper right corner. The record is further damaged by the surface having more or less peeled off in the marginal portions.

The characters of the inscription very closely resemble those of an inscription from Jhârâpâtan³ and are of the ornamental type current in Northern India about the beginning of the eighth century A.D. Attention must, however, be drawn to the letters *bh* and *y*.⁴ The former of these always, and the latter in several cases, exhibit forms which come very close to those of the Maukhari alphabet of the sixth century A.D. The language is correct Sanskrit and metrical throughout. As regards orthography, there are three different points which deserve notice: (1) the doubling of the letters *m*, *t*, *p* and *v* in conjunction with a preceding or following *r*, in *-maranayôr=mmôksha-*, l. 1; *yattra*, l. 2; *attra* and *-mûrttiḥ*, l. 4; *sarppat-sarppa-* and *-ruchir=vvilôla-*, l. 6; (2) the substitution of a single consonant for a double one in *-tatva-*, l. 3; *-vrityâ*, l. 4; *ujvalam*, l. 7; and (3) the use of *v* for *b* in *vrahmahâ*, l. 2, and *sandhivandha-*, l. 7.

The inscription is not dated, and its object is to record the erection of a shrine of Bhavânî at Benares. There are altogether five verses, the first three in the *Sragdharâ* and the last two in the *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre. The first stanza is devoted to the praise of the city of Vārāṇasī. The purport of the second verse is not quite certain; it seems to speak of a particular quarter of the holy city, which was often visited even by the moon when practising her penance. The third verse contains an eulogy of the builder of the shrine, named Pantha, and the last two speak of the consecration of the Bhavânî image (?) and the construction of the shrine, respectively.

TEXT.

- 1 [Om svasti ||*] [Khyâ]tâ Vārāṇas=īyam tribhuvana-bhavan-ābhōga-chaur=īti dūrât-sēvantē yām viraktâ janana-maranayôr=mmôksha-sakt-aika-[chi]ttâḥ [I] sô —
— — — — —
- 2 [ta] saganô yattra dēvô vimuktaḥ yām drishtvâ vra(bra)hmah=âpi chyuta-kali-kalushô jāyatê śuddha-bhâvaḥ || [I*] Asyām=uttuṅga-śrīṅga-sphuṭa-śa[śi]-kirāṇa-[śvēta-bhāsa sanātham ramy-āyāma*]-
3 pratôli-vividha-japada-stri-vilās-ābhirāman | vidyâ-vēdārtha-tatva(ttva)-vrata-japaniyama-vyagra-chandr-ābhijushtam śrīmat=sthānam [pri]thivyâ — — — — —
— — — — — || [2*]
- 4 Attr=ābhūt=Pantha-nāmâ śīsur=api vinaya-vyāpatô bhadra-mûrttiḥ tyāgi dhīraḥ kṛitajñāḥ parilaghu-vibhavô=py-ātma⁵-vrity(ttty)=ābhitu[shṭaḥ⁶ | Gaṅgâ-srôtaś-śuchi-śrī*]-

¹ Annual Report of the Lucknow Provincial Museum for 1903-4, p. 2.

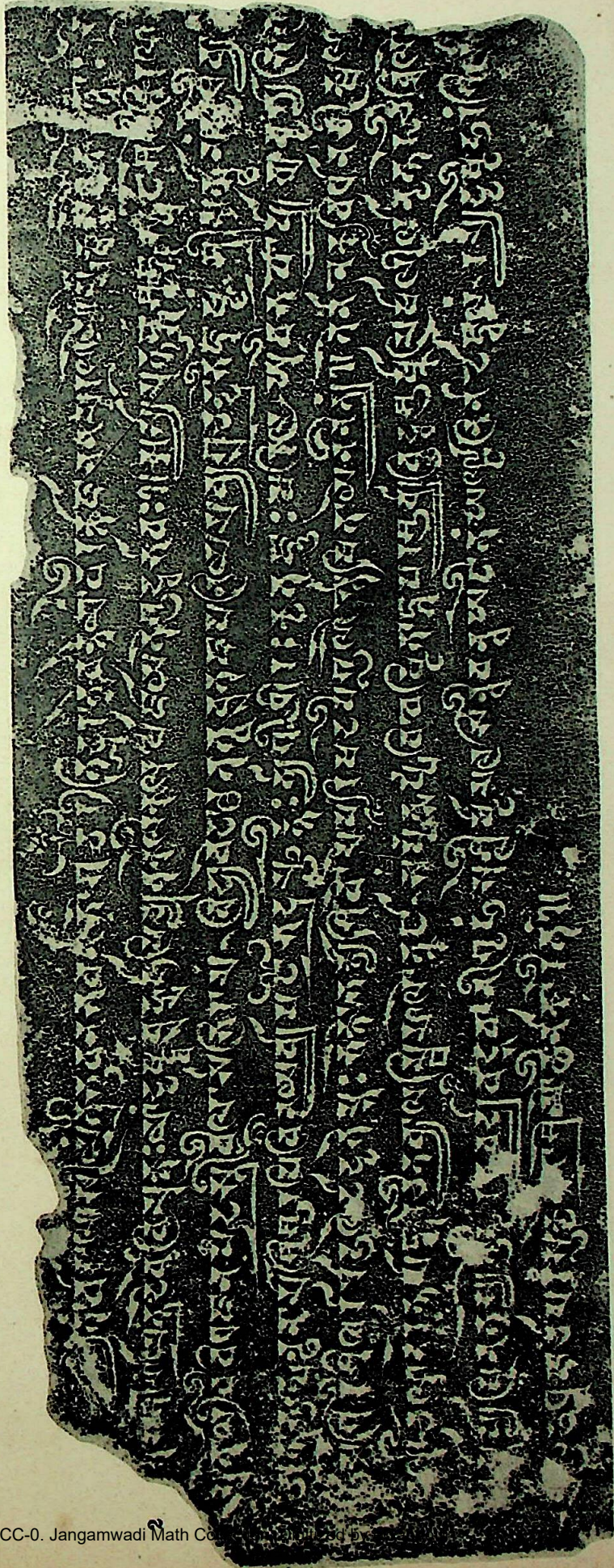
² Archaeological Survey Report for 1903-4, p. 212.

³ Ind. Ant. Vol. V. p. 180 and Plate.

⁴ Eg. in *yattra*, *jāyatê*, l. 2; *vinaya*, l. 4; and *yāna*, l. 5.

⁵ [In my own transcript this word was misread as =*ārya*—E. H.]

⁶ This restoration is based on the preceding *ābhitu*^o and *ātma-vrityā*.



Scale one - third.

From a rubbing supplied by Dr. J. Ph. Vogel.

Collotype by Gebr. Plettner, Halle.

(V. 5.) Not satisfied with the erection (of this image only), the pious man, desirous of bliss, caused to be built a shrine of Bhavāni, which was joined with a very adhesive and bright cement, resplendent with the sound of bells, lovely, attractive, (and decorated) with lofty flags and yak-tails.

NO. 9.—THE CHAHAMANAS OF NADDULA.

By PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

Of the Chāhamānas of Śākambharī we possess two long inscriptions. One of them is the Harsha inscription of Vighraharāja, edited by me in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 116 ff. It is dated in the [Vikrama] year 1030, corresponding to about A.D. 973, and gives the genealogy of the Chāhamānas from Gūvaka I., 'who attained to pre-eminence as a hero in the assembly of the glorious Nāgavalōka,' the foremost of kings,' to Vighraharāja. The other is the difficult Bijoli (Bijaoli, Bijolia, Bijholi) rock inscription of the reign of Sōmēśvara, which has been uncritically edited in *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. LV. Part I. p. 40 ff. This inscription is dated in the Vikrama year 1226, corresponding to A.D. 1170, and gives a long genealogy, commencing with Sāmanta, the reputed founder of the family, and ending with Sōmēśvara.² Between these two longer records, and subsequently to the second, we have a few shorter inscriptions of the same family, notably the Delhi Siwālik pillar-inscriptions of Viśaladēva-Vighraharāja of A.D. 1164, and two short inscriptions on the defeat of the Chandēlla Paramardidēva by the Chāhamāna Prithvirāja II., of the [Vikrama] year 1239=A.D. 1182. The latest available date for this family is the [Vikrama] year 1244=A.D. 1187.³

From this Śākambharī family there branched off, some time in the first half of the 10th century A.D., another line of Chāhamānas (or Chāhumānas), which was founded by the Śākambharī prince Lakshmapa, and which for a long time had its seat of government at Naddūla,⁴ the modern Nadol in the Jōdhpur State of Rājputāna.⁵ To this branch of the family there is assigned in my *Northern List* only a single inscription, No. 141, the Nadol copper-plate inscription of the Mahārāja Ālhanadēva of A.D. 1161. But there belong to it also other inscriptions of the *List*, inscriptions of chiefs whose connection with the family was not known

¹ I have already stated elsewhere that the true reading in verse 13 of the Harsha inscription is *śrīman-Nāgavalōka-pravarānripa-sabhā-lavdha(bdha)-vīrapratishṭhaḥ*. In my Synchronistic Table for Northern India I have suggested that Nāgavalōka may be identical with the Pratihāra Nāgabhaṭa; but this appears to be a mistake. A definite date for a king Nāgavalōka—apparently the Vikrama year 813=A.D. 756—will, so far as I can see now, be furnished by a copper-plate inscription which has been quite recently discovered, and of which I have received a photograph from my friend Mr. Ojha.

² See above, Vol. VIII. Appendix I. p. 13 f.

³ See my *Northern List*, Nos. 144, 176 and 183.

⁴ So this name is spelt below, in the inscriptions A., B. and C., and in the inscription of Luṇṭigadēva, treated of under D. We find the name spelt in the same way (with *ḍḍ*) in verse 21 of the Bijoli rock inscription, which is quite wrongly given in *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. LV. Part I. p. 42, the actual reading on the stone being: *Jāvalīpuram jōḍḍ-puram kṛitā Pallik=āpi pall=iva | nadvala-tulyam rōshān=Naddḍlam yēna sau(sau)-ryēna ||*. In the inscription at Vimala's temple on Mount Ābū, which will be mentioned below, p. 81, the name is *Naddḍla*. In verse 42 of the Mount Ābū inscription of Samarasimha (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI. p. 349) it is either *Naddḍla* or *Naddḍla* (not *Naddḍla*); and in Prof. Weber's Catalogue of the MSS. of the Berlin Library, Vol. II. pp. 1003 and 1004, we find *Naddḍla*, *Naddḍlapura* and *Naddḍlapura*. In Mr. Kāthavate's edition of the *Kṛtikāumudī*, II. 69, and, copied from it, in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 26, verse 14, we also have *Naddḍla*, but this almost certainly is a mistake.

⁵ Towards the end of the 12th century A.D. the seat of government was transferred to Jāvalīpura (Jālor); and at the commencement of the 14th century a branch of the family took Chandravatī with Mount Ābū from the Paramāras.

when I compiled the *List*. My object in writing this paper is, to give the genealogy of these Chāhamānas of Naddūla, so far as the documents which lately have come to my knowledge enable me to do so. For this purpose I shall give the texts of three inscriptions which the kindness of Dr. Fleet and Mr. Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha allows me to edit, and an account of the contents of some Mount Âbū inscriptions, based on excellent impressions for which we have to thank Mr. Cousens.

A.—NADOL PLATES OF ÂLHAṆADĒVA; [VIKRAMA]-SAMVAT 1218.

These plates were obtained by Colonel Tod,¹ in October 1819, at Nadol, a town in the Jōdh-pur State of Rājputāna, and presented to the Royal Asiatic Society. An account of their contents was given by him in his *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. I. p. 804; and the inscription which they contain was edited, in a rather slovenly manner, by Rao Bahadur H. H. Dhruva, in *Journ. Bombay As. Soc.* Vol. XIX. p. 26 ff. I re-edit it from an excellent photolithograph,² prepared under the superintendence of, and kindly placed at my disposal by, Dr. Fleet.

These are two plates, each of which measures about $8\frac{1}{2}$ " broad by $6\frac{1}{2}$ " high. The first plate is inscribed on one side only, and the second on both sides. The edges of the inner sides of them are fashioned slightly thicker, so as to protect the writing, and the inscription is in a state of perfect preservation. Both plates contain a hole for a ring, but the ring and any seal that may have been attached to it have not been preserved. The characters are Nāgarī. The language is Sanskrit, and the greater part of the text is in verse. In respect of orthography it will suffice to state that the letters *b* and *v* are both denoted by the sign for *v*, and that the dental sibilant is often used for the palatal. The text contains a considerable number of clerical mistakes, most of which can be easily corrected. Other mistakes are shown by the metre to be due to the author himself, who possessed no accurate knowledge of Sanskrit. Of these I would point out here merely the wrong *saṁdhi* in *sprihayan=amaratām* (for *sprihayann=amaratām*) in line 17, the meaningless *-praguṇībhūtāpasavyakāḥ pāṇiḥ* (for *-praguṇībhūtāpasavyapāṇiḥ*) in line 21, and the omission of some word like *viditām* before the words *vô=stu* in line 18. In lines 13, 14 and 16 the potential *syāt* is used for *asti* or *bhavati*.³

The inscription records a donation by the *Mahārāja Âlhaṇadēva* of Naddūla.⁴ According to lines 18-23, this chief, on Sunday, the 14th *tithi* (described as *mahāchaturdaśī-parvan*⁵) of the bright half of Śrāvaṇa in the year 1218, after worshipping the Sun and Īśāna (Śiva) and making gifts to Brāhmanas and *gurus*, granted to (the Jaina temple of) Mahāvīradēva in the *Sanḍēraka gachchha*,⁶ at the holy place⁷ (*mahāsthāna*) of Naddūla, a monthly sum of five *drammas*, (to be paid) from the custom-house (*śulka-maṇḍapikā*⁸) in the grounds⁹ of Naddūla.

¹ See his *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. I. p. 698; my *Northern List*, No. 141.

² *Indian Inscriptions*, No. 10, not yet published.

³ For instances where the potential is used for the imperfect see e.g. *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVII. p. 135.

⁴ So the name is spelt twice in line 22, and the same spelling is required by the metre in line 3. See above, p. 62, note 4.

⁵ For the similar use of *parvan* in other dates see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 413, and Vol. XXV. p. 289 f.

⁶ In Mount Âbū inscriptions this *gachchha* is also called *Sanḍēra-gachchha* and *Shanḍēraka-gachchha*. The town of *Sanḍēra* (the Sanderao of the map of the Rājputāna Agency) is mentioned below in C., line 16.

⁷ According to Colonel Tod Naddūla was one of the ancient seats of the Jains.

⁸ For passages in which the term *maṇḍapikā* occurs, compare e.g. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 114, l. 27; p. 173, l. 6 (*Styadōni-satka-maṇḍapikā*); p. 175, l. 19; p. 177, l. 29 and l. 30; p. 179, l. 45; p. 282, l. 3 (*pattana-maṇḍapikā*); *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 10, col. 2 (*Śrīpathā-stha-maṇḍapikā*); *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. LV. Part I. p. 47, iv., and p. 48, v.; *Bhāvnagar Inscr.* p. 205, l. 7. *Śulka-maṇḍapikā* occurs e.g. in *Bhāvnagar Inscr.* p. 158 f., ll. 10, 15 and 18.—The meaning of *maṇḍapikā* is suggested by the Marāṭhī *māṇḍavī*, 'a custom-house.'

⁹ The word *talapada* (in *śrī-Naddūla-talapada-śulkamaṇḍapikāyām*) is not found in the dictionaries. I take it to be synonymous with, or similar in meaning to, *svatāla*, which occurs in some of the Valabhi inscriptions, and for which see Dr. Fleet's note above, Vol. VI. p. 166. Compare also *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 339, note 30.

The inscription, after the words 'ōm, adoration to the Omniscient,' opens with a verse in which the holy Mahāvīradēva, 'the youngest of the Jinās,' is desired to bestow welfare. It then (in verses 2-7) gives the following genealogy of the grantor:—

In the Chāhumāna race there was first at Naddūla the king Lakshmaṇa. His son was Sōhiya, and his son Balirāja. After him came his paternal uncle Vighrahapāla. His son was Mahēndra, his son Anahilla, and his son Bālaprasāda. His brother was Jēndrarāja, and his son Prithivipāla. His brother was Jōjalla, and his younger brother Āsārāja, whose son was Ālhanadēva. Nothing of historical importance is said about any of these chiefs.

According to lines 33-38, the *dūta* of this grant was the minister, appointed to the secretaryship (*śrīkarana*),¹ Lakshmīdhara, the son of Dharaṇigga, of the Prāgvāta race; and the grant was composed and written by Śrīdhara, the son of Vāsala (Vīsala?), who was the son of Manōratha, of the family of the Naigamas. The inscription ends with the words 'this is the own hand (i.e. sign-manual) of the Mahārāja, the illustrious Ālhanadēva.'

Naddūla of course is the modern Nadol where the plates were obtained, and where the temple of Mahāvīra to which the grant was made apparently still exists.² The date of the grant, for the expired *Chaitrādi* Vikrama year 1218, regularly corresponds to Sunday, the 6th August A.D. 1161, when the 14th *tithi* of the bright half of Śrāvaṇa ended 15 h. 35 m. after mean sunrise.³

TEXT.⁴

First Plate.

- 1 Ōm⁵ || Ōm namaḥ Sarvvajñāyaḥ⁶ | Disatu⁷ Jina-kanishṭhaḥ karmmavaṁ(ba)m dha-
kshayishṭhaḥ parihṛita-madamārakrōdha-
- 2 lōbhādivāraḥ | duritaśikhari-saṁvaḥ⁸ svō(śvō)vasiṇam cha sām vas-
tribhuvanakṛita-sēvaḥ |⁹ śrī-Mahāvī-
- 3 radēvaḥ || [1*] Asti¹⁰ parama ā-jalanidhi jagati-talē¹¹ Chāhumāna-vaṁsō hi |
tav(tr)=āsṇ=Nadū(ddū)lē bhūpaḥ
- 4 śrī-Lakshmaṇa ādan¹² || [2*] Tasmād=va(ba)bhūva putrō rājā śrī-
Sōhiyas¹³=tad=anu sūnuḥ | śrī-Va(ba)lirājō rā-
- 5 jā Vighrahapālō=nu cha pitṛivyā(vyaḥ) || [3*] Tasy=āt=¹⁴tanūjō bhūpālāḥ |¹⁵
śrī-Mahēndradēv-ākhyāḥ | taj-jah śrī-¹⁶
- 6 Anahillō(116)¹⁷ nṛpati-varō=bhūt=prithula-tējāḥ || [4*] Tat-sūnuḥ śrī-
Vā(bā)laprasāda ity=ajani pāṛthiva-
- 7 śrēshṭhaḥ | tad-bhrāt=ābhū[t*]=kshitipāḥ subhataḥ śrī-Jēndrarāj-ākhyāḥ || [5*]
Śrī-Prithivipālō=bhū[t*]-tat-putrah sai-¹⁸

¹ Compare above, Vol. VIII. p. 209, line 8 of the text. Above, Vol. III. p. 317, l. 45, *śrīkarana* by itself is used to denote the official ('a secretary').

² See the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. X. p. 142.

³ Compare *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 30, No. 35.

⁴ From a photo-lithograph prepared under the superintendence of, and supplied to me by, Dr. Fleet.

⁵ Denoted by a symbol.

⁶ Metre: Mālinī.

⁶ Read 'jñāya.

⁸ Read -saṁvaḥ, 'a thunderbolt.'

¹⁰ Metre of verses 2-9: Āryā.

¹² Read 'nas=ch=ādan.

¹³ Mr. Dhruva's text has *Lōhiyas*; but *Sōhiyas* is quite clear in the original. The same name, *Sōhiya*, I find above, Vol. VIII. p. 221, l. 19, and in another Mount Ābū inscription, No. 1899 of Mr. Cousens' List.

¹⁴ Read -ābhavāt.

¹⁵ Here and elsewhere the *t* of *śrī* has purposely not been changed to *y* before a vowel; compare below, lines 9 and 38, *śrī-Ālhanā*, and other passages in B. and C. and elsewhere.

¹⁷ The name is written *Anahilla* in B., line 7, and C., line 11, and the same spelling is required here by the metre.

¹⁸ Read *sauryavṛttisōbh-ādhyāḥ*.

- 8 ryavṛitisōbh-āḍhyaḥ | tasmād=abhavad=bhrātā śrī-Jōjallō raṇaras-ātmā [|| 6*]
 , Tad-avarajō=bhūch=chhrīmā-
 9 n=Āsā(śā)rājāḥ pratāpavara-nilayaḥ | tat-putraḥ kshōṇipah śrī-Ālhanadēva-
 nām=ābhūt || [7*]
 10 Yaśya pratāpa-psā(?)lām¹ saṁkuladikchakra-prithulavistāram | simchamti
 sva(sū)ditāhitagaṇa-lalanā
 11 nayanasalil-aughaiḥ || [8*] Sō-yam mahā-kshitīśaḥ sāram=idam vu(bu)ddhimān=
 achintayata [1*] iha sam-
 12 sāra² asāram |³ sarvvaṁ janm-ādi jantūnām |(II) [9*] Yataḥ [1*] Garbhaḥ⁴
 strīkukshi-madhyē pala-rudhira-vasā-
 13 mēdasā va(ba)ddha-pimḍō mātuh prāpāntakārī⁵ prasavana-samayē prāpinām
 syān=nu janmā⁶ dharmm-ā-
 14 dīnām=avettā bhavati hi niyataṁ vā(bā)la-bhāvas-tataḥ svā(syā)t=tārūyam
 svalpamātram svajana-pari-
 15 bhavasthā(?)natā⁶ vṛiddha-bhāvaḥ |(II) [10*] Khadyōtōdyō(ddyō)ta-tulyāḥ |⁷
 kshaṇam=iha sukhadāḥ sampa-

Second Plate; First Side.

- 16 dō dṛiṣṭa-nashtāḥ prāpitvaṁ chaṁchalam syād=dalam=upari yathā tōya-
 vimdur=nnalinyāḥ | jūātv=aivam⁸ sva-pi-
 17 trō sprihayān=⁹amaratām ch=aihi¹⁰ dharmma-kirtti dēsāntō¹¹ rājaputrān¹²
 janapada-gaṇān vō(bō)dhayaty=ēva
 18 vō=stu¹³ || [11*] Sam 1218 varshē | Śrāvāṇa-śudi 14 Ravau | asminn=ēva
 mahāchaturddaśī-parvvaṇi || Snātva¹⁴ dhautā-
 19 patē nivēśya(sya)¹⁵ dahanē datv=āhutān¹⁶ punya(nya)krin=Māntvādasya¹⁷
 tamahprapātana-patōḥ sampūrya ch=āghamjilim¹⁸ [1*]
 20 trailōka(kya)sya prabhuṁ charāchara-gurūṁ samśnāpya pañch-āṁpitair=īśānām
 kanak-āṇṇa-vastra-dadanaiḥ¹⁹ sampūjya viprā-
 21 n gurūn || [12*] Anu²⁰ tilakukshatōdaka-²¹pragunibhūtāpasavyakāḥ²² pāṇiḥ |(I)
 sāsanaṁ=ēnam=²³ayachchhata yā-

¹ Read *-jālam*.

² This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

³ Read **kāri* and *janma* |.

⁴ Observe the wrong *saṁdhi* (for *saṁsārē=sāram*).

⁵ Metre of verses 10 and 11: Sragdharā.

⁶ The *th* of the *akshara sthā* is not quite clear, but there seems to be no doubt that the above is the actual and intended reading. One would have expected *-paribhāvasthānam*, but this would not have suited the metre.

⁷ This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

⁸ Here a syllable, perhaps *vai*, has been omitted.

⁹ Here, again, observe the wrong *saṁdhi* for which the metre shows the author to be responsible; *sprihayann*= would have offended against the metre.

¹⁰ Read *-aihi¹⁰ dharmma-kirtti*; one misses a second *cha*.

¹¹ I can only suggest that *dēsāntō* may stand for *dēsāntā*, i.e. *dēsāntaḥ*, *dēsāntar*, 'in (this) country.'

¹² After this word a short syllable is missing; perhaps the reading should be **trān=va-janapada*.

¹³ The words *vō=stu* cannot be construed with the preceding. The author had in his mind the phrase *viditām vō=stu*.

¹⁴ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

¹⁵ Mr. Dhruva read this *Maitapaṭṭa nivēśya*, which he translated by 'while encamped at Maitapaṭṭa.' Compare *dhautā-vāsai paridhāya* in line 19 of B., and, e.g., in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 347, l. 7 of the text.

¹⁶ Read *datv=āhutā*.

¹⁷ Read *=Māntvādasya*.

¹⁸ Read *-āghamjilim*.

¹⁹ *Dadana* in the sense of *dāna*.

²⁰ Metre: Āryā.

²¹ Read *tila kusākshatōdaka*. The *ka* of **ōdaka* is treated as a short syllable before *pr*; see *Ind. Studien*, Vol. VIII. p. 224.

²² The metre, in my opinion, shows that the author undoubtedly wrote this; what he intended was **pasavya-pāṇiḥ* (= *dakṣiṇa-pāṇiḥ*).

²³ Wrong for *ēnad*=, or, better, *ēnad*=.

- 22 vach-chamdrârkkapûpâlam¹ |(II) [13*] Śrī-Naddûla-mahâsthânê
 Samdêraka-gachchhê śrī-Mahâviradêvâya śrī-Naddûla-
 23 talapada-sûlkamamâpikâyâm māsânumâsam dhûpavêlârtham |² sâsanêna dra³ 5
 pañcha prâdât [1*] Asya
 24 dēvarasyanam⁴ bhūmjanasya asmadvañsējair=⁵bhâvi-bhōktribhir=aparais=cha
 paripamthanâ na kâr्या | yatah [1*]
 25 ⁶Sâmânyô=yam dharma-sêtur-nripânâm kâlê kâlê pâlaniyô bhavadbhih
 sarvvân=ēvam bhâvinah pâ-
 26 rihivêndrân bhûyô bhûyô yâchatê Râmachamdrah || [14*] Tasmât |
⁷Asmadanva[ya*]jâ bhûpâ bhâvi-bhûpatayaś=cha yê [1*]
 27 tēshâm=aham karê lagnaḥ pâlaniyam=idam sadâ |(II) [15*] Asmad-vañsê
 parikshinê yah kaschim⁸ nripatir=bhavêt [1*]
 28 tasy=âham karê lagnô=smi sâ(sâ)sanam nâ(na) vyatikramêt |(II) [16*]
 Va(ba)hubhir=vasudhâ bhuktâ râjanyaih Sagar-â-
 29 dibhih [1*] yasya yasya yadâ bhûmî(mi)s=tasya tasya tadâ phalam || [17*]
 Vvashtîni-⁹varsha-sahasrâni svarggê tishṭhati dâna-
 30 dah [1*] âchchhêtâ(ttâ) ch=ânumantâ cha tâny=ēva narakam¹⁰ vasê[t] || [18*]
 Sva-dattam para-dattam vâ dēva-dâyam harêta yah [1*] sa
 31 vishtâyâm krimir=bhûtvâ pitri(tri)bhih saha majjati || [19*] Sû(sû)ny-
 âtavivy(shv)=atôyâsu sushkakôṭara-vâsi-

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 32 naḥ | kṛishṇâhayô=bhijâyamte dēva-dâyam haranti yê || [20*] Maṅgalam
 mahâ-śrîh ||
 33 ¹¹Prâgvâta-vañsê Dharanigga-¹²nâmnah sutô mahâmâtya-varah su-karmmâ |
 va(ba)bhûva dū-
 34 taḥ prâ(pra)tibhâ-nivâsô Lakshmidharah śrîkaranê niyôgî || [21*]
¹³Âsît=sva-
 35 chchha-malâ(nâ) Manôratha iti prâk¹⁴ Naigamânâm kulê sâ(sâ)stra-
 jñânasudhârasa-
 36 plavita-¹⁵dhis=taj-jô=bhavat¹⁶ Vâsalaḥ | putras=tasya va(ba)bhûva loka-
 vasani(ti)h śrī-
 37 Śrîdharah Śrîdharê sūpâstî rachayâmchakâra lilikhê ch=êdam mahâ-sâ-
 38 [sa]nam || [22*] Sva-hastô=yam mahârâja-śrī-Âlhanadēvasya ||

B.—NADOL PLATES OF THE RÂJAPUTRA KÎRTIPÂLA;
 [VIKRAMA-JSAMVAT 1218.]

Mr. Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha of Udaipur in Râjputâna has informed me that these plates also were obtained, in the course of last year, at Nadol. My account of them is mainly based on two good rubbings, kindly supplied to me by Mr. Ojha.

¹ Read °bhâkdlam; compare °kshitikâlam in line 26 of B.

² Read dhûpa-tail-ârtham, without the sign of punctuation.

³ I.e. dramân.

⁴ Read °sy=asmadvamśajair=.

⁴ Read dēvasy=ainam (for =ainad=, =aitad=).

⁷ Metre of verses 15-20 : Ślōka (Anushtubh).

⁸ Metre : Śālinī.

⁹ Read shakṭi- or shakṭim.

⁹ Read kaschim=.

¹² The name Dharaniga occurs above, Vol. VIII. p. 220, line 8 of the text; here the letter g seems to have been doubled simply for the sake of the metre.

¹⁰ Read narakâ.

¹¹ Metre : Upajāti.

¹³ Metre : Śārdûlavikrîḍita.

¹⁴ Read prâg=.

¹⁵ Plavita wrong for plâvita, which would not have suited the metre.

¹⁶ Read =bhavad=, and, perhaps, Vâsalaḥ.

These also are two plates, each of which measures about $9\frac{1}{2}$ " broad by $6\frac{1}{2}$ " high. The first plate is inscribed on one side only, and the second on both sides.¹ The writing on them is in a state of perfect preservation. Each plate contains a hole for a ring; I do not know whether the ring and any seal that may have been attached to it have been preserved. The characters are Nāgarī, and the language is Sanskrit. The text contains eight verses² of chiefly genealogical matter, three of the ordinary imprecatory verses, and one verse giving the writer's name; the rest is in prose, which in one or two places is grammatically incorrect. As regards orthography, the letter *v* is used for both *b* and *v*, except in *-labdhajanmā*, l. 3; the dental sibilant is used for the palatal in *Mahēsvaram*, l. 22; and the sign of *avagraha* is once employed, in *śmgajah*, l. 16. In line 29 the gerund *lagitvā* is used in the sense of 'commencing from, beginning with.'

The inscription records a grant by the *Rājaputra* (or king's son) Kīrtipāla, a son of Ālhaṇadēva of Naddūla. After the words *ōm svasti*, it invokes the blessing of the gods Brahman, Śrīdhara (Viṣṇu), and Śaṁkara (Śiva), 'who, always free from passion, are famous in the world as Jinās' (or Jaina Arhats). It then (in verses 2-8) gives the following genealogy:—

In the town of Śākambharī there was formerly, in the Chāhamāna³ lineage, the king Vākpatirāja. His son was Lakshmaṇa, who was king at Naddūla; and his son was Sōbhita. From him sprang Balirāja, and after him there ruled his paternal uncle Vīgrahapāla. Vīgrahapāla's son was Mahēndra, his son Anahilla, and his son Jēndrarāja, from whom sprang Āsarāja.⁴ His son was Ālhaṇa, the lord of Naddūla, who defeated the Saurāshṭrikas. This king married Annalladēvi,⁵ a daughter of Anahula of the Rāshṭraudra⁶ race, who bore to him three sons—Kēlhaṇa, Gajasīmha, and Kīrtipāla. Of these, Kēlhaṇa, the eldest son, was made *kumāra* (or heir-apparent) and given a share in the government.

According to l. 17 ff. the *Rājakula*⁷ Ālhaṇadēva and the *Kumāra* Kēlhaṇadēva were pleased to give to the *Rājaputra* Kīrtipāla twelve villages appertaining to Naddūlāi. And then, on Monday, the 5th of the dark half of Śrāvaṇa of the year 1218, the *Rājaputra* Kīrtipāla, after bathing etc. at Naddūla and worshipping the Sun and Mahēsvara (Śiva), granted a yearly sum of two *drammas* from each of the twelve villages of Naddūlāi to (the temple of) the Jina Mahāvīra at the village of Naddūlāi, and ordered this money to be paid in the month of Bhādrapada of every year, commencing with the year then current. The twelve villages to which this order referred were Naddūlāigrāma, Sūjēra, Pārījī, Kavilāḍa, Sōnāṇam, Mōrakarā, Haravandam, Mādāḍa, Kānasuvam, Dēvasūrī, Nādāḍa, and Maūvaḍi.

So far as I can judge, the village of Naddūlāi mentioned in the above is different from (the *mahāsthāna*) Naddūla, and the words *Naddūlāi-pratibaddha* in line 18 appear clearly to show that Naddūlāi not merely was the name of a village, but also denoted the district to which the twelve villages given to Kīrtipāla belonged.— On the map of the Rājputāna Agency I find,

¹ The second side of the second plate contains three lines of writing. Of these no rubbing, but only Mr. Ojha's transcript has been sent to me.

² The metre of verse 6 is a mixture of Upēndravajrā and Vasantatilakā.

³ So the name is spelt here and below in C.

⁴ In C. the name is *Āsarāja*, while in A. the actual spelling is *Āsarāja*. Here we have *Āsarāja*, and in D. the actual spelling is *Āsarāja*.

⁵ The occurrence of this name here induces me to state that the name in the Delhi Siwālik pillar inscription of Viśaladēva-Vīgraharāja, A., line 2 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 218) is *Annalladēva*, not *Avēlladēva*, and that therefore *Annalladēva* should be substituted for *Avēlladēva* also in my *Northern List*, No. 144, and above, Vol. VIII. App. I. p. 14, col. 1 (after Arṇōrāja).

⁶ For a Rāshṭrōḍa *vaṁśa* see my *Northern List*, No. 273.

⁷ On this and similar titles see my remarks above, Vol. IV. p. 312, note 7. *Mahārājakula* occurs below in D., and in other Mount Ābū inscriptions.

south-east of Nadol, Desuri, which most probably is the Dēvasūri of this inscription; of the other villages I can find no traces on the map.

After the imprecatory verses the inscription (in lines 33 and 34) has the words 'this is the own hand (i.e. sign-manual) of the *Mahārājaputra* (or *Mahārāja's* son), the illustrious Kīrti-pāla,' and the statement that this grant was written by Śubhaṅkara, the son of Dāmōdara and grandson of the *Kāyastha* Sōdha of the Naigama lineage.

The possible equivalents of the date, for the *pūrṇimānta* and *amānta* month Śrāvaṇa, would be—

for the *Chaitrādi* Vikrama year 1218 current: Saturday, the 25th June A.D. 1160, and Monday, the 25th July A.D. 1160 (when the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended 9 h. 8 m. after mean sunrise);

for the *Chaitrādi* Vikrama year 1218 expired: Friday, the 14th July A.D. 1161, and Sunday, the 13th August A.D. 1161 (when the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended 3 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise);

for the *Kārttikādi* Vikrama year 1218 expired: Tuesday, the 3rd July A.D. 1162 (when the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended 11 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise), and Thursday, the 2nd August A.D. 1162.

From this it will be seen that the given date is correct only for the *amānta* month Śrāvaṇa of the current *Chaitrādi* Vikrama year 1218, and therefore apparently corresponds to Monday, the 25th July A.D. 1160. As current Vikrama years are quoted very rarely, this result is not perhaps quite free from suspicion; but I can see no valid reason to question the authenticity of the wording of the original date.¹

TEXT.²

First Plate.

- 1 Ōm³ || Svasti || Śriyai⁴ bhavaṃtu vò dēvā⁵ Vra(bra)hma-Śrīdhara-Śaṅkarāḥ
sadā virāgavaṃ-
- 2 tō yē⁵ Jinā jagati viśrutāḥ || 1⁶ Śākambhari-nāma-purē pur=āsi⁵ ch=chhri-
Chāha-
- 3 mān-ānvaya-labdhanmā | rājā mahārājanat-āmhriyugmaḥ khyâtô=vanau Vākpa-
- 4 tirāja-nāmā || 2 Naddūlē⁷ samabhūt-tadīya-tanayaḥ śrī-Lakshmaṇō bhūpatiḥ=⁸ ta-
- 5 smāt=sarvagun-ānvitō nripa-varaḥ śrī-Sōbhīt-ākhyāḥ⁹ sutaḥ | tasmāch=chh[r*]i-
Va(ba)lirāja-nā-
- 6 ma-nripatiḥ paśchāt=tadīyō mahi-khyâtō Vighrapāla ity=abhidhayā rājyē
pitriyō=bhavat || 3
- 7 Tasmāt=tivramahāpratāpa-taraṇiḥ putrō Mahēndrō=bhavat=taj-jāch=śrī-Anahilladēva-
nripatēḥ śrī-Jēṃ-
- 8 drarājāḥ sutaḥ | tasmād=durddharavairikumjaravadha-prōttālasinh-ōpamaḥ sat-
kīrttyā dhaval[i]kṛit-ā-

¹ With reference to the above I may state that Mr. Ojha has sent me a rubbing of a grant (engraved on one side of one plate only) of the *Mahārājādhirāja* Kēlhanadēva, which is dated in line 1: *samvat 1223 varshē* *Jy[ā]shthā-vadi 12 Sōmē*. This date also works out satisfactorily only for the *amānta* Jyāishthā of the current *Chaitrādi* Vikrama year 1223, for which it corresponds to Monday, the 7th June A.D. 1165.

² From two rubbings supplied to me by Mr. Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha.

³ Denoted by a symbol.

⁴ These signs of punctuation are superfluous.

⁵ Metre of verses 3-5: Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.

⁶ The inscription C. has *Sōbhita*; but as A. has *Sāhiya*, I do not alter the *Sōbhita* of the present inscription to *Sābhita*.

⁷ Metre: Ślōka (Anushṭubh).

⁸ Metre: Indravajrā.

⁹ Read *bhūpatis*.

- 9 khilajagach=chrī-Āsarājō nṛipaḥ || 4 Tat-putrō nijavikramārjitam-¹
mahārājyapratāpodayō
10 yō jagrāha jaya-śriyam rāpa-bharē vyāpādya Saurāshṭrikān | śauchāchāra-
vichāra-dāna-vasatir=Naddū-
11 la-nāthō mahān=samkhyōtpādita-viravṛittir=amalaḥ śrī-Alhaṇō² bhūpatiḥ || 5
Ānēna³ rājñā jana-viśrutē-
12 na |⁴ Rāshṭrauda-vamśaja-var-Āṇahulasya putrī | Annalladēvir=iti śīla-vivēka-
yuktā |⁴ Rāmēna vai Janakaj=ēva vi-
13 vāhit=āsau || 6 Ābhyām⁵ jātāḥ su-putrā jagati vara-dhiyō rūpa-saundarya-
yuktāḥ |⁴ śāstraiḥ śāstraiḥ praga-
14 lbhāḥ pravara-guṇagaṇās=tyāgavantah su-śilāḥ | jyēshṭhaḥ śrī-Kēlhaṇ-ākhyas=tad-
anu cha Gajasimhas=tathā Ki-
15 rttipālō |⁴ yadvan=nētrāṇi Śambhōs=tripurushavad=ath-āmī janē vaimdanīyāḥ |
(||) 7 ⁶Madhyād=amishām pari-

Second Plate; First Side.

- 16 vāra-nāthō shṭhē(jyē)shṭhō śṛgajah kshōpi-talē prasiddhaḥ | kṛita[h*] kumārō
nijarājya-dhārī
17 śrī-Kēlhaṇa[h*] sarvva-guṇair=upētaḥ | (||) [8*] Ābhyām rājakula-śrī-
Ālhaṇadēva- |⁷ kumāra-śrī-Kēlha-
18 padēvābhyām rājaputra-śrī-Kirttipālasya prasādē datta-Naddūlāi-pratīva(ba)ddha-
dvādaśa-grāmāṇī⁸ ||
19 Tatō rājaputra-śrī-Kirttipālāḥ |⁹ sam 1218 Śrāvaṇa-vadi 5 Sōmē || ady=
ē[ha*] śrī-Naddūlē snātva dhō(dhau)-
20 ta-vāsasī paridhāya tilākshatakūsa-praṇayinām dakṣiṇa-karam kṛitvā dēvān=
udakēna samtarpya | va(ba)-
21 halatamatimirapatalapātana-patīyasō niḥśēshapātakapaṇka-prakshālanasya divākārasya
22 pūjām vidhāya | charāchara-gurum Mahēsva(śva)ram namaskṛitya | hutabhuji
hōmadravy-āhutir=ddatvā¹⁰ nalinī-
23 dalagatajalalava-taralam jīvitavyam=ākalayya | aihikam pārachi(tri)kam tha(cha)
phalam=amgikṛitya svapunya-
24 yaśō-bhivṛiddhayē śāsanam prayachchhati yathā || Śrī-Naddūlāigrāmē | śrī-
Mahāvira-jināya Naddūlāi-¹¹
25 dvādaśa-grāmēshu grāmam prati dra 2 dvau drammau snapana-vilēpana-dīpa-
dhūp-ōpabbhōgārtham | śāsanē
26 varsham prati Bhādrapada-māsē chaṇdrārkkakṣhiti-kāla[m] yāvat pradattau ||
Naddūlāigrāma | Sūjēra | Dārijī [I*]
27 Kavilāḍa | Sōnāṇam | Mōrakarā | Haravaimdam [I*] Mādāḍa | Kānasuam |
Dēvasūri | Nādāḍa [I*] Maūvaḍi |
28 ēvam grā¹² 12 ētēshu dvādaśa-grāmēshu sarvvad=āpi asmābhiḥ śāsanē dattau |
ēbhīr=grāmair=adhunā samvatsa-

¹ Read °mārjita.

² Read -Alhaṇō.

³ Metre: a mixture of Upēndravajrā and Vasantatīlakā.

⁴ These signs of punctuation are superfluous.

⁵ Metre: Sragdharā. The last Pāda does not contain the proper caesuras.

⁶ Metre: Upajāti. ⁷ This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

⁸ Wrong for -grāmāḥ. The whole sentence which ends here is ungrammatical.

⁹ All the signs of punctuation in lines 19-23 are superfluous. In some places below the rules of *samdhī* have not been observed.

Read =ddatvā.

¹¹ Read °lāt.

¹² I. e. grāmāḥ.

- 29 rālagitvā¹ sarvvad=āpi varshaṁ prati Bhādrapadē dātavyau | atah ūrddh[^{v*}]am
kēn=āpi paripamthanā na kartavyā |
30 ²Asmad-vamśē vyatikramtē yō=nyaḥ kō=pi bhaviṣyati [^{1*}] tasy=āham kar
lagnō³ na lōpya[^{m*}] mama śāsanam || [9*] Shashthi[^m]⁴ va-
31 rsha-sahasrāpi svarggē tishthati dāyakaḥ | āchchhētā ch=ānuma[^m]tā cha
tāny=ēva narakam⁵ vasēt || [10*] Va(ba)hubhir-vasudhā

Second Plate; Second Side.⁶

- 32 bhuktā rājabhiḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ | yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā
phalam || [11*]
33 Sva-hastō=yaṁ mahārājaputra-śrī-Kirttipālasya || Naigamānvaya-kāyastha-Sōdha-
naptā Subhāmkaraḥ |
34 Dāmōdara-sūtō=lēkhi⁷ śāsanam dharmma-śāsanam || [12*] Maṁgalaṁ mahā-
śrīḥ ||

C.—SUNDHĀ HILL INSCRIPTION OF CHĀCHIGADĒVA;
[VIKRAMA-]SAMVAT 1319.

This inscription is on two stones which were found on the Sundhā Hill, about 10 miles north of Jaswantapura in the Jaswantapura district of the Jōdhpur State of Rājputāna.⁸ I edit it from rubbings, kindly placed at my disposal by Mr. Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha.

The first stone contains 26 lines of writing which covers a space of 3' 3" broad by 1' 7½" high, the second 24 lines which cover a space of 2' 10" broad by 1' 5" high. The size of the letters is about ½" on the first stone, and between ⅓ and ⅜" on the second. The inscription was carefully written by Nāmvasimha, a son of the physician Vijayapāla, and well engraved by Jisaravi, a son of the *sūtradhāra* Jisapāla, and is in a state of perfect preservation. The characters are Nāgarī, and the language is Sanskrit. Excepting two prose passages at the bottom of either stone which record the names of the author, the writer and the engraver, the date *samvat 1319* in line 48, and another prose passage, numbered as a verse, in lines 35 and 36, the text is in verse, the total number of verses (including the prose passage counted as a verse) being 59. As regards orthography, the sign for *v* denotes both *v* and *b*; the palatal sibilant is used for the dental in *śasya*-, l. 16, *śravaṁtī*-, l. 19, *sahasrāṁśu*- (for *sahasrāṁśu*-), l. 22, *śalīla*-, l. 23, *śitah*-, l. 25, and *śitāṁśu*- (for *śitāṁśu*-), l. 37; *kh* and *sh* are confounded in *mayūsha*- (for *mayūkha*-), l. 10, and *piyūkha*- (for *piyūsha*-), l. 41; the *i* of *śrī* is left unchanged before the initial vowel of a proper name in *śrī-Āśārāja*-, l. 21, *śrī-Udayasimha*-, l. 35, and *śrī-Aparājitēsa*-, l. 43; *chchh* is written for *chh* in *chchhalēna*-, l. 7, and *chchhāyayā*-, l. 8; and the sign of *avagraha* is employed in *Samdērē srka*-, l. 16, and in four other places. The language is generally correct and plain, but there are one or two passages about the exact meaning of which I am still doubtful. I especially do not understand verse 12, which seems to allude to some legend unknown to me, in which the creator weighs the sun and the moon, apparently using the Ganges as a balance. Moreover, I am not sure about the meanings of the word *śrīkarī*, which occurs in verses 19 and 59, and *gupyadguru* in verses 15, 26, and 27. To judge from the context in verse 59 (*śrīkarī-saptakavādi*-), the former⁹ may denote some kind of musical instrument; and as a *gupyadguru* must be

¹ Read *rāl=lagitvā*, 'commencing from the current year.'

² Metre of this verse and the rest: Ślōka (Anushtubh).

³ Read *lagnō=smi*.

⁴ Read *shashthi*.

⁵ Read *narakē*.

⁶ Of the three lines on this side only a transcript has been sent to me by Mr. Ojha.

⁷ The passive Aorist is used wrongly here for the active *alēkhāt*.

⁸ I owe this information to Mr. Ojha.

⁹ From the St. Petersburg Dictionary I see that *śrīkarī* occurs in the *Uttamacharitrakathānakam*, l. 234 (*Sitzungsberichte der K. Preuss. Akademie*, 1884, Part I. p. 282), where Prof. Weber has suggested for it the meaning 'a female singer.'

something on which a golden *kumbha* and a golden *kalāṣa* can be placed,¹ the word perhaps denotes a temple generally or a particular temple. Of rare words or words employed in an unusual way we may note *kēli*, 'the earth,' in verse 6, *bhūṣphōṭa*, 'a mushroom,' in verse 16, the feminine *yugālī*, 'a pair,' in verse 18, and *tāmbūliya*, 'an areca-nut,' in verse 21; *bandhu* and *bāndhava* denote 'a brother' in verses 24, 26, and 20; and a cousin is described as *pitṛivya-jatayā bāndhava*, i.e. 'a brother in consequence of being born from a paternal uncle,' in verse 9.

The inscription in the prose passage at the bottom of the first stone and in verse 59 is styled a *praśasti*. It was composed by the (Jaina) *sūri* Jayamaṅgala (Jayamaṅgalāchārya), who belonged to the Bṛihad-gachchha and was a disciple of Rāmachandra, himself a disciple of Dēvachārya.² And its primary object is to glorify the Chāhamāna chief Chāchigadēva, during whose reign it was composed, and for whom it furnishes a date³ in the month of Vaiśākha of the [Vikrama] year 1319, falling in about A.D. 1262. Fortunately, the author has used the occasion to give a eulogistic account of the Chāhamānas of Naddūla generally, which is of considerable interest.

Verses 1-8 pray the moon on Śambhu's (i.e. Śiva's) forehead and (Śiva's consort) Pārvatī or Chāṇḍikā to grant continuous good fortune and happiness. Verse 4 then records that formerly there was the hero Chāhamāna, a source of joy to the great *Rishi* Vatsa.⁴ In his lineage there were:—

- (1.) The lord of Naddūla, king Lakshmaṇa, who was a Śākambhari prince⁵ (vv. 5 and 6).
- (2.) His son Śōbhita (v. 7; the Sōhiya and Sōbhita of A. and B.). He took away the glory of the lord (or lords) of the mountain Arbuda.⁶
- (3.) His son Balirāja (vv. 7 and 8). He defeated an army of Muñjarāja, i.e. the Paramāra Vākpatirāja II. Amōghavarsha of Mālava, for whom we possess dates from A.D. 974 to 993.
- (4.) His paternal uncle's son Mahindu (v. 9).—He is the Mahendra of A. and B., the son of Vighrahapāla whose name is here omitted. He most probably is identical with the Mahendra or Mahindra (?) mentioned under No. 53 of my *Northern List* as a contemporary of the Rāshtrakūṭa Dhavala of Hastikunḍī, whose inscription is dated in A.D. 997.
- (5.) His son Aśvapāla (vv. 10 and 11; omitted in A. and B.).
- (6.) His son Ahila (vv. 12 and 13; likewise omitted in A. and B.). He defeated an army of the Gūrjara king Bhīma, i.e. the Chaulukya Bhīmadēva I. of Anahilapāṭaka.
- (7.) His paternal uncle Anahilla (vv. 14-17; in A. and B. described as the son of Mahendra). He also defeated the king Bhīma (Bhīmadēva I.); took Śākambhari; and slew

¹ See verses 26 and 27.

² He is described as *śrīkari-saptaka-cādin* which, as intimated above, appears to mean 'playing the seven *śrīkarts*.'

³ The exact date (in verse 57) is the *akṣaya-tṛitīyā* or third *tithi* of the bright half of the month Mādhava (Vaiśākha) of the [Vikrama] year 1319, given both in words and in figures. The date does not admit of verification; its possible equivalents would be the 4th April A.D. 1261, the 23rd April A.D. 1262, and the 12th April A.D. 1263.

⁴ According to the inscription of Luṅṭigadēva treated of under D. the holy Vachchha (Vatsa) brought about the creation of the Chāhamāna family. And according to verse 12 of the Bijoli rock inscription of Sōmēśvara (No. 154 of my *Northern List*) Sāmanta, the first Chāhamāna chief, was born in the Vatsa *gōtra* at Ahichchhatrapura.

⁵ The original has *Śākambharīndra*. It will be seen below under D. that Lakshmaṇa most probably had the epithet *Śākambhari-māṇikya*, 'the jewel of Śākambhari.' Mr. Ojha tells me that a Chāhamāna even now will be addressed as *Sambharīrāja*, 'Śākambhari prince.'

⁶ I.e. Mount Ābū. With the expression *Himādri-bhava* of the original as a name of the mountain Arbuda compare *Himavataḥ śānuḥ* in the unpublished Vasantgaḍh inscription of Varmalāta; *Himagiri-tanayaḥ* in *Kp. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 234, v. 5; and *Gaurīvarasvatura-bhādhara-sambhava* above, Vol. VIII. p. 210, l. 17. The lord (or lords) of Arbuda spoken of above probably belonged to the Paramāra family treated of in the Vasantgaḍh inscription of Pārnapāla, above, p. 10.

(or defeated) Sāḍha, a general of the Mālava king Bhōja (i.e. the Paramāra Bhōjadēva), and the Turushka.

(8.) His son Bālaprasāda (vv. 18 and 19; omitted in B.). He forced the king Jishma (Bhīmadēva I.) to release from prison a king named Kṛishṇadēva.—This Kṛishṇadēva most probably is the Paramāra Kṛishṇarāja (the son of Dhandhuka¹ and grandson of (?) Dēvarāja), of whom we have two inscriptions at Bhīmāl (Śrīmāla), dated in A.D. 1060 and 1067 (Nos. 689 and 690 of my *Northern List*).

(9.) His brother Jindurāja (vv. 20 and 21; the Jēndrarāja of A. and B.). He fought victoriously at Saṇḍēra (the modern Sanderao in the Jōdhpur State, south-west of Nadol).

(10.) His son Pṛithvipāla (vv. 22 and 23; omitted in B.). He defeated an army of the Gūrjara king Karṇa, i.e. Bhīmadēva's son and successor Karṇa Trailōkyamalla.

(11.) His brother Yōjaka (vv. 24 and 25; the Jōjalla of A., omitted in B.). He by force occupied Anahillapura (Anahilapātaka).

(12.) His brother Āśārāja (vv. 26-30; in B. described as the son of Jēndrarāja). He pleased Siddhādhirāja, i.e. Karṇa's son and successor Jayasinha Siddharāja, by the assistance which he rendered to him in the country of Mālava, but afterwards apparently was on hostile terms with him.

With the account of Āśārāja ends that part of the inscription which is on the first stone. The part on the second stone (after a symbol for *om*) begins, as if it were an independent inscription, with a verse (v. 31) praying for the blessing of Śambhu (Śiva), 'the crest of the Sugandhādri,'² i.e. the mountain Sugandha, which clearly is the Sundhā Hill where the inscription was found. The author then continues the genealogy by stating that Āśārāja's son was —

(13.) Āhlādana (vv. 32 and 33; the Ālhanadēva of A. and B.). His assistance was sought by the Gūrjara king, and his army put down disturbances in the mountainous part of Surāshṭra (*gīrau Saurāshṭra*). He built a Śiva temple at Naddūla.—We have seen above that the two inscriptions A. and B., which are of this chief's reign, are dated in A.D. 1161 and 1160. Before that time, he is mentioned (together with his son Kēlhana), apparently as a feudatory of the Chaulukya Kumārapāla, in the Kerāḍu fragmentary inscription of Kumārapāla's reign which is dated in A.D. 1153 (No. 133 of my *Northern List*).

(14.) His son Kēlhana (v. 34). He defeated the southern king Bhilima, and after destroying the Turushka erected a golden *tōraṇa*, 'like a diadem for the abode of the holy Sōmēsa.'—For the *Mahārājādhirāja* Kēlhana I have given above, p. 68, note 1, a date in A.D. 1165. The southern king Bhilima, whom he is said to have defeated, must have been the Dēvagiri-Yādava Bhillama, whose Gadag inscription is dated in A.D. 1191 (No. 334 of my *Southern List*).

(15.) His brother Kīrtipāla (vv. 35 and 36). He defeated a Kirātakūṭa chief named Āsala, and at Kāsahrada routed an army of the Turushka. As ruler of the kingdom of Naddūla he took up his residence at Jāvālipura.—Of the places here mentioned Kirātakūṭa is Kerāḍu, according to *Bhāvnagar Inscr.* p. 172,³ 'a small village near Hāthamo under Bādamera' (Bārmer) in the Jōdhpur State. Jāvālipura, to which Kīrtipāla transferred his residence, is the

¹ He apparently is the Paramāra Dhandhu, who according to an inscription at Vimala's temple on Mount Ābū which will be mentioned below, p. 81, transferred his allegiance from Bhīmadēva I. to king Bhōja, the lord of Dhārā (i.e. Bhōjadēva of Mālava).

² I understand this epithet to mean that there was a temple of Śiva on the mountain Sugandha.

³ In line 5 of the inscription given there the name appears as *Kirātakūpa*.—According to the *Rājputāna Gazetteer*, Vol. II. p. 265, 'Kherāru' is about 20 miles west of Bārmer.

town of Jâlor in the same State. A place named Kâsahrada has been identified by the late Prof. Bühler¹ with Kâsandra or Kâsandhra, a village with about 400 inhabitants on the road from Dholâ to Palitânâ, in Long. 72° 11', Lat. 22° 19'; but the Kâsahrada of this inscription may be a different place nearer Nadol.—According to verse 41 Kirtipâla's daughter Rûdaladêvi built two temples of Śiva at Jâvâlipura.

(16.) His son Samarasimha (vv. 37-40). He built extensive ramparts on the Kanakâchala (or 'gold hill') and founded the town of Samarapura.—This town I am unable to identify. *Kanakâchala* according to Mr. Ojha is the name of the fort² of Jâlor which, he informs me, is locally known as 'Sonalgah,' and the *Sauvarṇa-giri* of Jâvâlipura I find actually mentioned in an inscription on Mount Âbû.³ In an inscription of the [Vikrama] year 1221, from which Mr. Ojha has sent me a quotation, it is called *Kâñchana-gaḍha*.—Samarasimha clearly is the *Châhu[mâna*]-râṇa[ka*]-Samarasîha*, whose daughter Lîlâdêvi was the (or a) queen of the Châulukya Bhîmadêva II.⁴

(17.) His son Udayasimha (vv. 42-46). According to the prose passage in lines 35 and 36 he ruled 'the glorious Naddûla, the glorious Jâvâlipura, Mâṇḍavyapura, Vâgbhaṭamêru, Sûrâchanda, Râṭahrada, Khêḍa, Râmasainya, Śrîmâla, Ratnapura, Satyapura, and other places.'—With the exception of Mâṇḍavyapura and Râṭahrada the places here enumerated are easily found on the map of the Râjputâna Agency (in Marwar) under the names Nâdol, Jâlor, Barmer, Surâchand, Kher (between Tilwâra and Bâlotra), Râmsen, Bhînmâl, Ratanpura and Sâñchor. Mâṇḍavyapura is Mandor, according to the *Râjputâna Gazetteer* three miles from Jôdhpur; Râṭahrada I cannot identify.—Udayasimha's queen was Prahâdanadêvi, who bore to him two sons, Châchigadêva and Châmunḍarâja. Regarding his exploits, the inscription states in a general way that he curbed the pride of the Turushka, was not to be conquered by the Gûrjara kings, and put an end to the Sindhu king. He was a scholar conversant with the great works of Bharata⁵ and others, and built two Śiva temples at Jâvâlipura.—Udayasimha clearly is identical with the *Mahârâjâdhîrâja* Udayasimhadêva of whose reign we have three inscriptions at Bhinmâl (Nos. 697-699 of my *Northern List*) dated in the [Vikrama] years 1262, 1274 and 1305, corresponding to about A.D. 1205, A.D. 1218, and about A.D. 1248; and also with the *Mahârâjakula* Udayasimhadêva, for whom I have given a date, falling in A.D. 1249, in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 175, No. 115. He was succeeded by—

(18.) his son⁶ Châchigadêva (vv. 47-57). He in verse 50 is described as 'destroying the roaring Gûrjara lord Virama, hating the enemy Śalya, taking exquisite delight in felling the shaking (or leaping) Pâtuka, depriving of his colour Saṅga, and a thunderbolt to the mountain—the furious Nahara.' As will be seen from this translation, the words *śalya*,⁷ *pâtuka* and *saṅga* of the original must in my opinion, like *virama* and *nahara*, be taken as proper names; but of the five persons enumerated I can identify only the first. Being described as 'Gûrjara lord,' Virama appears clearly to be the Vâghêlâ Viramadêva, the son of Viradhavala and elder brother of Viśaladêva, who is reported to have been the son-in-law of Udayasimha of Jâvâlipura,⁸ and

¹ See his paper on the *Sukṛitasamkīrtana* of Arisimha, p. 25. For another identification of Kâsahrada see above, Vol. VIII. p. 206, note 2.

² For a description of this fort which is about 800 yards in length by 400 in width, and crowns a rocky hill of an altitude of 1,200 feet above the surrounding plain, see the *Râjputâna Gazetteer*, Vol. II. p. 260.

³ Line 33 of No. 1722 of Mr. Cousens' List.

⁴ See the plates of Bhîmadêva II. (of A.D. 1206) in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 195, Plate ii. line 1.

⁵ I.e. apparently the *Bhârattya-nṛtyasâstra*.

⁶ Udayasimha's other son Châmunḍarâja is not further mentioned in the inscription. He may be the Châmunḍarâja whose name occurs under No. 703 of my *Northern List*.

⁷ *Śalya* probably is a proper name, denoting an enemy of Lavana-prasâda, also in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 27, verse 19.—In our inscription the name may be *Śatruśalya*; compare Prof. Eggeling's *Catalogue*, p. 1510.

⁸ See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 190. Compare also the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I. Part I. p. 203, where Jâbâlipura has been taken to be Jabalpur.

would therefore have been the own brother-in-law of Châchigadêva. — The following verses treat of the same chief's works of piety. At Śrīmāla he remitted certain taxes, and at Rāmasainyā he granted funds for the worship of (the god) Vighrahāditya, and placed a golden cupola (*kuṇḍika*) and a flag-staff (*dhvaja*) on the temple of (the god) Aparājītēśa to whom at the same time he gave a silver girdle (*mākhala*). For the same temple he provided a hall (*śālā*) with a car (*ratha*) richly decked with precious stones. Châchigadêva visited the Sugandhādri, worshipped there the goddess Chāmundā, known by the name Aghatēśvari, and at her temple established a *maṇḍapa* which was consecrated by the Brāhmins on the *akshaya-tṛitīyā* of the month Vaiśākha of the [Vikrama] year 1319.

I have already stated that the inscription thus for the reign of Châchigadêva yields a date in about A.D. 1262. Two other dates, of the [Vikrama] years 1333 and 1334, falling in about A.D. 1276 and 1277, are furnished for him by the two Bhinmāl inscriptions Nos. 702 and 703 of my *Northern List*, where he is described as the *Mahārājakula* Châchiga or Châchigadêva.

I may add that Châchigadêva is mentioned, under the name Châcha, in line 8 of the Jōdhpur inscription of Rūpādēvi, published by me above, Vol. IV. p. 312 ff. In my text of that inscription I have given the name as *Chāva*, and a renewed examination of the impressions enables me to affirm that either this is the actual reading, or that at any rate the name would be so read in the impressions by any one not acquainted with what we have learnt now from the Sundhā Hill inscription. Knowing what I do now, I have no doubt that the intended reading is *Châcha*. This Châcha is called a Chāhumāna in Rūpādēvi's inscription and described as the son of Udayasimha¹ and grandson of Samarasimha, which exactly fits our Châchigadêva. The inscription supplies the additional information that Châcha's wife was Lakshmīdēvi, and that this lady bore to him Rūpādēvi, who became the wife of a king Tējasimha (to whom she bore a son named Kshētrasimha) and founded a well or tank in A.D. 1284, in the reign of the *Mahārājakula* Sāmyantasimhadêva.²

TEXT.³

First Stone.

- 1 || Ōm⁴ || ⁵Śvêtāmbhōj-ātapatram kim=u Giri-duhituḥ Svastatīnyā gavākshaḥ kim vā saukhy-āsanam vā mahimamukhamahāsiddhidēvi-gaṇasya | trailōkyānanda-hêtōḥ kim=uditam=anagham ślāghya-nakshatram=uchchaiḥ Śāmbhōr=bhālasthal-ēnduḥ sukritikṛita-
- 2 nutiḥ pātu vō rājya-lakshmim || 1 ⁶Īśasy=āṅk-āvanir=anupamānandasaṁdōha-mūlā chaṁchadvāsōmchaladalamayī bhūṣhaṇa-praudhapushyā(śhpā) | sallāvanyōdaya-suphalinī Pārsvatīprēma-vallī lakshmim pushpātva=anu-dinam=ativyakta-bhakti-natānām || 2 ⁷Vikātamukuta-mādyattēja-
- 3 sâ vyōmni daityān=iva bhuvī maṇimayyā mēkhalāyāḥ kvaṇēna | anapuranita-kilāhaṁsakais=trāsayaṁtī phanipatibhuvan-āntas=Chāṁdikā vaḥ śriyē=stu || ⁸Śrīmad-Vatsamaharshi-harshanayanōdbhūtāmru(bu)pūraprabha-⁹pūrvvōrvvid h a r a -maulimukhyasikharālakṣara-tigmadyutiḥ | prithvīm trātu-
- 4 m=apāsta-daityatimirah śrī-Chāhamānah purā vīrah kshīrasamudrasōdara-yaśōrāsi prakāśō=bhavat || 4 ¹⁰Ratn-āvalyām=iva nṛipa-tatau tat-kramē viśrutāyām

¹ The proper relation to Udayasimha of the Mānavasimha who is mentioned in my account of Rūpādēvi's inscription, above, Vol. IV. p. 313, will be given below, under D.

² So the name is spelt in the inscription. The published texts of the inscriptions Nos. 704, 706 and 707 (of A.D. 1282, 1286 and 1289) of my *Northern List* have *Sāmyantasimhadêva*.

³ From a rubbing supplied to me by Mr. Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha.

⁴ Denoted by a symbol.

⁵ Metre: Mālinī.

⁶ Metre: Sragdharā.

⁷ Metre: Mandākrāntā.

⁸ Originally *prabhā* was engraved, but the sign for *ā* has been struck out.

⁹ Metre of verses 5 and 6: Mandākrāntā.

- dharmmasthānaprakarakarāṇa-prāptapūnyōtsavāyām | śrī-Naddūl-ādhipatir-abhaval-
- Lakshmanō nāma
- 5 rājā Lakshmiḥlāsadanasadṛiśākāra-Śākambhar-īndrah || 5 Ā pātālāt=samara-
śaladhīm Maṇḍarō yasya khaḍgō mushṭi-vyājād=bhujagapatinā śrīmkhalēn=
śvava(ba)ddhaḥ | nirmmathy-ōchchhaiḥ sapadi Kamalām lilay-ōddhṛittya(tya)
mattas=chakrē nṛittam raṇita-katakāḥ kēlikam-
- 6 pa-chchhalēna || 6 ¹Tasmād=Dhimādribhavanātha-yaśōpahārī śrī-Śōbhitō=jani
nripō=sya tanūdabhavō=tha | gāmbhīryadhairya-sadanam Va(ba)lirājadēvō yō
Mumjarāja-va(ba)la-bhaṅgam=achikarat=tam || 7 ²Sāmraṇy-āśākarēpum
ripunripatigaja-stōmam=ākramya jahṛē yat-khaḍgō gam-
- 7 dhahastī samararasa-bharē Viṇḍhyaśailāyamānē | muktāsuktīmdukānt-
ōjvalaruchishu lasatkīrti-Rēvātātēshu prauḍhānamdōpachār-ōlvanapulakatatih
pushkarāṇām chchhalēna³ || 8 ⁴Tatpitṛivyaajatay=ātha vām(bām)dhavaḥ
śrī-Mahīmdur=ajanishṭa bhūpatih | yat-kripāṇa-
- 8 latikām=upēyushām chchhāyayā⁵ virahitam mukham dvishām || 9 Jajñē⁶
kāntas=tad=anu cha bhuvās=tat-tanūjō=śvapālāḥ kālāḥ krūrē dvishi su-
charitē pūrṇpachamdrāyamāṇaḥ | yaḥ saṁlagnō na khalu tamasā n=aiva
dōshākar-ātma tējō-muktaḥ kvachid=api na yaḥ kimcha mitr-ō-
- 9 dayēshu || 10 ⁷Kēyūrāgrānivishṭaratnamikara-prōdyatprabhādamva(ba)ra-vyaktaṁ
saṁgararāṅga-maṇḍapatalē yaṁ vairi-lakshmiḥ śritā | virēshu prasritēshu
tēshu rajasā nītēshu durllakshyatām lavdhō(bdhō)pāyava(ba)l=āpi
nirmala-guṇair=vaśyā prāsasy-ākṛitih || 11 Pu-⁸
- 10 tras=tasy=Āhila iti nripas=tamayūsha(kha)-chchhalēna srashtā yasya vyadhita
yaśasām tējasām tōlanam nu | Gaṁgātōlē śasi-tapanayōr=dambhataś=
chāruchēlē madhyasthāyidhruyamisha-lasatkāntakē kantukēna || 12 ⁹Gūrjarādhipati-
Bhīma-bhūbhujāḥ sainya-pūram=a-
- 11 jayad=raṇēshu yaḥ [¹⁰] Sāmbhuvat-Tripura-sāmbhavam va(ba)lām vādavō=
nala iv=āmvu(bu)dhēr-jalam || 13 ¹⁰Sainyākrānt-ākhlavasumatimamḍalas=tat-
pitṛivyaḥ śrīmān rāj=ābhavad=atha jīt-ārātimallō=naḥillāḥ | Bhīma-kshōṇipati-
gajaghaṭṭā yēna bhagnā raṇ-āgrē hṛidyārth-āmabhōni-
- 12 dhi-Raghu-kṛitē ch=ēha paṁktih khalānām || 14 Āmbhōjāni¹¹ mukhāny=ahō
mṛigadṛiśām chamdr-ōdayānām mudō Lakshmiḥ=yatra narōttamānusarānavyāpāra-
pāraṅgamā | yānāni prasabham śubhāni śikhari-śrēṇ=fva gupyaḍguru-stōmō¹²
yasya narēśvarasya tulanām sēn=ām-
- 13 vu(bu)rāsēr=dadhau || 15 Urvviruṭ¹³ viṭapāvalamva(ba)-sugrihīharmyēshu datvā¹⁴
dṛiśām dhyāt-ātyamāntamanōharākṛitiniḥprāsādavātāyanāḥ | bhūspḥōṭāni vanāntarēshu
vitātāny=ālōkya hāhēti-vāk sasmār=ātapavāraṇāni śataśō yad-vairirājavraja-
- 14 h || 16 Dṛiṣṭaḥ kair=na Chaturbhujāḥ sa samarē Śākambharīm yō
va(ba)lāj=jagrāh=ānu jaghāna Mālava-patēr=Bhōjasya Sādh-āhvayām |
damḍ-ādhiśam=apāra-sainyavibhavam tivrām Turushkam cha yaḥ sākshād=
Vishṇur=asā[dha]nīya-yaśasā śrīmgāritā yēna bhūḥ || 17 Jajñē¹⁵ bhūbhrit=tad=a-

¹ Metre: Vasantatilakā.² Metre: Sragdharā.³ Read *chhalēna*.⁴ Metre: Rathōddhatā.⁵ Read *chhāyayā*.⁶ Metre: Mandākrāntā.⁷ Metre: Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.⁸ Metre: Mandākrāntā.—I am unable to explain this verse. See above, p. 70.⁹ Metre: Rathōddhatā.¹⁰ Metre: Mandākrāntā.¹¹ Metre of verses 15-17: Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.¹² The exact meaning of the word *gupyaḍguru* is unknown to me; it occurs again in verses 26 and 27. See

above, p. 71.

¹³ Read *urvttrudvī*?¹⁴ Read *datvā*.¹⁵ Metre: Mandākrāntā.

15. nu tanayas=tasya Vā(bā)laprasādō Bhīma-kṣmābhṛich-charanayugalimardde-
vyājatō yah | kurvan pīḍām=ativa(ba)latayā mōchayāmāsa kārāgē rād-
bhūmīpatim=api tathā Kṛishṇadēv-ābhīdhānam || 18 Śrīkaryō¹ jalada-bhṛamam
dadhur=ahō sainyē=sya sē-
- 16 vārasāyātartu-pratimē samujvala-patā² vāsā marāla-śriyam | kampam j vāyu-
vasēna kētu-nivahā śa(sa)sy-ānukāram cha tē³ saṁgītāni cha kōkilārava-
tulām chittē tū tāpam dvishah || 19 Śrīmāms=tasy-ājani narapatir-
vām(bām)dhavō Jimdurājō yah Saṁdērē
- 17 srka⁴ iva timiram vairi-vṛindam vi(bi)bhēda | yasya jyōtiḥ-prakaram=abhito
vidvishah kauśik-ābhā drashtum śaktā na hi giriguhā-madhyam=adhyāśritās-
tat || 20 Gachchhamtānām ripu-mṛigadṛisām bhūṣhaṇānām prapātē vāshp-
āsārair=ghanatati-tulām vi(bi)bhratnām=aranyē | dūrvvā-
- 18 bhrāmīm marakatamani-śrēpayō yat-prayānē tām vū(bū)liya-bhramam=iva chiram
chakrirē padmarāgāh || 21 Pṛithvīm⁵ pālayitum pavitramatimān yah
karshukānām⁷ karam munchan prāpa yasāmsi kunda-dhavalāny=ānamdahṛidy-
ānanah | Pṛithvipāla iti dhruvam kshiti-
- 19 patis=tasy-āmgajanm=ābhavat=pratyakshōrunidhi⁸ sa Gūrjara-patēḥ Karṇṇasya
sainy-āpahah || 22 Yat-sēnā kila kāmadhēnu-sadṛisī kīrtim śra(sra)vaṁti
payah svachohhamdam sacharācharē=pi bhuvanē satrūms=trīṇīkurvati |
dharmaṁ vatsam=iva svakīyam=anagham vṛiddhim nayaṁti
- 20 mudā kasy=ānamda-karī va(ba)bhūva na bhuvō=bhīṣṭam samātanvatī || 23 Śrī-
Yōjakō bhūpatir=asya vām(bām)dhur=vivēkasaudha-prava(ba)lapratāpah | svēt-
ātapatrēna virājamānah śakty=Āṇahillākhyapurē=pi rēmē || 24 Tyaktvā¹⁰
sandham=udāra-kēlivipinam krīd-ā-
- 21 chalē dīrghikām palyamk-āśrayanam karēṇushu mudām sthānam samantād=api |
yasy=ārikshītipāla-vā(bā)lalalanāḥ śailē vanē nirjharē sthūlagrāva-śirassu saṁsmṛitim=
aguḥ pūrvōpabhukta-śriyam || 25 Śrī-Āśārāja-nāmā samajani vasudhā-nāyakas=ta-
- 22 sya vām(bām)dhuh sāhāyyam Mālavānām bhuvi yadasi-kṛitam vikshya
Siddhādhirājah | tushṭō dhattē sma kumbham kanakamayam=ahō yasya
gupyadguru-stham tam hartum n=aiva śaktah kalushita-hṛidayah śēshabhūpāla-
vāgbhiḥ || 26 Udayagirisīrah-stham kim sahasrāmśu-vimvam¹³
- 23 vitata-vīśadakīrttār=mūrdhni kim nu pratāpah | upari subhagatāyā udgatā
mānjari kim kanaka-kalāśa ābhād=yasya gupyadguru-sthah || 27 Kanakaruchi-
śarīrah śailasār-ābhirāmah phanipati-mahanīyasy=āvatārah sa Vishṇōḥ |
śa(sa)lilanidhi-su-
- 24 tāyā māndirē skandha-dēśē dadhad=avanim=udārām=agrimah puṇya-mūrttiḥ || 28
Sattrāgāra-tadāga-kānana-Haraprāsāda-vāpī-prapā-kūp-ādīni vinirmamē dvijajan-
ānamdī kshamā-māṇḍalē | dharmmasthāna-satāni yah kila vu(bu)dha-śrēṇīshu

¹ Metre: Śārdūlavikṛīḍita. — Originally *śrīkaryō* was engraved, but this has clearly been altered to *śrīkaryō*.
The word occurs again in verse 59. See above, p. 70.

² Read *samujjvala*.

³ Here a sign of punctuation was engraved, but has been struck out.

⁴ Metre of verses 20 and 21: Mandākrāntā.

⁵ The sign of *avagraha* is engraved at the end of the preceding line.

⁶ Metre of verses 22 and 23: Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.

⁷ Read *karshukānām* (for the ordinary *karshakānām*).

⁸ This word is quite clear in the rubbing, but I am not sure that it is correct. Perhaps the intended reading may be *pratyakshō=mbūnidhiḥ*.

⁹ Metre: Upajāti.

¹⁰ Metre: Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.

¹¹ Metre of verses 27 and 28: Mālinī.

¹² Metre of verses 29 and 30: Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.

¹³ Metre: Sragdharā.

¹⁴ Read *sahasrāmśu-bimbam*.

- 25 kalpadrumaḥ kas=tasy=āṇdūtushāraśaila-dhavalam stōtum yaśaḥ kōvidaḥ || 29
 • Śvētāny=ēva yaśāmsi turgaturaga-stōmaḥ śi(si)taḥ subhruvām chaṁchanmauktika-
 bhūṣhaṇāni dhavalāny=uchohaiḥ samagrāny=api | prēmālāpa-bhavaṁ smitaṁ
 cha viśadam subhrā-
 26 pi vastraukasām vṛindān=īti nṛpasya yasya pṛitanā Kailāsa-lakṣmīm śritā || 30
 Prasastir=iyam Vṛi(bṛi)hadgachchhiya-śrī-Jayamaṅgalāchārya-kṛitīḥ || Bhishag-
 Vijayapāla-putra-Nāmvasiṁhēna likhitā | Sūtra-¹Jisapāla-putra-Jisaraviṇā² utkīrṇā ||

Second Stone.

- 27 || Ōm³ || ⁴Jaṭā-mūlē Gaṅgāprava(ba)lalahaṛipūtrakuhanā-samunmīlachchhatraprakara⁵
 iva namrēshu nṛpatām | pradātum śrī-Sāmbhuḥ sakalabhuvan-ādhiśvaratayā
 tayā vā dēyād=vaḥ śubham=ihā Sugamdhādri-mukutaḥ || 31 ⁶Āśārāja-kṣhitipa-
 tanayaḥ śrī-
 28 mad-Āhlādan-āhvō jajñē bhūbhṛid=bhuvana-viditaś=Chāhamānasya vaṁśē | śrī-
 Naddūlē Śivabhavana-kṛid=dharmmasarvasva-vēttā yat-sāhāyām pratipadam=ahō
 Gūrjarēśaś=chakāmksa || 32 ⁷Chamchatkētakachampaka-pravilasattālitamālāguru-
 sphūrijachchamda-
 29 nanālikērakadalīdrākshāmra-kamrē girau | Saurāshtrē kuṭilōgrakamṭakabhid-
 ātyuddāmakirttēs=tadā yasy=ābhūd=abhimāna-bhāsuratayā sēnācharāṇām ravaḥ || 33
⁸Śrīmāms=tasy=āṅgaḥ iha nṛpaḥ Kēlhaṇō dakṣiṇāśādhiś-ōdamchad-Bhili-
 30 ma-nṛpatēr=mānahṛit-sainyasiṁdhuḥ | nirbhidy=ōchchhaiḥ prava(ba)la-kalitam yas=
 Turushkam vyadhata śrīSōmēśāspadamukutavat=tōraṇam kāmchanasya || 34
⁹Bhrāt=āsyā prava(ba)lapratāpa-nilayaḥ śrī-Kirttipālō=bhavad=bhū-nāthaḥ
 pratipakṣhapārthivachamūdāv-āmvu(bu)vāh-ō-
 31 pamaḥ | yat-khaḍgāmvu(bu)nidhau hat-ārikarīṇām kumbhasthālībhyāḥ ksharan=
 muktānām nikarō marāla-lalitām dhattē sma dhār-āśrayaḥ || 35 Yō
 durddāmāta-Kirātakūṭa-nṛpatim bhittvā śarair=Āsalam tasmin=Kāsahradē¹⁰
 Turushka-nikaram jivā rāpa-prāṅgaṇē | śrī-Jāvālī-
 32 purē sthitim vyarachayan=Naddūlarājy-ēśvaraś=chintāratna-nibhaḥ samagra-
 vidushām niḥśmasainy-ādhipaḥ || 36 ¹¹Śrī-Samarasiṁhadēvas=tat-tanayaḥ
 kshōṇimamḍal-ādhipatīḥ | Indra iva vivu(bu)dhahṛiday-ānamdī purushōttamō
 Harivat || 37 Prākārah¹² Kanakā-
 33 chālē virachitō yēn=ēha puny-ātmanā nānāyāmtramanōjña-kōshṭa(shṭha)katatir=
 vidyādharīśirshavān [I*] kim Śēshaḥ phaṇavṛindamēdura-tanur=vakṣhaḥsthalē
 vā bhuvō hāraḥ kim bhramaṇa-śramād=uḍu-gaṇaḥ kim v=aisha bhājē
 sthitim || 38 ¹³Kamala-vanam=iv=ēdam vapraśirshālī-dam-
 34 bhān=nikhilavipuladēśaśrī-samākarṣhaṇāya | likhitaviśadaviṁduśrēṇivan=mattavairi-
 kṣhitipativiphalājistōma-samkhyānimittam || 39 Tōlayāmāsa¹⁴ yaḥ svarṇpair=ātmanam
 sōma-parvaṇi | ārama-ramyam Samarapuram yaḥ kṛitavān=atha || 40
 35 ¹⁵Śrī-Kirttipālābhūpati-putrī Jāvālīpuravarē chakrē | śrī-Rūdaladēvi Śivamāndira-
 yugalam . pavitra-matīḥ || 41 Śrī-Samarasiṁhadēvasya namdanāḥ prava(ba)-

¹ I.e. *sūtradhāra*; compare the same abbreviation e.g. in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 243, l. 27, and above, Vol.

III. p. 304, l. 5.

² Read °ṇ=ōḥ.

³ Read °chchhatraprakara.

⁴ Metre: Mandākrāntā.

⁵ Metre: Mandākrāntā.

⁶ Here the *a* of the second syllable is (before *hr*) treated as a short vowel; see *Ind. Studien*, Vol. VIII.

p. 226.

⁷ Metre: Āryā.

⁸ Metre: Mālinī.

⁹ Metre of verses 41 and 42: Āryā (*pathyā* and *ādī-vipulā*).

¹⁰ Denoted by a symbol.

¹¹ Metre: Mandākrāntā.

¹² Metre of verses 35 and 36: Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.

¹³ Metre: Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.

¹⁴ Metre: Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.

¹⁵ Metre: Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.

¹⁶ Metre: Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.

¹⁷ Metre: Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.

¹⁸ Metre: Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.

- laśaurya-ramaṇīyah | Śrī-Udayasimha-bhūpatir=abhūt=prabhā-bhāsvad-upamānah¹ ||
 42 ²ŚrīNaddū-
- 36 la-śrīJāvālipura-Māṇḍavyapura-Vāgbhaṭamēru-Sūrāchamḍa-Rāṭa h r a d a-K h a d a-
 Rāmasainya-Śrīmāla-Ratnapura-Satya-pura-prabhṛiti-dēsānām=ayam=adhipatiḥ || 43
 Śēshah³ stōtum=iva prarūḍha-rasanābhārah samantād=abhūt kshirāvdi(ḍhi)h
 pariravdhu(bdhu)m=uddhura-bhu-
- 37 jah kaḷḷōlamālā-mishāt | drashtum ch=ānimish-ākshipamkajavanō Vāstōhpatir=
 yasya tām⁵ viśvaśrī-hṛidayasya hāralatikām kīrtim sitāms-ūjvalām⁶ || 44 ⁷Śrī-
 Pralhā(hlā)danadēvi rājñi yasy=āmgajam prasūtē sma | śrī-Chāchigadēv.
 āhvaṁ tath=aiva Chāmumdarāj-ākhyam || 45⁸
- 38 ⁹Dhīrōdāttas=Turushkādhīpa-madadalanō Gūrjarēmdrair=ajēyah sēvāyātakshītā.
 ōchitakarāṇa-paṭuḥ Simdhurāj-āmtakō yah | prōddāmanyāya-hētur=Bharata-
 mukhamahāgramtha-tatvārthavēttā¹⁰ śrīmaj-Jāvāli-samjñē¹¹ puri Śivasadanadvaṁdva-
 karttā kṛitajñah || 46
- 39 ¹²Tatpatṭōdayasaila-bhānūr=anaghaprōddāmadharmakriyā-nishṇātaḥ kamanīyarūpa-nilayō
 dān-ēśvaraḥ suprabhuḥ | saumyah sūra-sīrōmaṇis=cha sadayah sākshād=iv=
 ūmdrah svayam śrīmān¹³ Chāchigadēva ēva jayati pratyaksha-kalpadrumah || 47
 Bhṛūbhāṅgēna
- 40 bhayamkarēṇa vijita-pratyarthibhūmīpatiḥ śrīmān¹³ Chāchigadēva ēva tanutē
 nirvighna-vṛittim bhuvam | dvaijihvyam vidadhātu pannaga-patir=vakraṁ
 varāhō mukham kūrmo nakra-tatim karīmdra-nivahah saṁghāta-sausthyam
 param || 48 Mērōh¹⁴ sthairyam vachana-rachanam Vā-
- 41 kpatēr=yasya tulyam¹⁵ pṛithvibhār-ōddharaṇam=asamam pannagēmdr-ānushaṁgi |
 sākshād=Rāmah kim=ayam=athavā pūrṇa-pīyūkha(sha)raśmīs=chintāratnam
 prapayini janē dēva ēv=aisha tasmāt || 49 ¹⁶Sphūrjad-Virama-Gūrjarēsa-dalanō
 yah śatru-Śalyam dvishamś=chamchat-Pātu-
- 42 ka-pātanaikarasikah Saṁgasya raṁg-āpahah | ¹⁷unmādyan-Nahar-āchalasya kulī-
 ākāras=trilōkitala-bhṛāmyatkīrtir=asēshavairidahanōdagrapratāp-ōlvanah || 50 Śrīmālē
 dvijajānuvātīkakara-¹⁸tyāgi tathā Vighrahādityasy=ā-
- 43 pi cha Rāmasainya-nagarē nityārchohan-ārthapradah | prōttumgē=py=Aparājitēsa-
 bhavanē sauvarṇpakumbhadhvaj-ārōpī rūpyajamēkhalā-vitarāṇas=tasy=aiva dēvasya
 yah || 51 Chakrē śrī-Aparājitēsa-bhavanē śālā tath=āsyam rathah Kailā-
- 44 sa-pratīmas=trilōkakamalālamkāra-ratnōchchayah | yēna kshōṇi-puraṁdarēṇa kṛitinām=
 ānanda-samvittayē bhāgyam vā nijam=ēva parvata-tulām nītaṁ samantād=api || 52
 Karṇō dāna-ruohir=Va(ba)liś=cha sukṛitī ślāghyō Dadhichis=tathā hṛidyah ka-
- 45 lpataruḥ prakāmamadhur-ākāras=cha chintāmaṇiḥ | śrīmach-Chāchigadēva-dāna-
 muditās=tan-nāma gṛihna(hṇa)nti yat=tat=kīrttēr=api nūtanatvam=abhavad=

¹ The meaning intended apparently is 'by his splendour like the sun' (*prabhayā bhāsvad-upamah*).

² The prose passage which here begins is counted as a verse in the original.

³ Metre: Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.

⁴ Read *Vāstōhpatir=*.

⁵ Here a sign of punctuation was engraved, but has been struck out again.

⁶ Read *sitāms-ūjvalām*.

⁷ Metre: Āryā.

⁸ The numeral 5 is engraved at the commencement of the next line.

⁹ Metre: Sragdharā.

¹⁰ Originally *-samjñō* or *-samjñā* was engraved.

¹¹ Read *śrīmāms=Chā°*.

¹² Metre of verses 47 and 48: Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.

¹³ Here a sign of punctuation was engraved, but has been struck out again.

¹⁴ Metre: Mandākrāntā.

¹⁵ Metre of verses 50-54: Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.

¹⁶ Here originally a full stop was engraved.

¹⁷ The letter *i* of *vātīka* has perhaps been struck out; the exact sense of *dvijajānuvātīka* is not clear to me.

- bhūmibhujām sadmasu || 53 Sphūrjannirjhara-jhāmkṛitēna¹ subhagam tat-
kētakīnām vanam miśrībhūtam=anēka-
46 amrakadali-vṛindēna dhattē stra yaḥ | āmrāṇām vipinam cha dēvalalanāvakshō-
ruha-sparddhay=ēv=ōdyatpauḍhaphalāvalī-kavachitam jāmṇū(bū)vanēn=ānchitam ||
54 Marau² Mēros=tulyas=tridaśalalanā-kēlisadanam Sugamdhādrir=nānātaruni-
47 karasannāha-subhagaḥ | nripēṇ=Īndrēṇ=ēva prasṛimaraturamgōchchayakhura-
prakamprōrvvīpītham ratirasa-vaśāt=tēna dadṛisē || 55 ³Tan-mūrdhni tridaśēm-
drapūjita-padām bhōjadvayām dēvatām Chāmumḍām=Aghatēsvar=īti viditām=
abhyarchchitām pūrvvajaiḥ |
48 natv=ābhyarchchya narēsvarō=tha vidadhē=syā māmdirē māmdapam kṛīdatkim-
narakinnarikalarav-ōnmādyanmayūṛīkulam || 56 Saṁvat 1319 [1*] ⁴Trayōdaśasat-
aikōnavimśatau māsi Mādhavē | chakrē śkshayatṛitīyāyām pratishṭhā
māmdapē dvijaiḥ || 57
49 ⁵Saṁpal-lābham ghaṭayatu subham kurmbhi-vaktrō Gaṇēsah siddhim dēyād=
abhimatatamām Chāmdikā chāru-mūrtīḥ | kalyāṇāya prabhavatu satām dhēnu-
varggaḥ pṛithivyām rājā rājyam bhajatu vipulam svasti dēva-dvijēbhyaḥ || 58
Sa⁶ śrīkarīṣaptakavādi-Dē-
50 vāchāryasya śishyō sjanī Rāmachāmdraḥ | sūrir=vināyō Jayamaṅgalō ssa
praśastim=ētām sukṛitī vyadhata || 59 Bhishagvara-Vijayapāla-putrēṇa
Nāmvasihēna⁷ likhitā || Sūtradhāra-Jisapāla-putrēṇa Jisaraviṇ=ōtkīrṇā ||

D.—MOUNT ÂBŪ INSCRIPTION OF LUṆṬIGADĒVA;
[VIKRAMA-JSAMVAT 1377.]

This inscription is on a stone which is built into the wall outside the porch of the Achalēśvara temple on Mount Âbū. A translation of it was given, about eighty years ago, by H. H. Wilson in *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XVI. p. 285 ff.⁸ My account of its contents is based on impressions kindly sent to me by Prof. Hultzsch, who had received them from Mr. Cousens.⁹ I mainly treat of the inscription here in order to give the true names of the chiefs who are mentioned in it, and to show the connection of these chiefs with those of the preceding inscriptions. The published translation long ago led me to suspect that this record also belonged to the Chāhamāna family of Naddūla; I am able to prove now that such is really the case.

The stone contains 32 lines of writing which covers a space of about 1' 11" broad by 1' 4" high. Portions of the first ten and the last three lines and some of the final letters of nearly all lines are entirely gone or defaced. The characters are Nāgarī, and the language is somewhat incorrect Sanskrit. Up to nearly the end of line 29 there are 36 verses, forming a *prastuti* which was composed by a certain Mahādhara;¹⁰ the rest seems to be all in prose.

After three verses, for the greater part illegible, in which the blessing of certain divine beings is invoked, the author proposes to celebrate repairs made at the Achalēśvara temple, and to give the lineage of the person who made them. He then (in verses 6-10) records that, when the solar and lunar races had come to an end, the holy Vachchha (i.e. Vatsa) brought about the creation of a new race of warriors, the Chāhumāna¹¹ race, and that in it there was a person named Sindhurāja,¹² who conquered all other families.

¹ Originally *jhāmkṛitēna* was engraved.

² Metre: Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.

³ Metre: Ślōka (Anushtubh).

⁴ Metre: Upajāti.—Here, as in verse 19, *śrīkīrti* was originally engraved.

⁵ Read *śimhēna*, as in line 26.

⁶ In Mr. Cousens' List the inscription is No. 144.

⁷ See my *Northern List*, No. 256.

⁸ The original has *Mahādhara*.

⁹ The name is not preserved here, but the family is called *Chāhumānāvaya* in verse 17.

¹⁰ The original has *Sindhurāja*; in the Translation the name is Sindhuputra. The name Sindhurāja does not occur elsewhere in the Chāhamāna family. I suspect it to have been wrongly given here by the author instead of Simharāja.

¹¹ Metre: Śikharinī.

¹² Metre: Maudākṛāntā.

Then there came Lakshmana, who by his irresistible valour acquired part of the earth. In the mutilated verse 12, which together with verse 11 treats of this chief, the word *Naddūla* is distinctly legible, as well as *Śākambharī*; and it is certain that Lakshmana is described in the verse as king of Naddūla, and highly probable that he is spoken of as *Śākambharī-māṇikyā*, 'the jewel of Śākambharī'.¹ After him, verse 13 mentions 'his son' *Balirāja*,² and *Balirāja's* 'son,' whose name I read as *Sōhi*,³ regarding this to be another form of the name *Sōhiya* (*Sōbhita*, *Śōbhita*) of the preceding inscriptions. According to the latter, *Sōhiya* was Lakshmana's son, and his son again was *Balirāja*; the author of the present inscription has erroneously transposed the two names. Verses 14-18 then enumerate *Mahindu*,⁴ *Jindurāja*,⁵ *Āsarāja*, *Āhana*, *Kīrtipāla* and *Samarasimha*. From what we know already from the other inscriptions, this is the line, from father to son, of the *Chāhamānas* of Naddūla from *Mahindu* to *Samarasimha*, except that, between *Mahindu* and *Jindurāja*, *Aṇahilla*, the son of the former and father of the latter, has been omitted.—So far our inscription tells us nothing of importance that is new.

Samarasimha, according to verse 19, had two sons, of whom the one called *Udayasimha*, who also is already known to us from the inscription C., succeeded him in the government. *Udayasimha's* elder brother⁶ was *Mānavasimha* (v. 20); his son was *Pratāpa* (v. 21), and his son *Vijāda*, also named *Daśasyandana*⁷ (v. 22). This chief married *Nāmalladēvi* (v. 23), who bore to him four sons—*Lāvanyakarna*, *Lunḍha*,⁸ *Lakshmana*, and *Lūṇavarman* (v. 24), of whom the eldest became the ruling chief. When *Lāvanyakarna* died, he was succeeded by the next brother, whose name in verse 26 is clearly *Lunṭigadēva*, in verse 28 *Lunṭiga*, in verse 30 *Lunḍhāgara*, and in the prose passage in line 29 *Lūṇāgara*. *Lunṭiga* conquered and ruled 'all countries,' particularly *Chandrāvati* and the divine territory of *Arbuda* (*Arbuda-divyadēśam*, v. 27). On the mountain *Arbuda* he set up images of himself and his queen, and carried out repairs at the temple of *Achalēśvara*. As a grant to the temple, he moreover gave the village of *Hēthunji*⁹ (v. 33) for the perpetual worship of the god.

From the prose passage which follows, and which is more or less illegible, we learn that in the year 1377, on Monday, the 8th of the bright half of *Vaiśākha*, in the *Kshaya-samvatsara*, *Lunṭiga*, described as the *Mahārājakula*, the glorious *Lūṇāgara*, resided at [Vū?] *hūṇḍha* which belonged to *Chandrāvati*.¹⁰ This date regularly corresponds, for the expired *Kārttikādi*

¹ The Translation, after Lakshmana, mentions "the hero, named *Māṇikyā*, whose distinguished capital was *Śākambharī*," but this is erroneous.

² The Translation has *Adhirāja* instead.

³ The second half of the verse, part of which is very indistinct, in my opinion is: *Sōhi-samjā[s=ta]tō vamsē sōhī bhāman hi tat-suta[?]*.—The name *Sōhi* occurs above, Vol. VIII. p. 220, l. 13.

⁴ The original actually has *Mahidu*.

⁵ The Translation has *Sindhurāja*, *Kulaviverddhana*, *Prabhurāsa Rājā* (derived from the actual reading *prabhur=Āsarāja*), *Dandana* (for *Āhana*), *Kīrtipāla* and *Samarasimha*.

⁶ According to the Translation *Mānavasimha* was *Udayasimha's* son; but this is a mistake. The original text, after mentioning *Udayasimha*, clearly has: *yō vai parō dāna-guṇair-garishṭhas=tasy=āgrajō Mānavasimha-nāma*.

⁷ I.e. *Daśaratha*. The original text of verse 22 is: *Tasy=ātma-jō Spā[r]vaguṇ-ādhivāsa [ā]st(st)d=Daśasyandana-nāma[dhā(dhā)]? [yāh] [i?] va(ba)sā(bhā)ra vjāni tu Vjādō yō(ya)=chatvāri rājyāya Harēḥ prasādāt* (1). I shall show below that the chief here spoken of undoubtedly was named *Vijāda*. The name *Daśasyandana* (*Daśaratha*) may have been given to him because, like *Rāma's* father *Daśaratha*, he, according to the account here given, had four sons.—Compare above, Vol. VIII. p. 215, v. 18.

⁸ The reading of the first syllable of this name is not absolutely certain here.

⁹ Above, Vol. VIII. p. 222, line 28, and in an unpublished Mount *Ābū* inscription (No. 1794 of Mr. Cousens' List) the name is spelt *Hēthunji*.

¹⁰ The text has: *samvat 1377 varshē Vai[s]ākha-tudi 8 Sōmē Kshaya-samvatsarē Sdy=ēha Chandrāvati-pratīva(ba)ddha-[V4?]hūṇḍha-samvatsita-mahārājakula-śrī-Lūṇāgarē Chandrāvati-prabhriti-dēśika tathā*

Vikrama year 1377, to Monday, the 8th April A.D. 1321, when the 8th *tithi* of the bright half of Vaisākha ended 17 h. 13 m. after mean sunrise; the day did fall in the Jovian year Kshaya, which according to the northern mean-sign system lasted from the 30th May A.D. 1320 to the 26th May A.D. 1321.

Of the localities mentioned, in addition to the well-known Arbuda or Mount Âbû, Chandravatî according to the *Rājputāna Gazetteer*, Vol. III. p. 126, is a large place (now in ruins) on the Banās river near the south-east border of the Sirohi State. There can be no doubt that it was taken by Luptiga from the Paramāras.¹ Hēṭhuñjī is the small village of 'Hetamji' on Mount Âbû.² Vūhunḍha— if this is really the name— I am unable to identify.

On Mount Âbû there are at least two other inscriptions,³ of no great extent and partly illegible, of the reign of Luptigadēva, described as the *Mahārājakula*, the glorious Lūṇḍhaka or Lūṇḍha(?). One is dated on Wednesday, the 8th of the dark half of Chaitra in the [Vikrama] year 1372, corresponding, so far as I can see, to Wednesday, the 17th March A.D. 1316; the other on some specified day, which I cannot make out with certainty, in the [Vikrama] year 1373. And there is a third, partly effaced inscription,⁴ which also mentions the *Mahārājakula*, the glorious Lūṇḍhaka or Lūṇḍhaka, and speaks of the glorious Nāmaladēvi, who clearly is the Nāmalladēvi of the present inscription, the mother of Luptigadēva. I am not at present prepared to give a fuller account of these three inscriptions.

But I may add here that another account of some of the later Chāhamānas is found in an inscription⁵ which is on a stone at a temple—the *Vimala-vasahikā*, ordinarily but wrongly called Vimala Sāh's or Shāh's⁶ temple— which was founded on Mount Âbû, according to the inscription itself in the Vikrama year 1088,⁷ by a certain Vimala, 'an ornament of the Prāgvāta race,' after he had been appointed *daṇḍapati* at Arbuda by the (Chaulukya) king Bhīmadēva (I.). This inscription in lines 9-15 (verses 14-22) gives the following '*rājāvalī*':—

There was a hero, Āsarāja⁸ by name, a moon to the lotus-flower—the Chāhuvāma⁹ family, who was king of the town of Nadūla¹⁰ (v. 14). Then there came Samarasimha; and his son was Mahānasimhabhaṭa (v. 15). Then came Pratāpamalla; and of him was born Vijāḍa, who ruled the Marusthali-maṇḍala (v. 16). He had three sons, the first of whom was the king Lūṇiga (v. 17). After him the text mentions Lūṇḍha (v. 18) and Lumbha (v. 19), without distinctly saying that they were his younger brothers. It then records the conquest of Arbuda (v. 20); says further that Lūṇiga's son was Tējasimha (v. 21); and after him eulogizes Tihunāka, to whom it wishes long life (v. 22).

The mutilated verse 23 appears to say that the glorious Lumbhaka, together with Tējasimha and Tihunā, in right manner carried on the government of the mountain Arbuda;

¹ See my *Northern List*, Nos. 193, 209 and 210 (now above, Vol. VIII. p. 201).

² See above, Vol. VIII. p. 207, and the *Rājputāna Gazetteer*, Vol. III. pp. 137 and 144.

³ Nos. 1907 and 1909 of Mr. Cousens' List.

⁴ No. 1908 of Mr. Cousens' List.

⁵ No. 1790 of Mr. Cousens' List. I hope soon to give the text of this inscription, which is ready for publication.

⁶ *Vimala sāha* seems to occur first in *As. Res.* Vol. XVI. p. 311, note. It owes its origin to a misunderstanding of the term *Vimala-vasahikā*, 'Vimala's temple,' which we find e.g. in line 8 of No. 1774 of Mr. Cousens' List.— I may add that in line 10 of the same inscription we have the similar term *Tājapāla-vasahikā*, 'Tājapāla's temple.'

⁷ The date is given in verse 11: *Śrī-Vikramāditya-nripād-vyattī Śaktīstī-vatī saradām sahaśr(śrē) |*
śrī-Ādinītham sikhārā-rūdasya nibhī(śi)tam śrī-Vimalāna vāndē ||

⁸ I give all names here exactly as they are written in the original.

⁹ This may be a mistake for *Chāhuvāna* or *Chāhuvāna*.

¹⁰ This is the actual spelling of the name, and is required by the metre. The same may be said of the name *Tējasimha*, which occurs below.

and the rest of the inscription treats of a private family, two members of which made repairs of the temple. The date given in verse 41 is Monday, the 9th of the dark half of Jyêshtha of the [Vikrama] year 1378. It corresponds to Monday, the 10th May A.D. 1322.

As regards the genealogy given in this inscription, it is curious, but of no historical importance, that it commences with Âsarâja¹ (Âsarâja, Âsârâja), who was neither the founder of the family nor the father of Samarasimha who is here mentioned immediately after him. Instead of the name Mânavaśimha of Luṇṭigadêva's inscription this account has Mahânaśimha which must be regarded as another name of the same person; and while according to the former Viṇḍa had four sons, according to this genealogy he had only three—Lūṇiga, Luṇḍha and Lumbha. Of these, Lūṇiga undoubtedly is identical with the Lāvanyakarna of the other inscription,² and Luṇḍha with Luṇṭiga (Luṇḍha), while Lumbha (Lumbhaka) most probably is another name of Lūṇavarman. What is new to us and of some importance, is, that by the account here given Têjasimha, who is known to us from other inscriptions, was a son of Lūṇiga. According to No. 261 of my *Northern List* Têjasimha³ was ruling in the [Vikrama] year 1387, corresponding to A.D. 1331; and there is an unpublished Mount Âbû inscription⁴ of his of the [Vikrama] year 1393, corresponding to A.D. 1336. What was the exact relation of Tihunâka (Tihuna) to Têjasimha, does not appear from the Vimala temple inscription; but the matter very probably is cleared up by a statement in an inscription (No. 265 of my *Northern List*⁵) of Têjasimha's son Kânhaḍadêva, who was reigning at Chandrâvatî in the Vikrama year 1394, corresponding to A.D. 1338. That inscription in lines 11-14 records four separate grants of villages by the *Châhumâna-jâṭīya-râja-śrī-Têjasimha*, the *dêvadâ-śrī-Tihunâka*, the *râja-śrī-Kânhaḍadêva*, and the *Châhumâna-jâṭīya-râja-śrī-Sâmatasimha*. Here Tihunâka is placed between Têjasimha and his son Kânhaḍadêva, who both are distinguished from him by their title of *râjan*. This and the order in which Tihunâka is mentioned in the Vimala temple inscription render it probable that he was Têjasimha's younger brother. And this may possibly be the meaning of the word *dêvadâ* prefixed to his name, a word which seems to be etymologically connected with the Sanskrit *dêvri*, *dêvara*, used in the specific sense of 'a husband's younger brother.'⁶

In the Table on page 83 I have placed all the chiefs mentioned in the above in their genealogical order, and have given the dates known from inscriptions either for themselves or for the kings and chiefs with whom they are said to have come in contact. The Table will show that Lakshmana, the founder of the family, must be placed in about A.D. 925-950, and that therefore he very probably was a son of that Vâkpatirâja of Śâkambhari, who was the grandfather of the Vigharâja⁷ of the Harsha inscription who lived in A.D. 973. My genealogical Table of Sâmvatasimha or Sâmyantasimha, who is mentioned in Nos. 704-707 of my *Northern List* with dates from about A.D. 1282 to A.D. 1289, and—if this should be a different chief—the Râjâ Sâmatasimha, mentioned in Kânhaḍadêva's inscription of A.D. 1338.

¹ If it were not for the other inscriptions, this name might of course be taken to stand for *Âsarâja*.

² Compare Luṇṭigadêva for Lavanaprasâda in No. 249 of my *Northern List*.

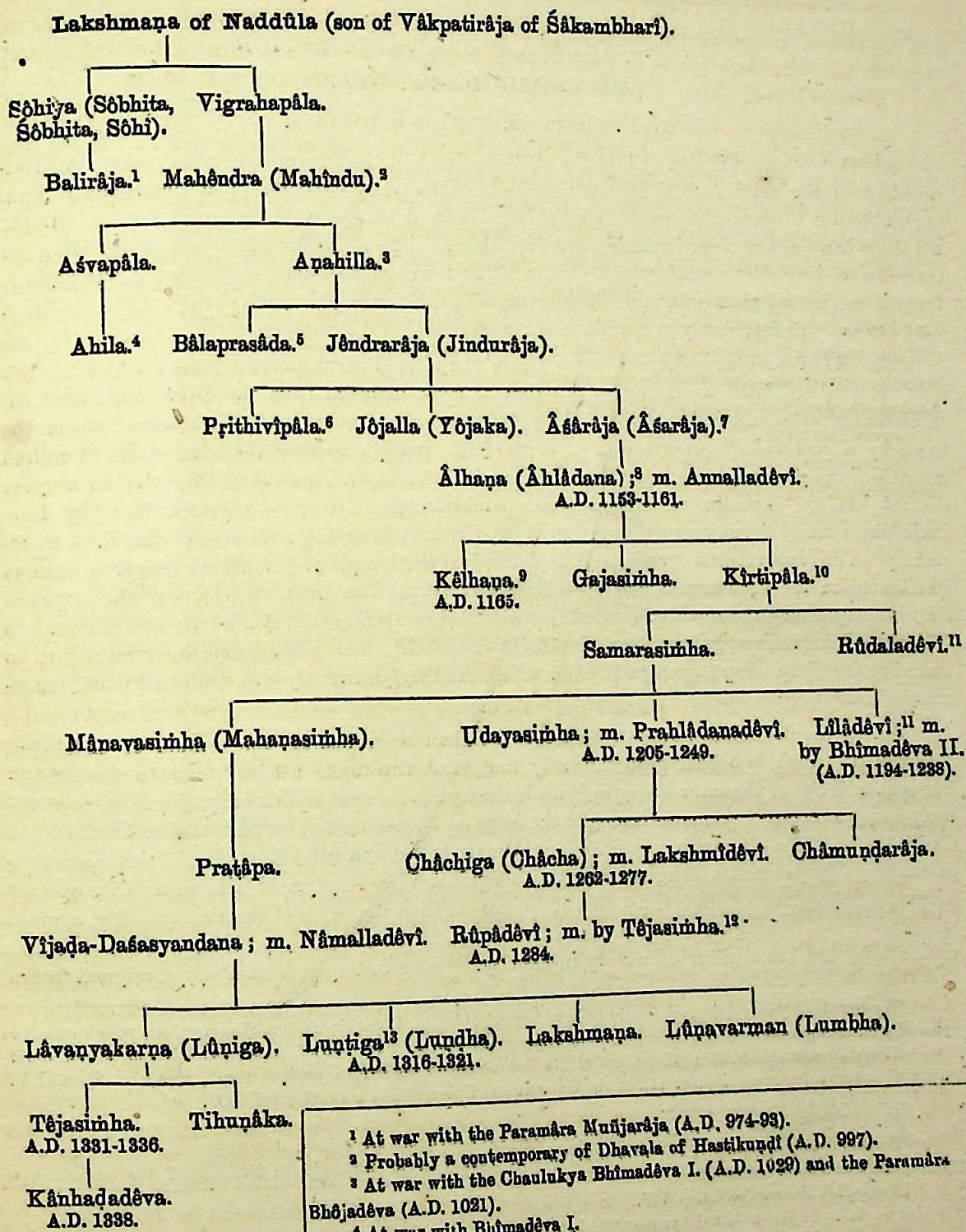
³ In the original of No. 261 (No. 1940 of Mr. Cousens' List) the name is spelt *Têjasimha*.

⁴ No. 1947 of Mr. Cousens' List.

⁵ No. 1919 of Mr. Cousens' List.

⁶ In No. 1958 of Mr. Cousens' List a *dêvadâ-vaṁsa* is mentioned. According to *Ind. Ant.* Vol. II. p. 256.

⁷ the Sirohi chieftains, . . . though Chohâns, are universally known by the name of their subtribe, the *Dovra*.
⁸ The foundation of the separate kingdom of Naddûla was perhaps connected with the disturbances which preceded Vigharâja's reign.



¹ At war with the Paramāra Muñjarāja (A.D. 974-93).

² Probably a contemporary of Dhavala of Hastikundi (A.D. 997).

³ At war with the Chaulukya Bhīmadēva I. (A.D. 1029) and the Paramāra Bhōjadēva (A.D. 1021).

⁴ At war with Bhīmadēva I.

⁵ Probably a contemporary of the Paramāra Kṛishnadēva (A.D. 1060-67).

⁶ At war with the Chaulukya Karna (A.D. 1091).

⁷ Contemporary of the Chaulukya Siddharāja (A.D. 1138, 1139).

⁸ Contemporary of the Chaulukya Kumārapāla (A.D. 1145-69).

⁹ At war with the Dēvagiri-Yādava Bhīllama (A.D. 1191).

¹⁰ Transferred the seat of government to Jāvālipura.

¹¹ It is impossible to say whether these were younger daughters.

¹² This Tējasimha had a son named Kshētrasimha.

¹³ Took Chandravatī with Mount Ābū from the Paramāras.

No. 10.—AMBASAMUDRAM INSCRIPTION OF VARAGUNA-PANDYA.

By V. VENKATYA, M.A., RAI BAHADUR.

Ambāsamudram is situated on the northern bank of the Tāmraparnī river and is the headquarters of the tāluka of the same name in the Tinnevely district. The town has a local reputation for the manufacture of cloths largely in demand on the western coast. On the southern bank of the river is the big and flourishing village of Kallidaikkurichchi, which gives its name to the cloths manufactured at the sister town on the other bank, because the trade in them is carried on mostly by the Brāhmanas of the former place, who temporarily reside in Malabar and are frequently met with on the west coast.

The site of Ambāsamudram seems to have been altered in comparatively recent times. The greater portion of the town is now situated at some distance from the river, while the most important temple, now called Erichcha-Uḍaiyār, is quite close to it, and is separated from the town by a pretty large extent of rice fields. The heavy floods in the Tāmraparnī at certain seasons of the year might be one of the causes which led to the removal of the town to a more distant locality. Besides, in ancient times, Ambāsamudram seems to have been a big place, including some of the adjacent villages such as Tiruvāliśvaram¹ and Maṇṇārkōyil.² In an inscription of [Jaṭavarman Sundara-]Chōla-Pāṇḍya³ the temple of Erichcha-Uḍaiyār is said to be situated in the southern hamlet of Rājārāja-chaturvēdimāṅgalam. During the period of Pāṇḍya supremacy the town was called Iṅgōkkuḍi or Iṅgōykkuḍi,⁴ which was altered into Rājārāja-chaturvēdimāṅgalam after the Chōla conquest.⁵ The latter name has probably to be traced to the Chōla king Rājārāja I., after whom the Pāṇḍya country was itself called Rājārāja-maṇḍalam.⁶

During the field season of 1904-05 I copied eight inscriptions in the temple of Erichcha-Uḍaiyār, of which two belong to the early Pāṇḍyas,⁷ two to the Chōlas,⁸ one to the Chōla-Pāṇḍyas⁹ and two to the later Pāṇḍyas,¹⁰ while the eighth does not mention any king.¹¹ One of the early Pāṇḍya records¹² seems to belong to the reign of Vira-Pāṇḍya, 'who took the head of the Chōla.' The Chōla king with whom he fought must be Āditya (II.) Karikāla,¹³ who, according to the large Leiden plates, fought in his youth against Vira-Pāṇḍya.¹⁴ The newly discovered¹⁵ Tiruvālaṅḡadu plates of Rājendra-Chōla I. do not mention the name of the Pāṇḍya king against whom Āditya II. fought, but report that the latter "killed the Pāṇḍya king in battle and set up his lofty head as a pillar of victory in his city."¹⁶ Accordingly, Vira-Pāṇḍya reigned in the

¹ The temple at Tiruvāliśvaram is said to have been situated in Rājārāja-chaturvēdimāṅgalam, which was the name of Ambāsamudram in Chōla times; *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1904-5, p. 48, Nos. 115 and 119 of 1905.

² The Vishnu temple at this village, called Rājendra-Chōla-vinnagar in ancient times, was also situated in Rājārāja-chaturvēdimāṅgalam; No. 112 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905.

³ No. 102 of the same collection.

⁴ No. 104 of the same, and lines 2, 6 f. and 10 f. of the subjoined inscription.

⁵ The name occurs already in an inscription of the 11th year of Rājārāja I.; No. 119 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905.

⁶ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 149.

⁷ Nos. 101 and 105 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905.

⁸ Nos. 98 and 99 of the same collection.

⁹ No. 102 of the same.

¹⁰ No. 104 of the same.

¹¹ He was the elder brother of Rājārāja I. (A.D. 985 to at least 1013).

¹² *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 112.

¹³ *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1905-6, Part I. paragraph 8.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* Part II. paragraph 16.

¹⁵ Nos. 100 and 103 of the same.

¹⁶ No. 101 of the same.

period prior to the conquest and occupation of the Pāṇḍya country by the Chōḷas at the end of the 10th century A.D.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on a slab built into the floor of the first circuit in the Ericheha-Uḍaiyār temple, which is comparatively dark. The record was found and copied with the help of a lamp. At my request the Collector of Tinnevely has removed the slab to the Government Central Museum at Madras. The plate issued with this paper is based on fresh impressions prepared by my Assistant Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar, B.A., after the removal of the stone to Madras.¹—The alphabet of the document is Vaṭṭeluttu and the language Tamil prose intermixed with a few Sanskrit words in the Grantha alphabet. The preservation is good, though a few syllables are mutilated at the end of lines 3 to 13 and 81. The slab was ruled before the writing, which is crowded into three sides of it, was engraved. The number of Sanskrit words written in Grantha is comparatively few, viz. *svasti* (l. 1), *śrī* (ll. 1 and 3), *anugraha* (l. 1), *bhaṭāra* (ll. 1, 3 and 10), *maharaja* (l. 5), *mahārāja* (ll. 12 and 81) and *rājyavasha* (l. 12).

The following peculiarities of the alphabet deserve to be noted. The horizontal stroke of *ka* is very often small and indistinct. But the letter has not yet assumed the slanting form found in the Tirunelli² and Cochin plates³ of Bhāskara-Ravivarman. The variant of the letter *ya* noticed by Prof. Hultsch in the Kōṭṭayam plates of Sthāpu-Ravi and in certain Chōḷa inscriptions⁴ does not occur here. Two slightly different forms of *t* are used, of which one (the first *t* of *seluttu* in ll. 5 and 14) resembles, to a certain extent, the form in an ancient Vaṭṭeluttu record from Tirunādarkunru in the South Arcot district.⁵ The vowel *ai* occurs thrice in the inscription (ll. 9, 22 and 75). As in other Tamil inscriptions, hardly any distinction is made between the short *i* and the long *ī* when they occur in combination with consonants. Double *kk* is occasionally written as a group, e.g. in *maharājarkku* and *nāṅgāvadukku* in line 12; *polūdaikku* in line 15; *kummāyattukku* in line 16; *lakku* and *kkaruvālai* in line 18. The *i*-symbol is added in some cases over the top of the consonant to which it belongs, instead of by the side as in later Vaṭṭeluttu epigraphs; see e.g. *vī* of *vīrrirundu* (l. 6), *li* of *poli* (l. 9), *ḍi* of *kuḍi* (l. 11), *mi* of *vamidu* (l. 14), and *li* of *nā=ṇḍi* (l. 16). The syllable *pō* is written as in the Madras Museum plates of Jaṭilavarman⁶ without the addition of the *ā*-symbol (on the right) found in the Chōḷa Vaṭṭeluttu inscriptions⁷ published by Prof. Hultsch. The Tirunelli plates⁸ distinguish by a similar addition the long *pō* from the short *po*, and only a single instance of the former occurs in the Cochin Jews' grant.⁹ Thus the distinction between *po* and *pō* appears to be a later innovation, and evidently belongs to a period subsequent to the Jaṭilavarman plates and to the subjoined inscription. If this conclusion be correct, the Cochin and the Tirunelli plates of Bhāskara-Ravivarman must be later than Varaguna-Pāṇḍya. And as Prof. Hultsch has remarked that the alphabet employed in both of them agrees with that of the Chōḷa inscriptions from South Travancore published by him,¹⁰ Bhāskara-Ravivarman may have to be assigned to the 10th or 11th century A.D.

The language of the subjoined record calls for a few remarks. The vulgar form *maharāja* occurs twice instead of the Sanskrit *mahārāja* (ll. 12 and 81), while *maharaja* in line 5 is

¹ The stone has evidently been slightly damaged in transit. Accordingly, portions of the last letters in ll. 4 to 9, which are missing on the Plate, are found on my original impression prepared at Ambasamudram in 1905 before the stone was removed to Madras.

² *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. Plate facing p. 290.

⁴ Above, Vol. V. p. 42.

³ Above, Vol. III. Plate facing p. 72.

⁵ No. 239 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904 and *Annual Report* for 1903-4, paragraph 30.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII. Plates facing p. 70, ll. 32 and 43.

⁷ Above, Vol. V. Plate facing p. 46, E., line 1; and H., ll. 5, 8 and 9.

⁸ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. Plate facing p. 290; compare *po* in ll. 13, 19 and 34 with *pōm* in l. 21.

⁹ Above, Vol. III. Plate facing p. 72; compare *ḍōḷa* in line 27 with *pōm* of the preceding note.

¹⁰ Above, Vol. V. p. 42.

evidently a mistake. *Amidu* (l. 14) and *amirdu*¹ (l. 19 f.), both of which correspond to the modern Tamil *amudu*, are *tadbhavas* of the Sanskrit *amṛita*. The word *poli* (l. 9) is used both here and in the Trichinopoly cave inscription of Varaguna-Pāṇḍya² instead of the more common *polisai*, which occurs in the Tanjore inscriptions³ and survives in the Malayālam *palisa*.⁴ The word *nāru* (ll. 27 and 69) is still current in Malayālam, while its modern Tamil equivalent is *nāru*. The root from which they are both derived is *nāru*, which has acquired a figurative sense in Tamil,⁵ while the original meaning seems to be preserved in Telugu.⁶ The measure known as *śevīḍu* occurs four times in the form *śevittu* (ll. 25, 27, 54 and 70). The word *nigadi* is used in line 27 as well as in line 13 apparently in the same sense as *niśadi*, of which *niyadi* (l. 77) is a variant. *Vēna* in line 75 is a vulgar form of the word *vēṇḍiya*. The form *kunī*, which occurs twice (ll. 58 and 73), is perhaps a simple mistake for *kurunī*.

The subjoined inscription belongs to the time of Varaguna-Mahārāja, whose name occurs thrice (ll. 5, 11 f. and 81), and is dated in the 12th opposite to the fourth year of his reign. From his camp at Araśūr on the bank of the Pennai river in Tondai-nāḍu, the king granted 290 *kāṣu* to the temple of Tiruppōttuḍaiyār⁷ (the ancient name of Erichcha-Uḍaiyār) at Ilaṅgōkkudi in Mulli-nāḍu.⁸ The assembly of the village received the money. The committee of the assembly⁹ and the temple servants had jointly to provide for offerings to the god, according to a fixed scale, out of the interest from those 290 *kāṣu*.

The inscription of Varaguna-Pāṇḍya in the Upper Cave at Trichinopoly is dated on the 2501st day (and) in the 4th year or the 11th year of his reign.¹⁰ No reasonable doubt can at present be entertained as regards the identity of this king with the donor of the subjoined record. On the occasion of making the former donation Varaguna was at Niyamam in the Tanjore district, after having destroyed the fortifications of a town named Vēmbil. At Rāmanāthapuram near Dindigul in the Madura district is a Tamil inscription which refers to the expedition (*yāttirai*) of Mārañjaḍaiyaṇ against Idavai in the Chōḷa country.¹¹ The Trichinopoly epigraph implies that Mārañjaḍaiyaṇ¹² was a surname of Varaguna,¹³ and this inference is borne out by a

¹ *Amirdu* occurs also in the Tanjore inscriptions; see e.g. *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 69, text line 3. *Amurdu* is another form of the same word; see above, Vol. VII. p. 194, text line 3.

² See the Director-General's *Annual* for 1903-4, p. 275, text line 16.

³ See e.g. *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 69, text line 3. The form *palisai* also occurs in epigraphical records; see *ibid.* p. 122, text line 27.

⁴ According to Dr. Gundert *palisa* means 'interest on money.'

⁵ According to Winslow *nāru* means 'to destroy, to kill.'

⁶ According to Brown's *Telugu Dictionary*, *nāruṭa* means 'to grind or sharpen' and 'to reduce to powder.'

⁷ This name means 'the blessed lord of the bull,' i.e. Śiva.

⁸ According to an inscription of the Chōḷa king Rājendra-Chōḷa I. (above, Vol. V. p. 47) Shērmādevi in the Tinnevely district was included in Mulli-nāḍu. Mulli-nāḍu belonged to the Tirvaḍi-rājya, i.e. Travancore, in the 17th century A.D. (*ibid.* Vol. III. p. 240).

⁹ The expression *śavai-vāriyar* seems to imply that the system of village administration prevalent in the Chōḷa country in the 10th century A.D. was also in operation in the Pāṇḍya kingdom in the 9th century A.D.; see the *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1898-99, paragraphs 58 to 73.

¹⁰ See the Director-General's *Annual* for 1903-4, p. 276.

¹¹ *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1905-6, Part II. paragraph 25. This is the inscription mentioned by Mr. Sewall (*Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 289) as being engraved on the "Pāṇḍiyaṇ Rock" in very old Tamil characters.

¹² Mārañjaḍaiyaṇ seems to have been a formal name of Varaguna, just as Rājakesarivarman and Parakesarivarman were of Chōḷa kings. Kōṇēriṇmaikondāṇ was a similar name assumed originally by Chōḷa kings and subsequently by the Pāṇḍyas too. Among the later Pāṇḍyas, Māravarman and Jaṭilavarman were similar formal names derived, evidently, from the Tamil words *Māraṇ* and *Ṣaḍaiyaṇ*. The former denotes in Sanskrit 'Cupid,' but has been so often applied to the Pāṇḍya king that it has become one of the synonyms of 'the Pāṇḍya king.'

¹³ No. 277 of 1895 in the Trevandrum Museum belongs to the 27th year of Mārañjaḍaiyaṇ. It may be a record of Varaguna-Pāṇḍya, though this is not absolutely certain. It mentions a hero named Raṇakīrti, the army of the Chēra king, and Viḷuṇam.

record at Tillasthānam in the Tanjore district, which is dated during the reign of Mārañjadaiyan and records a gift for the merit of Varaguna-Mahārāja.¹ Accordingly, it may be concluded that Varaguna *alias* Mārañjadaiyan led the expedition against Idavai in the Chōla country. Idavai is evidently identical with the village of the same name² in Maññi-nādu, a subdivision of Rājendrasimha-vaṇaṇḍu situated on the northern bank of the river Kāvēri.³ The village of Vēmbarrūr situated in the same subdivision⁴ might be identical with Vēmbil, whose fortifications Varaguna destroyed. The destruction of Vēmbil probably followed soon after the expedition against Idavai. In the same locality is Tiruppirambiyam,⁵ where a battle was fought between the Pāṇḍya king Varaguna and the Western Gaṅga Prithivipati I.⁶ The expedition against Idavai in the Chōla country and the attack of Vēmbil were apparently acts of aggression⁷ on the part of the Pāṇḍya king, which eventually led to the battle of Śrīpuṇambiya (in Tamil Tiruppirambiyam). The part which Prithivipati I. played in this battle was hitherto inexplicable. In editing the Trichinopoly cave-inscription of Varaguna-Pāṇḍya, I remarked:⁸—"How it was that the Gaṅgas of Gaṅgayādi in the Mysore State managed to get so far south as Kumbhakōṇam in the Tanjore district, and why the Pāṇḍya king Varaguna had to fight against them, are points on which no information is at present forthcoming." The verse in the Udayēndiram plates which describes the battle runs as follows, with Prof. Hultzsch's corrections:⁹—

यः श्रीपुण्ड्रियमहाह्वमूर्ध्नि धीरः पाण्ड्येश्वरं वरगुणं सहसा विजित्य [I*]
 कत्वार्ययुक्तमपराजितशब्दमात्मप्राणव्ययेन सुहृदस्त्रिदिवज्जगाम [II*]

With the approval of Prof. Hultzsch, whose translation of the verse is slightly different, I render it as follows:—"Having defeated by force the Pāṇḍya king Varaguna at the head of the great battle of Śrīpuṇambiya, and having made (his) friend's title Aparājita (i.e. the unconquered) significant, this hero entered heaven by sacrificing his own life." Thus we get a king whose name or surname was Aparājita, and who with his ally Prithivipati I. fought against the Pāṇḍya king Varaguna. The existence of a king named Aparājita might be concluded already from one of the Ukkal inscriptions, where the other name of that village is Aparājita-chaturvēdimāṅgalam.¹⁰ From the Āmbūr inscriptions of the Gaṅga-Pallava king Nṛpatuṅga it may be supposed that Prithivipati I. was his feudatory.¹¹ Accordingly, Aparājita, the friend of the latter, was probably also a Gaṅga-Pallava. Indisputable evidence of the existence of a Gaṅga-Pallava king of that name is furnished by an inscription of Vijaya-Aparājita-vikramavarman, discovered by my Assistant Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar at Tiruttani in the North Arcot district.¹² Aparājita-vikramavarman was apparently the successor of Nṛpatuṅga, and we may at present suppose that during the reign of the latter (or after his

¹ No. 51 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1895.

² *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. pp. 325 and 336. ³ *Ibid.* p. 53.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 325, paragraph 88, and p. 336, paragraph 77.

⁵ Tiruppirambiyam near Kumbhakōṇam is the modern Tamil name of Śrīpuṇambiya mentioned in the Udayēndiram plates of Prithivipati II.; see also the following note.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 387. Vaimbalguḷi, where another battle was fought by Prithivipati I. according to the Udayēndiram plates, may have to be looked for in the same locality. It is not impossible that the place is identical with Vēmbil, whose fortifications Varaguna destroyed. But the name of Prithivipati's enemy in the battle of Vaimbalguḷi is not mentioned. Consequently this identification remains doubtful.

⁷ That the Pāṇḍyas were strong and powerful about this time, is proved by their invasion of Ceylon recorded in Chapter L. of the Singhalese Chronicle *Mahāvamsa*; see Mr. L. C. Wijesinha's *Translation*. The invasion seems to have been unprovoked and falls into the period A.D. 846-866.

⁸ Director-General's *Annual* for 1903-04, p. 273.

⁹ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 384, verse 18.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* Vol. III. p. 2.

¹¹ Above, Vol. IV. p. 182.

¹² *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1905-06, Part II. paragraph 8.

death) there was a Pāṇḍya invasion headed by Varaguṇa. The invader probably did not meet with any effective resistance at first, and therefore advanced as far north as Araiśūr on the Southern Pennar river, where he was encamped at the time of making the grant registered in the subjoined Ambāsamudram inscription. Subsequently, Aparājita, who was perhaps the heir-apparent at the time,¹ appears to have been sent with the Western Gaṅga Prithivipati I. to repel the invasion. The decisive battle was fought at Śrīpurāmbiya, and the invader was driven back. But the Gaṅga king lost his life in it.²

The Tiruvālaṅgādu plates of the Chōḷa king Rājendra-Chōḷa I. help us to trace the fortunes of the Gaṅga-Pallavas to the very end. Verse 49 of the Sanskrit portion of this grant, which describes the achievements of the Chōḷa king Āditya I., runs as follows :—

अपराजितमयसौ रणे जितवान् पल्लवसुलसत्बलम्³ । [1*]

दयितामपि तस्य मेदिनीं स्ववशीकृत्य [त*]याप्यभूत् कृती ॥

"Having conquered in battle the Pallava who had brilliant troops, though (he was) Aparājita (i.e. the unconquered), he (*viz.* the Chōḷa king Āditya) also took possession of his queen, (*viz.*) the earth, (and) thus accomplished his object."⁴ In other words, the Chōḷa king Āditya I. conquered the Pallava Aparājita⁵ and annexed his dominions. The Pallava Aparājita⁶ may now be identified with the Gaṅga-Pallava king Aparājita-vikramavarman of the Tiruttani inscription, and with that Aparājita who defeated Varaguṇa-Pāṇḍya. And, evidently, Ukkal in the North Arcot district was called Aparājita-chaturvêdimāṅgalam after this Gaṅga-Pallava king. He was apparently the last member of his family. Though successful against the Pāṇḍyas, he could not offer any effective resistance to the rising Chōḷas, who, under Āditya I., not only conquered him in battle, but also annexed his dominions.

In a Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscription at Aivarmalai in the Madura district,⁷ copied during the last field season by my assistant Mr. G. Venkoba Rao, I found a Śaka date for Varaguṇa. His 8th year is coupled with Śaka-saṁvat 792. Thus his accession took place in A.D. 862-63. If the facts and inferences set forth in the preceding paragraphs be confirmed by future researches, and if there was only one Pāṇḍya king named Varaguṇa, the invasion of Iḍavai in the Chōḷa country and the destruction of the fortifications of Vēmbil must have taken place in or before A.D. 872-73.⁸ Varaguṇa was at Araiśūr on the southern Pennar in A.D. 877-8. The battle of Śrīpurāmbiya might have taken place towards the close of the same year or in the next year. If the surmise made by me, that Aparājita was probably heir-apparent when that battle took place, be true, his accession may be placed about A.D. 880. His defeat by the Chōḷa king Āditya evidently occurred after the Tiruttani inscription of the 18th year of his reign.

¹ Aparājita is called the friend (*suhrid*) of Prithivipati I., who was a Gaṅga-Pallava feudatory. If the former had been the reigning king, it is perhaps not likely that he would be referred to as the 'friend' of Prithivipati I.

² Soon after the conquest and occupation of the Pallava dominions by the Chōḷas, the Gaṅgas, who had been feudatories of the Gaṅga-Pallavas, seem to have acknowledged the Chōḷas as their overlords. In an inscription of Rājakesarivarman which has to be attributed to Āditya I., Piridipati, son of Māramaraiyar (i.e. perhaps Prithivipati II., son of Mārasinḥa), is mentioned, apparently, as a Chōḷa feudatory; *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1896-97, paragraph 7.

³ Read "सुलसत्बलम्".

⁴ *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1905-06, Part II. paragraph 10.

⁵ The place at which this battle was fought is not mentioned here. According to tradition the battle which crushed the Pallava power was fought near Sholinghur in the North Arcot district; see the *Manual of the North Arcot District*, Vol. I. p. 39.

⁶ That Aparājita is called a Pallava, is no bar to the proposed identification. In the Bāhūr plates (above, Vol. IV. p. 181), the Gaṅga-Pallava Nripatungavikramavarman and his ancestors are called Pallavas, and their legendary ancestors are the same as those of the Pallavas of Conjeeveram.

⁷ *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1905-6, Part II. paragraph 25.

⁸ The latter event is mentioned in the Trichinopoly inscription, dated in the 11th year of the king's reign.

Accordingly, the event may be supposed to have taken place at the end of the 9th century A.D.¹

The great Śaiva saint Māṇikkavāṣagar mentions the Pāṇḍya king Varaguṇa twice² in his *Tiruchchirrambalakkōvaiyār*. The time of Sundaramūrti-Nāyaṇār, who probably flourished in the 8th century A.D., is the upper limit of the date of Māṇikkavāṣagar, who is conspicuous by his omission from the *Tiruttonḍattogai*, i.e. the list of Śaiva saints composed by the former. The lower limit may be taken as the reign of the Chōḷa king Parakēsarivarman Rājēndradēva (A.D. 1052 to 1063),³ because in an inscription of the 5th year of his reign (= A.D. 1056-57) reference is made to the poem [*Tirū*]vembāvai composed by Māṇikkavāṣagar.⁴ It may, therefore, be concluded that this Śaiva saint was a contemporary of the Pāṇḍya king Varaguṇa. And if there was only one king of that name, the Śaiva saint must have flourished in the second half of the 9th century A.D.

It is worthy of note that the calculation of the annual requirements of the temple provided for in the subjoined inscription implies that the measure of paddy known as *kalam* consisted of 90 *nāli*, instead of 12 *kuṟuṇi* or 96 *nāli*, which we find, for instance, in the Tanjore inscriptions, and which is the prevailing equivalent in the Tamil country. A *kalam* was equal to 15 *kuṟuṇi*, and a *kuṟuṇi* equal to 6 *nāli*. The rate of interest, according to the subjoined inscription, is 2 *kalam* of paddy for each *kāṣu*, while in the Tanjore inscriptions it is 3 *kuṟuṇi* for one *kāṣu*. Thus the rate in the Pāṇḍya country at the time of Varaguṇa would be nearly eight times higher⁵ than that prevailing in Tanjore during the reign of the Chōḷa king Rājarāja I. (A.D. 985 to at least 1013), in case there was no difference in the value of the *kāṣu*. The variations at the same two places and periods in the price of some of the important articles of daily consumption are recorded in the foot-notes. It is interesting to note that common salt and firewood, which are included among the daily requirements in the Tanjore inscriptions, are conspicuous by their omission in the subjoined document. This is a significant fact, though we may not be warranted in concluding from it that these two articles had not to be paid for in the Pāṇḍya country during the reign of Varaguṇa.

TEXT.

First Side of the Stone.

1 Svasti [||*] Śrī-Bhaṭṭār-anugra[ha]tti[nā]-

2 ^r6 Muḷli-nāṭṭ-Iḷaṅḍōykkuḍi T[ī]-

¹ The conquest of the Pallavas is attributed by tradition to Āḍoṇḍai, an illegitimate son of Kulōttuṅga of Tanjore. The first battle, said to have been fought at Puralūr, ended in favour of the Pallavas. Āḍoṇḍai was then forced to retreat to Sholinghur. "Encouraged there by a dream, he renewed the contest and defeated the enemy with great slaughter. The Pallava king was taken prisoner, and the brazen gates of the Puralur fort were carried to the temple (!) of Tanjore;" see the *Manual of the North Arcot District*, Vol. I. p. 39. If there be any truth in this tradition, Kulōttuṅga must have been a surname of Vijayālaya, and Āḍoṇḍai of his son Āditya I. But there is not even the slightest hint in epigraphical records that Āditya was the illegitimate son of Vijayālaya. Another tradition has it that the mythical Chōḷa king Kōḱkilī had an illegitimate son named Āḍoṇḍai by a Nāga woman, and that the province conferred on the latter by his father was called Toṇḍai-nāḍu or Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam. It looks as if this Āḍoṇḍai is mixed up with the conqueror of the Pallavas in the former story.

² Verse 306 in illustration of *Maruvudaluraittal*, and verse 327 in illustration of *Vinaimuṟṟinaittal*.

³ Above, Vol. VII. p. 7.

⁴ No. 12 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905 from the Virattānēśvara temple at Kīlūr near Tirukoilūr.

⁵ In ancient times the rate of interest seems to have been more or less arbitrary. It looks as if the ordinary laws of Political Economy were not allowed full play, and it is therefore unsafe to draw any conclusions from the rate of interest. At Conjeeveram the rate of interest during the reign of a Chōḷa king named Parakēsarivarman was 15 per cent. About a century earlier the rate was 5 per cent. in the same place. Again the interest on 250 *kaḷāṇḍu* of gold was 500 *kāḍi* of paddy, and 150 *kāḍi* on 50 *kaḷāṇḍu*; G. O. No. 452, Public, dated 10th June 1891, p. 5.

⁶ Read *nāli*; the *ha* of *anugraha* is slightly different from *ha* in ll. 5, 12 and 81.

- 3 ruppōttudaiyār śrīkōyil-Bhaṭāra[r*]kku mu[dal*]
 4 [ke]dāmai poli koṇḍu¹ nā[n]gu kālamuṇ=di[ruv-amu*]-
 5 du śelu[t]tuvaḍā[gā] Varaguṇa-Maharajar Toṇḍai-nāṭ[tu=P*]-
 6 peṇṇai-kkarai Araiśūr viṇṇirūndu Ilaṇ[gōkku*]-
 7 di-chchavaiyār kaiyyiṇ-kūḍutta kāśu iru-nū[r]u-to*]-
 8 nūṇu [i*] ivarṇār-kāśiṇvāy=iru-galamāga āṇ[du*]-
 9 varai śavaiyār=aḷakkum poli-nel ai-nnūṇ-e[nba]{di*}-
 10 n kalam [i*] ivai koṇḍu Bhaṭārar paṇi-makkalum Ila[n*]-
 11 gōkkūḍi-chchavai-vāriyarum uḍa=ṇiṇṇu Varagu[nā*]-
 12 Mahar[ā]jarkku rājya-va[r*]sham nāṅgāvaḍukku ed[ir*]
 13 panniraṇḍā[m*] yāṇḍu Tulā-nāyiru mudalāga niga[di*]-
 14 yāga nāṅgu kalam[u]n-diruv-amidu śeluttam [pa]-
 15 di [i*] oru-pōḷṇaḍaikkū vēṇḍuvaṇa ariśi senn[e]r=
 16 rittal nā=ṇāli kummāyattukku pa[ya]ṇṇu=
 17 pparupp=uri nivēdikka paśuviṇ=ṇaṇu-ney[y]=u-
 18 ḷakku=ppaśuviṇ=rōy-tayir=uri=kkaruvālai-
 19 ppala=nāṅgu śarkkarai oru-palam kaṇi-am[i]-
 20 rdu kāy[k]a[ri] oṇṇu puḷṇṅaṇi iraṇḍu puḷu-
 21 [k]kukkari oṇṇu porikkari oṇṇu ēṇṇi-kkari
 22 aiṇṇiṇṇukkuṇ=gari paḍiṇ-pala[m]
 23 [ka]ri tumikkavum porikkavum paśuvi=ṇaṇu-ne-
 24 y āḷakku=k[kūṭ]tūkkū paśuviṇ [t]ō[y]-tayi-
 25 r=uri=kkāyam iru-śevittu ilai-amirdu
 26 vellilai ir-aḍukku aḍaikkāy pattu
 27 nūṇu oru-śevittu [i*] āga nigadi nāṅgu
 28 pōḷṇaḍaikkū vēṇḍuvaṇa ariśi śe-
 29 nneṇ=rittal paḍiṇ-aṇu-nāli

Second Side of the Stone.

- 30 āga ōr=āṭṭai[k]ku ariśi śen[ne]-
 31 [r]=rittāl aṇuba[t]tu-nāṇ=
 32 [ka]lam [i*] ivai [ka]lav-ariśikku mū=[kkala]-
 33 nellāga nūṇu-tton[nū]ṇ-iru-gala-
 34 m [i*] payaṇṇu=pparupp=iru-
 35 nāli ivai nāli=pparuppu-
 36 kku mu=nnāli nellāga ōr=[ā]t-
 37 ṭaikkū nel irubattu-nāṇ=kalam [i*]-
 38 paśuviṇ=ṇaṇu-ney nāli-y-ūri i-
 39 vai nāl[i] ne[y*]kku muppadi=ṇāli ne-
 40 ṇāga ōr=ā[t*]ṭaikkū nel nūṇ-ēnba-
 41 diṇ kalam [i*] paśuviṇ=rōy-[tayi]-
 42 r nā=ṇāli ivai nāli-t[ta]yirkku
 43 mu=nnāli nell[ā]ga ōr=āṭṭaikkū ne-
 44 l nā[r]patt-eṇ-galam [i*] karuvālaippa-
 45 lam paḍiṇ-aṇu ivai iraṇḍu[kku]
 46 nāli nellāga ōr=āṭṭaikkū ne[l]

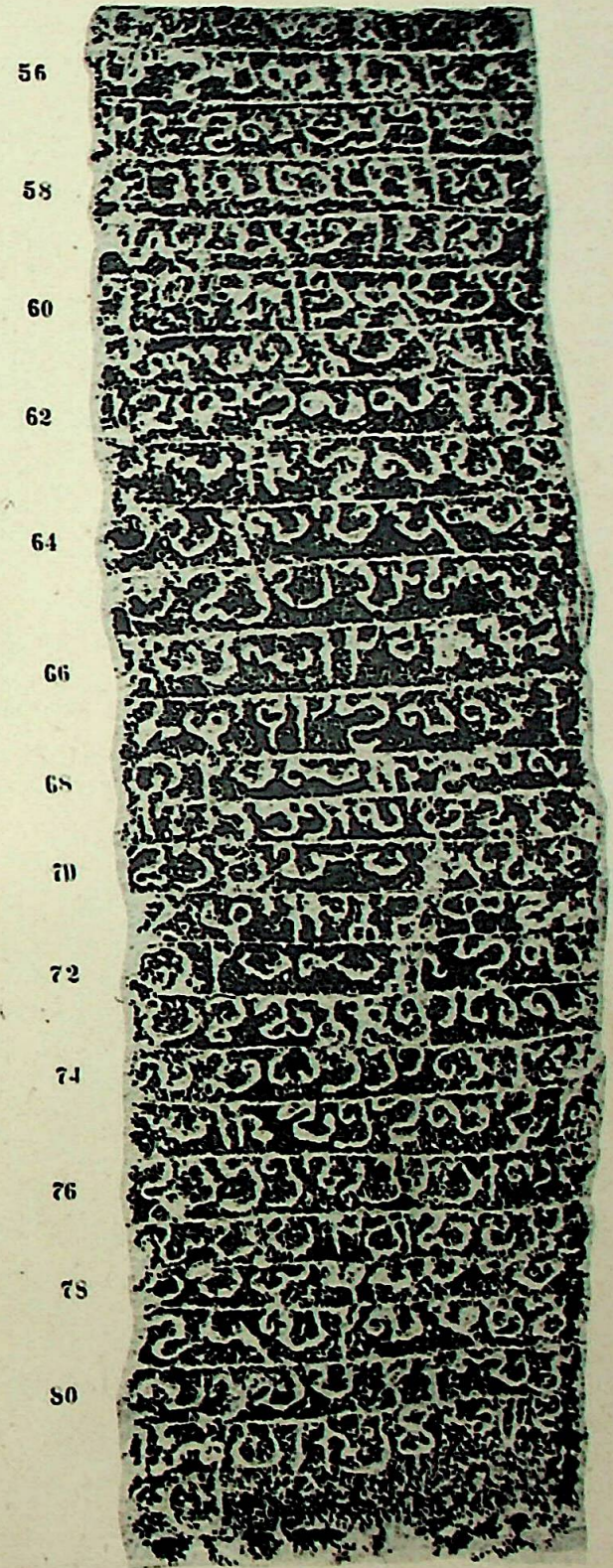
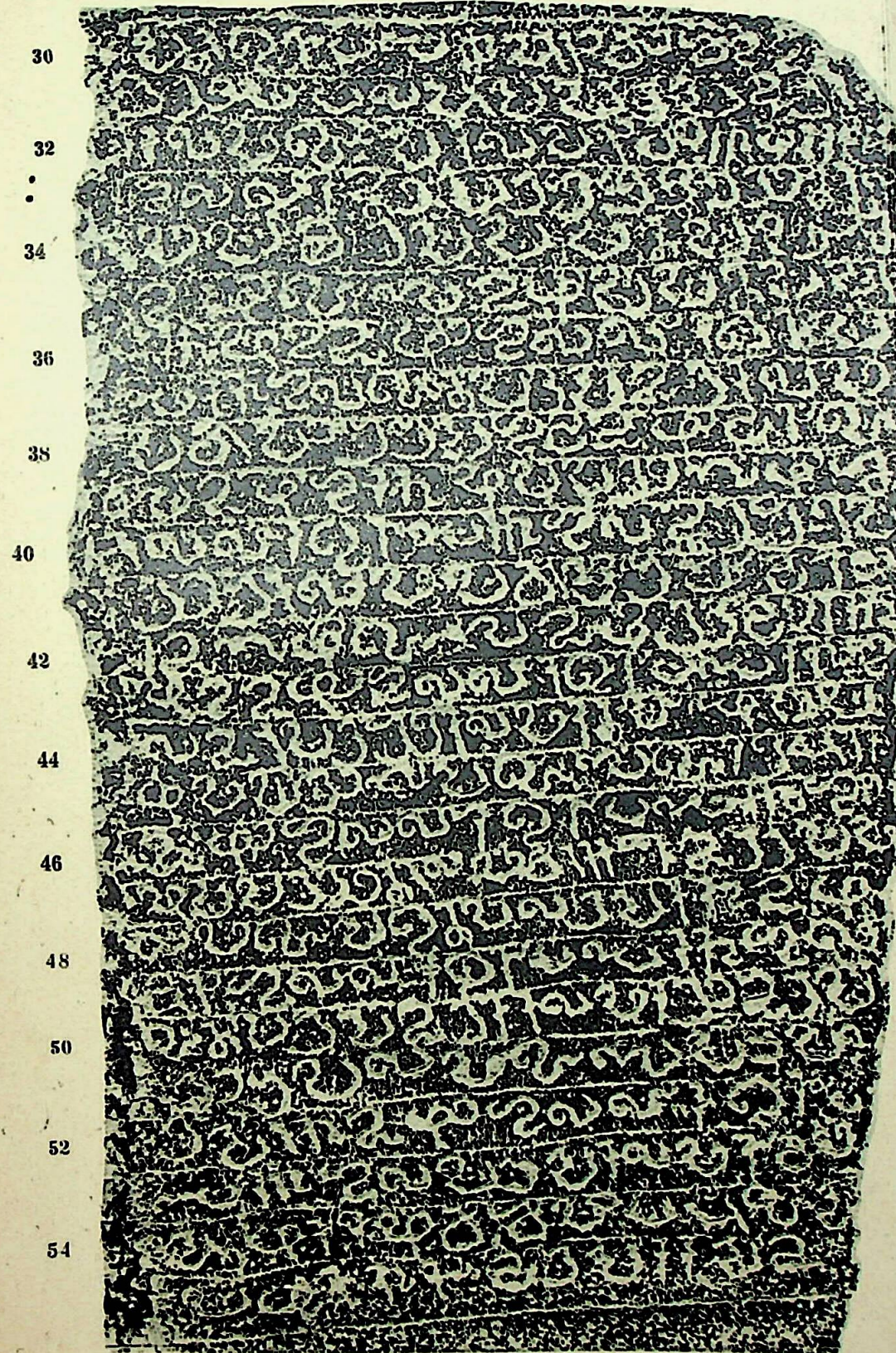
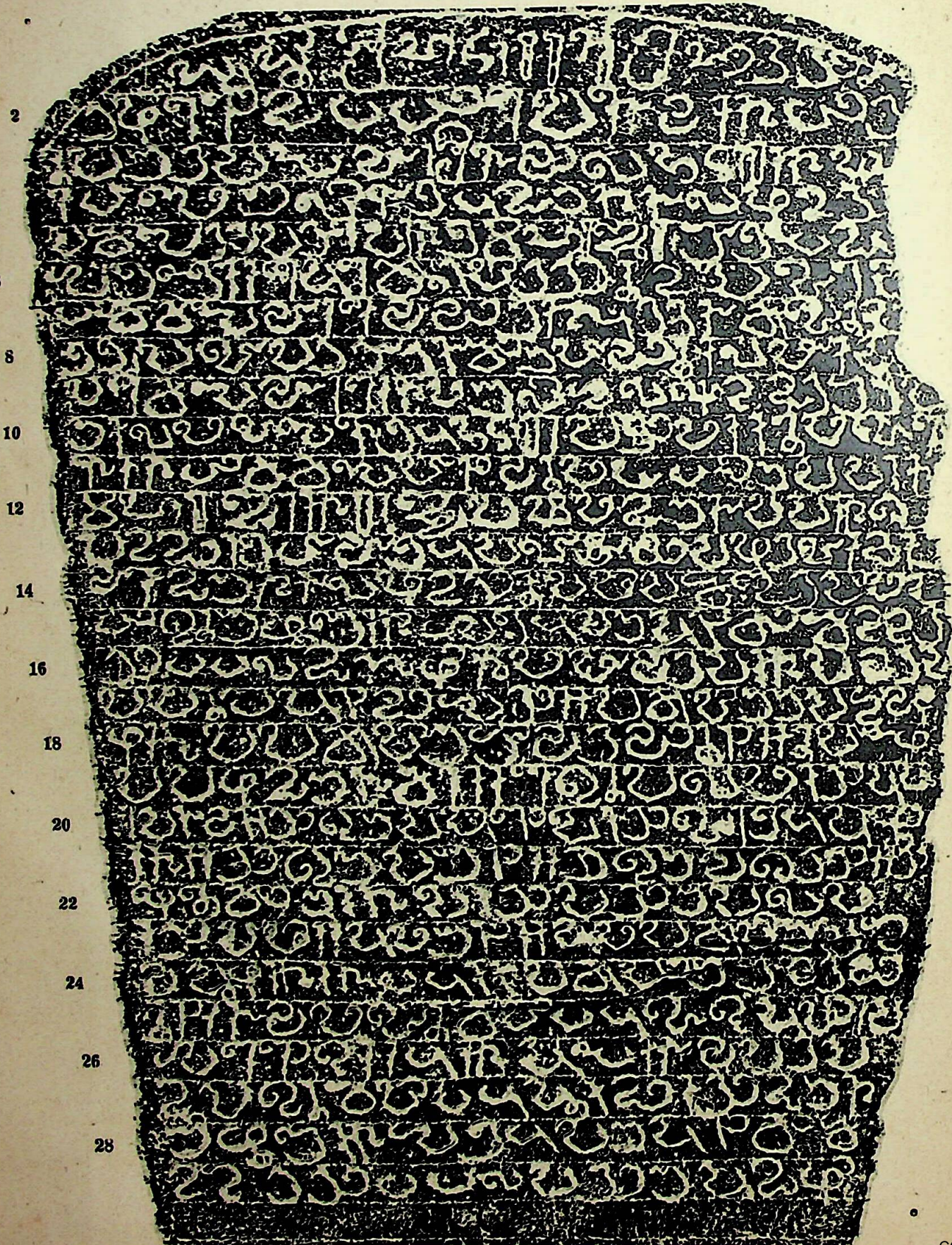
¹ The phrase *mudal keḍmai poli koṇḍu* corresponds to *mūḷa=ṇiṇṇa poli koṇḍu* of the Trichinopoly inscription; Director-General's *Annual* for 1903-04, p. 275, text line 15 f.

² At the beginning of this line is a symbol which looks like *ra*, but which is probably a mere crack on the stone.

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Handwritten text in Devanagari script, organized into two columns. The left column contains lines 2 through 28, and the right column contains lines 56 through 80. The text is dense and appears to be a continuous passage.



Scale 21

CC-0. Jangamwadi Math Collection. Digitized by eGangotri

From inked estampages supplied by Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya.

Colotype by Gebr. Plettner, Halle-Saale.

47 muppatt-iru-galam [i*] śarkkarai 'nāṣṣa[p]pa-
 48,[la]m i[du] oru-palattukku nāḷi-
 49 y-uri nellāga ōr=āṭṭaikkku nel
 50 irubattu-nāṣṣ=kkalam [i*] kaṣṣi nāṣṣa-
 51 diṇ palam ivai paṇ-pa[la]-
 52 ttukku nāḷi nellāga ōr=ā[t]-
 53 ṭaikkku nel pa[di*]ṇ-aṣṣu-kalam [i*] kāyam
 54 āḷakkē mu=cheviṭṭu idu
 55 uḷakku kāyattukk=aṣṣu-nā-

Third Side of the Stone.

56 [i] nell[ā]ga ōr=āṭṭ[ai]-
 57 kku nel patt[o]ṇ[ba]-
 58 [di]ṇ kalaṇṣē mu=kku[ṣu*]ṇi [i*]
 59 ilai-amirdu vel-
 60 [i]lai iraṇḍu paṣṣu
 61 [i]vai oru-paṣṣuk[k=i]-
 62 [ru]-nāḷi nellāga ōr=[ā]-
 63 ṭṭaikkku nel pa[di]-
 64 [ṇ-a]ṣṣu-galam aḍai[kkā]-
 65 y nāṣṣadu ivai [i]-
 66 rubad=aḍaikkāy[kku] mu=n-
 67 [nā]ḷiy-uri nellāga
 68 ōr=āṭṭaikkku nell=[i]-
 69 r[u]ba[tt]-eṇ-galam [i*] nūṣ[u]
 70 n[ā]ṣṣ=cheviṭṭu idu
 71 nāḷikk=iru-nāḷiy[āga]
 72 ōr=āṭṭaikkku nel
 73 pann-iru-ku[ṣu*]ṇi [i*] el-
 74 l[ā]m ēṣṣi ōr=ā[t]-
 75 ṭaikkku vēṇa nel [ai=n]-
 76 nūṣṣ-[e]ṇbadiṇ kala[m] [i*]
 77 i=ppariṣu niyadi-
 78 [p]paḍi mutt[ā]mai
 79 n[e]ḍuṇ=gālamuṇ=je-
 80 lu[t]tuv[adā]ga vai[t*][t]ā-
 81 r śrī-Varaṇa-Mahārāja[r*] [i*]

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1 to 8.) Hail ! By the grace of the blessed lord (*bhaṭārar*) ! Varaguna-Mahārāja, being encamped² at Araṣṣūr on the bank of the (*river*) Peṇṇai in Tonḍai-nāḍu, gave into the hands³ of the members of the assembly of Iḷaṅgōkkuḍi two hundred and ninety *kāṣu*, from the interest of which—the capital remaining unspent⁴—offerings had to be provided for four times

¹ Read *nāṣṣ=palam*.

² *Vīṣṣirundu* means literally 'being seated majestically.'

³ This is the literal translation. The money must have been sent by a messenger to be made over to the village assembly.

⁴ Literally 'taking interest (in such a way) that the capital is not destroyed;' see note 1 on page 90 above.

(a day) to the lord of the glorious temple¹ of Tiruppōttudaiyār at Iṇṅōkkūḍi in Muḷḷi-nāḍu.

(Ll. 8 to 10.) For this (amount) the members of the assembly have to measure out five hundred and eighty *kalam* of paddy per year (as) interest, at the rate of two *kalam* for each *kāsu*.

(Ll. 10 to 14.) Out of this (income) the servants of the lord (*bhaṭṭārar*) and the committee of the assembly of Iṇṅōkkūḍi shall jointly pay for offerings four times a day,² commencing from the month of Tula in the twelfth year opposite to the fourth year of the reign of Varaguna-Mahārāja, (according to the following) scale :—

(Ll. 15 to 27.) (The following) are the requirements for a single offering :³— four *nāli* of clean superior rice ;⁴ (one) *uri* of split green gram for the *kummāyam* ;⁵ (one) *uḷakku* of cows' ghee of the best quality to be offered⁶ (by itself) ; (one) *uri* of cows' curds ; four black plantain fruits ; one *palam* of sugar ; ten *palam* of vegetables (for) the vegetable offering (*kari-amirdu*), (viz.) one *kāykkari*,⁷ two *pūṇṅari*,⁸ one *pūḷukkukkarī*⁹ (and) one *porikkari*— in all, five (kinds of) curry ; (one) *āḷakku* of cows' ghee of the best quality for seasoning¹⁰ and frying vegetables ; (one) *uri* of cows' curds for the compound curry (*kūṭṭu*) ;¹¹ two *śevittu* of asafoetida ; two bundles of betel-leaves,¹² ten areca-nuts (and) one *śevittu* of lime (*nūru*) for the leaves offering.

(Ll. 27 to 73.) The aggregate requirements for (the offerings) four times a day¹³ (are) :— At the rate of sixteen *nāli* of clean superior rice (a day), sixty-four *kalam* of clean superior rice

¹ The word *śrīkōvil* means 'the sanctuary of a temple' according to Dr. Gundert. It is used here in the same sense as the Tamil *tirukkōvil*, 'a temple, a place of worship, a sacred shrine.' In the Tanjore inscriptions *śrīkōvil* is used to designate the orthodox Hindū temple as opposed to the temples of the Drāviḍian village deities and to the Jaina temples (*South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 48, note 8, and p. 59).

² The word *nigadi* occurs again in line 27.

³ Literally ' (the offering) at one time.'

⁴ With *ṣennel* compare *tiruchchennadai-nel* in a Chōḷa inscription from Conjeeveram ; *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 117.

⁵ This word occurs in a similar context in an inscription of Rājakesarivarman found at Tiruvellaṇai near Trichinopoly (No. 518 of 1905). In an unpublished record of the Chōḷa king Rājakesarivarman from Guḍimallam in the North Arcot district, split green gram (*śiṇu-payaṇṇu-paruppu*) is provided for *kummāya-amudu* (No. 222 of 1903). The modern meaning of the word *kummāyam*, viz. 'mortar,' will not do here. In Malayāḷam and in Kanarese the root *kummu* means 'to beat with a pestle,' and *kummāyam* might therefore denote something pounded, if the word is derived from that root.

⁶ The verb *nivēdikka* in line 17 may also have to be taken with the words *tayir* (l. 18), *karuvāḷaiippalam* (l. 18 f.) and *śarkkarai* (l. 19), if not with all the items mentioned in ll. 19 to 27.

⁷ According to one of the Tanjore inscriptions of Rājārāja I. (*South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. No. 26) pepper, mustard, and perhaps also salt were required for this preparation. Some vegetable must also have been added, though the fact is not specifically mentioned. Old rice, pulse, pepper, mustard, cumin, sugar and ghee were required for a similar preparation called *appakkāykkari*.

⁸ Pepper, mustard, cumin, sugar, tamarind, curds, horse-gram and plantain fruits were required for it according to the inscription quoted in the preceding note. *Pūṇṅari* (consisting of pepper, cumin, tamarind, and perhaps some vegetable) was a similar preparation.

⁹ *Pūḷukkukkarī*, 'boiled curry,' is perhaps so called in order to distinguish it from *porikkari*, 'fried curry.' The former is not mentioned (at any rate under this name) in the Tanjore inscription quoted above, while ghee is provided for the latter. Evidently *porikkari* consisted of a vegetable fried in ghee.

¹⁰ The verb *tumi* means 'to sprinkle.' Condiment powder is even now sprinkled over boiled curry and the whole seasoned with boiling ghee, in which a small quantity of mustard is frying. The preparation is called *poḍittaval*, 'powder sprinkling,' and the same is apparently indicated by the use of the verb *tumi* here. A story is told in connection with the Tamil poet Kamban, which shows that the noun *tumi* was not in common use during his time.

¹¹ *Kūṭṭu* is a liquid preparation still in use and consists of (1) a vegetable cooked either with Bengal gram or beans, (2) two or more vegetables boiled together, or (3) specially made powder dissolved in curds. (1) and (2) do not, generally, require any curds.

¹² The word for betel-leaves both here as well as in the Tanjore inscriptions is *veḷḷilai*, 'white leaf,' while the modern Tamil form is *veṇṇilai*, 'empty leaf.'

¹³ Worship at six periods of the day is the rule at present in big temples. In the case of a minor shrine in the Tanjore temple, provision was made for offerings only three times (morning, midday and night, *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 146) and twice in the case of two other shrines (*ibid.* pp. 70 and 71).

for a year. At three *kalam* of paddy for one *kalam* of rice,¹ this (comes to) one hundred and ninety-two *kalam* (of paddy). The split green gram (required for a day) is two *nāli*. At the rate of three *nāli* of paddy for (one) *nāli* of split (green gram),² twenty-four *kalam* of paddy per year (have to be allotted) for this (item). Cows' ghee of the best quality (required for a day) is (one) *nāli* and (one) *uri*. At the rate of thirty *nāli* of paddy for (one) *nāli* of ghee,³ this (comes to) one hundred and eighty *kalam* of paddy for a year. (The quantity of) cows' curds (required for a day) is four *nāli*. At the rate of three *nāli* of paddy for (one) *nāli* of curds,⁴ this (amounts to) forty-eight *kalam* of paddy annually. (The number of) black plantain fruits (required for a day) is sixteen. At the rate of (one) *nāli* of paddy for two (fruits),⁵ these (cost) thirty-two *kalam* of paddy annually. The sugar (required for a day is) four *palam*. At the rate of (one) *nāli* and (one) *uri* of paddy for every *palam*,⁶ this (item costs) twenty-four *kalam* of paddy per year. (The daily consumption of) vegetables being forty *palam*, sixteen *kalam* of paddy (have to be allotted) for this (item) every year—at the rate of (one) *nāli* of paddy for ten *palam*.⁷ (One) *ālakku* and three *śevittu* of asafoetida (being required daily), nineteen *kalam* and three *kuruni*⁸ of paddy (have to be allotted) for this (item) annually—at the rate of six *nāli* of paddy for (one) *ulakku* of asafoetida.⁹ (For) the leaves offering (are required) two bundles¹⁰ of betel-leaves (daily), which, at the rate of two *nāli* of paddy for one bundle, (come to) sixteen *kalam* of paddy for a year; forty areca-nuts (daily), which, at the rate of three *nāli* and (one) *uri* of paddy for 20 areca-nuts, (cost) twenty-eight *kalam* of paddy annually;¹¹ (and) four *śevittu* of lime (daily), which, at the rate of two *nāli* (of paddy) for (one) *nāli* (of lime), (cost) twelve *kuruni*¹² of paddy per year.

(Ll. 73 to 81.) Altogether, the (quantity of) paddy required annually is five hundred and eighty *kalam*.¹³ The glorious Varaguna-Mahārāja thus deposited (this money), in order that

¹ In Tanjore 5 *kalam* of paddy were required for 2 *kalam* of rice during the time of Rājārāja I.

² Pulse was exchanged at this rate during the time of Rājārāja I. at Tanjore.

³ In Tanjore ghee and paddy were exchanged in the proportion of 1 to 32 at the time of Rājārāja I.

⁴ The same rate obtained in Tanjore during the reign of Rājārāja I.

⁵ There seem to have been three varieties of plantain fruits available in Tanjore and its vicinity about the beginning of the 11th century A.D. Two fruits of the first kind could be had for one *nāli* of paddy (*South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. pp. 75 and 77); five *nāli* of paddy had to be given in exchange for 18 fruits of the second variety (*ibid.* p. 127); the third was sold at the rate of 1200 for each *kāsu* (*ibid.* p. 151).

⁶ Two kinds of sugar were apparently available about the beginning of the 11th century A.D. in the Chōla capital and the country surrounding it. Of the cheaper kind 3½ *palam* could be purchased for 2 *nāli*, 1 *uri*, 1 *ālakku* and 4 *śevittu* of paddy (*South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 127), while the more costly variety exchanged at the rate of 1 *nāli* and 1 *uri* of paddy for ½ *palam* (*ibid.* pp. 70 and 71).

⁷ In one of the Tanjore inscriptions quoted in the preceding foot-notes, the daily allotment for purchasing vegetables is 6 *nāli* of paddy. The quantity of vegetables is not mentioned.

⁸ If this calculation is correct, a *kalam* must be equal to 15 instead of 12 *kuruni*, and a *kuruni* equal to 6 *nāli*.

⁹ Asafoetida and lime are not mentioned in any of the Tanjore inscriptions, where common salt and firewood are specially provided for (*South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. pp. 75, 77 and 130). The two latter are conspicuous by their omission in the Ambāsamudram record. Perhaps they had no exchange value in the Pāṇḍya country during the time of Varaguna. It may also be that temples could obtain both common salt and firewood without any payment.

¹⁰ From lines 26 and 60 of the text it may be concluded that one bundle (*parru*) was equal to 4 *āḍukku* of betel-leaves.

¹¹ Provision is made for the supply of areca-nuts and betel-leaves in three of the Tanjore inscriptions, where only the aggregate cost of both is given (Nos. 6, 26 and 35 of *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II.): 1 *nāli* of paddy for 8 areca-nuts and 32 betel-leaves (No. 6); 4 *nāli* and 1 *uri* of paddy for 30 areca-nuts and 60 betel-leaves (No. 26); and 1 *nāli* and 1 *uri* of paddy for 12 areca-nuts and 24 betel-leaves (No. 35).

¹² The actual calculation yields 36 *nāli* of lime annually, costing 72 *nāli* of paddy, i.e. 18 *nāli* less than a *kalam* (=90 *nāli* according to this inscription) or 12 *kuruni*. But it has been pointed out that a *kalam* was made up of 15 *kuruni* (note 8 above). Thus the *kuruni* was equal to 6 *nāli* instead of the more common 8 *nāli*. With this equivalent of the *kuruni* the calculation in the text would be correct.

¹³ This calculation would be correct only on the assumption that a *kalam* was equal to 15 *kuruni* and a *kuruni* equal to 6 *nāli*; see the preceding note.

(the members of the village assembly) might provide (the requirements) day by day¹ for a long time² without (any) obstruction.

No. 11.—MADRAS MUSEUM PLATES OF VAJRAHASTA III.;
SAKA-SAMVAT 984.

By STEN KONOW, PH.D.; CHRISTIANA.

This inscription is found on a set of copper-plates which have been deposited in the Madras Museum. I do not know where they have been originally found. I publish the inscription from excellent ink-impressions³ supplied by Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya, M.A., who describes the plates as follows:—

"The plates are five in number. The first bears writing on the inner side only. The last is completely blank; it was evidently put in to protect the single line of writing on the second side of the fourth plate. The plates have slightly raised rims (though in certain places these are either beaten down or worn away) and are strung on a ring, the ends of which are soldered into the lower part of a round seal. About the middle of the seal is a seated Nandin, whose tail extends to the bottom of the seal. From either side of the hind part of the Nandin proceed what may be taken for lotus buds. On the proper left of the Nandin are two flag-staffs placed one by the side of the other, with a bowl above them; and on the proper right of it are a conch, a lampstand and a dagger. The ring was cut by me. It is not quite circular. The diameter varies between 5" and 4½". The thickness of the ring is ⅝". The seal is roughly 2½" in diameter. The following measurements of the plates show that, as regards breadth, they are slightly bigger in the middle than at the ends, while, as regards height, the reverse is the case:—

Average breadth of plates	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	9½"	9½"	9½"
Average height of plates	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	4½"	4"	4½"

The fourth plate is comparatively small in height, measuring 4½" at the ends and almost 4" in the middle."

The inscription consists of 54 lines. The greater part is in a good state of preservation. The fourth plate, however, is rather corroded, and some passages of it can only be read with difficulty.

The alphabet is Nāgarī of the same kind as in the Nāḍagām plates of Vajrahasta of Śaka-Samvat 979.⁴ The class nasal, and not the *Anusvāra*, is used before class mutes. Exceptions from this rule are °चोत्तु° in l. 9, and °च° in l. 48. Consonants are doubled after *r*, except in °निजिता°, l. 26. व is written for व throughout. स has been substituted for श in सहीस, l. 25, and °सत°, l. 49. On the other hand, we find श for स in °द्योतशक्त, l. 21, आशीने, l. 39, and °वस्य, l. 54. A nasal with a following guttural or palatal is written in the same way as in the Nāḍagām plates. Note further such writings as समुत्तवत्, ll. 7 and 24, प्रह्यालित instead of प्रचालित, l. 3, and प्रद्योदन्द° instead of प्रद्योतन्द°, l. 19.

¹ The word *niyadi* is apparently synonymous with *nisadam* which occurs frequently in the Tanjore inscriptions, and with *nisadi* in the Trichinopoly cave epigraph of Varaguna (Director-General's *Annual* for 1903-4, p. 275, text line 19).

² In later inscriptions the phrase *neḍuṅ-gālamum* is replaced by the Sanskrit *chandrādityavat*, 'as long as the moon and the sun (endure).'

³ Since the above was written, I have had an opportunity of inspecting the original plates together with Mr. Venkayya.

⁴ Above, Vol. IV. p. 183 ff.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. It contains the same twelve verses as the Nāḍagāṃ plates of Śaka-Samvat 979. The remainder of the inscription is in prose. The first 41 lines are almost identical with the corresponding portion of the Nāḍagāṃ plates. They are, however, more carefully engraved and give several passages in a more correct form.

The inscription is one of king Vajrahasta (III.), the son of Kāmārṇava (II.) of the Gāṅga lineage, and of Vinayamahādēvi of the Vaidumba family. His genealogy is given in the same words as in the Nāḍagāṃ plates, from Guṇamahārṇava downwards, including the date of Vajrahasta's coronation.¹ The inscription then goes on to state (l. 40 ff.) that 'the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva), the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja*, the lord of the three Kāliṅgas, the glorious Anantavarman Vajrahastadēva, being in good health, issues the following order from Kāliṅganagara, having called together all the subjects, headed by the ministers:—“Be it known to you (that), for the increase of the religious merit and fame of (Our) mother, father, and Ourselves, the village named Tāmaracheru in Varāhavartanī, combined with the Chikhali hamlet (*vāṭaka*), circumscribed by the four boundaries, including water and land, free from all molestation, to last as long as the moon, the sun, and the earth, has been granted by Us, with libations of water, as an *Agrahāra*, to five hundred learned Brāhmaṇas who delight in the six acts of sacrificing, conducting sacrifices, studying, teaching, [giving] and accepting, (and) who are well versed in sacred lore, in the Śaka year of the dice (4), the Vasus (8) and the treasures (9), on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun. Therefore (Our gift) should be preserved by future kings in compliance with the law proclaimed by Manu. Moreover, land with the produce of two hundred *Murakas* of grain has been given, to last as long as the moon and the sun, free from hindrances, to the god Kōṭṭīśvara² for (the maintenance of the rites of) *Bali*, *Oharu*, *Naivēdya*, *Dīpapūjā*, and so on. And the repairs of what is broken and torn in this (temple) should without fail be effected by the Brāhmaṇas living there.”

The inscription does not add anything to our knowledge of the history of king Vajrahasta III. We only learn that he also had the name Anantavarman, like his grandson Chōḍagaṅga-dēva.

Of the localities mentioned in the inscription, Kāliṅganagara has been identified by Mr. Ramamurti³ with the villages Mukhalingam and Nagarakatakam in the Ganjam district. Varāhavartanī occurs in several Gāṅga grants.⁴ The village of Tāmaracheru is also known from Gāṅga inscriptions. Its boundaries are given in the Chicacole plates of the *Mahārāja Dēvendravarman*,⁵ in which the village Tāmaracheru is granted to three hundred Brāhmaṇas on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun. The Chicacole plates of the Gāṅga *Mahārāja Indravarman*, issued from Kāliṅganagara in Gāṅgēya-Samvat 128,⁶ further state that the village of Tāmaracheruva was granted to certain Brāhmaṇas on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon on the full-moon day of Mārgasīra. The latter inscription mentions *Tāmaracheruva-grāmaṃ bā(vā)ṭakā(ka)-sahita[m]* (l. 8 f.). This *vāṭaka* is perhaps identical with the Chikhali-vāṭaka of our inscription. The village of Tāmaracheru has not as yet been identified. It should be looked for in the neighbourhood of Chicacole.

The date of the grant is found in a part of the inscription which has not been so well preserved as the rest. The first word is scarcely legible in the ink-impression. After a careful examination of the original, however, Mr. Venkayya and myself find that the reading *kṛita* is certain. The date of the inscription is accordingly the Śaka year 984. If we take this to be

¹ Above, Vol. IV. p. 185; Vol. V. Appendix, p. 50, No. 355.

² This was evidently the name of the temple of Śiva at Tāmaracheru.

³ Above, Vol. IV. p. 187 f.

⁴ Above, Vol. III. p. 127, note 5; Vol. V. p. 185, note 5, etc.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 273 ff.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 119 ff.

the current Śaka year, the date would correspond to A.D. 1061-62. Professor Kielhorn has been good enough to inform Professor Hultzsch that the only eclipse of the sun which was (slightly) visible in Ganjam between the Śaka years 980—989 took place on the 20th June A.D. 1061. This would therefore be the date of our inscription.

TEXT.¹

First Plate.

- 1 श्री² स्वस्त³ श्रीमतामखिलभुवनविनुतनय[विनयद]यादान[दा]क्षिण्यसत्य[शो]-
- 2 चशौर्यधैर्यादिगुणरत्नपवित्रकाणामात्रेयगोत्राणां विमलविचारा-
- 3 चारपुण्यसलिलप्रक्षालितकलिकालिकलक्ष्मणमयीणां⁴ [महाम]हेन्द्राचल-
- 4 शिखरप्रतिष्ठितस्य सचराचरगुरोः सकलभुवननि-
- 5 र्माणैकसूत्रधारस्य ⁵शशाङ्क[चू]डांमणेर्भगवतो गो-
- 6 कर्णस्वामिनः प्रसादात्समासादितैकशङ्खभेरीप-
- 7 ⁶चमाहाशब्दधवलच्छत्रहेमच[†*]मरवरत्नभलाञ्छनसमुज्ज्वल-
- 8 ⁷सत्यस्तसाम्राज्यमाहिस्त्रामनेकसमरसङ्घट्टसमुपलब्धविजयलसी-
- 9 समालिङ्गितो[त्तु]ग[भु]जदण्डम[ण्ड]तानां त्रिकलिङ्गम[ही]भुजां [गा-]

Second Plate; First Side.

- 10 [ङ्गा]नामन्वयमलङ्कारि[णोर्विणोरि]व⁸ विक्र(†)माक्रान्तधरामण्डल-
- 11 स्य गुणमहार्णवमहाराजस्य पुत्रः ॥०॥ पूर्व⁹ भूपतिभर्विभञ्ज्य
- 12 वसुधा या पञ्चभि[†*] ¹⁰पञ्चधा भुक्ता भूरिपराक्रमो ¹¹भुजवलात्त[†*]मे-
- 13 क एव स्वयं [†*] एकीकृत¹² विजित्य मत्तनिवहान्¹³ श्रीव-
- 14 ¹⁴जहस्तश्चतुर्चात्वारिंशतमत्युदार(†)[स्म]रित्व[†*] सर्वा-
- 15 मरत्नीक्षमाः ॥ [†*] तस्य तनयो गुण्डमराज¹⁵ [व]षत्रयं-
- 16 मप[†*]लयद्गहीं ॥ तदनुजः कामार्णवदे[व]ः पञ्चत्रिं[श]तम-
- 17 [व्द]कान¹⁶ ॥ तस्यानुजो विनयादित्य[†*] समास्रसः¹⁷ ॥ ततः¹⁸ कामार्णवा-
- 18 जातो जगतीक[ल्पभू]रुहः [†*] योराजद्राजितः¹⁹ च्यो वज्रह(†)-

¹ From the original plates.² Expressed by a symbol.³ Read स्वस्ति.⁴ Read °प्रक्षालितकलिकाल°.⁵ Read °चूडामणेर्भ° The 4-stroke is not visible in the ink-impression.⁶ Read °महाशब्द°, °च्छत्र°, °समुज्ज्वल°.⁷ Read समस्त°, °महिमा°, °समुपलब्ध°, °लक्ष्मी°.⁸ This looks like °ष्टाद्वीष्टोर्विव°.⁹ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita; read भूपतिभि°.¹⁰ Before पञ्चधा the engraver began to write च, but subsequently cancelled it.¹¹ Read °वला°.¹² Read °कृत्य°.¹³ Read °हस्तयतुयला°, °रचिरतः°.¹⁴ Read °राजो वर्षत्रय°.¹⁵ Read समास्रसः°.¹⁶ Metre: Ślōka; read °वाञ्जाती°.¹⁷ Read शत्रुनिवहान्°.¹⁸ Read °मदकान्°.¹⁹ Read °द्राजितच्छायो°.

ii a.

ii b.

F. Hultsch

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iii b.

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iv a.

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Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 19 स्तोवनीपतिः ॥ [२*] ¹प्रद्योदन्मदगन्धलुब्धमधुपव्यालीढगण्डा[न्ग]जान्नात्यि-²
 20 भ्यस्समदात्तहस्तमतुलो य[स्त्य]गिनामग्रणी[ः] 1* स[ः] [श्रीम]ाननिय-
 21 ह्मभीमनृपातिगाङ्गान्वयोतंशकः³ (i) पञ्चत्रिंशतमव्दकान्मम-⁴
 22 भुनक्पिपथी⁵ [स्तु]तः पार्थिवैः ॥ [३*] तदग्रसूनुः⁶ सुरराजसूनुना
 23 समस्तमस्तां [श*]मितारिमण्डलः [1*] स्म पाति कामार्णवभूपतिर्भुव⁷
 24 समृद्धिमानहंसमा⁸ समुज्जलः ॥ [४*] तदनु⁹ तदनुजन्मो¹⁰ चित्तजन्मो(प)-
 25 पमानो गुणनिधिरनवद्यो गुण्डमाख्यो महीसः¹¹ [1*] [स*]कलमिदमरक्षत्रीणि¹²
 26 वर्षाणि धात्रीवल्लयमलघुतेजोनिर्जितारातिचक्रः ॥ [५*] ततो¹³ द्वेमातुरस्तस्य म-
 27 धुकामार्णवो नृपः । अवति स्मावनीमेताम[व्द]ामेकर्णविंशति¹⁴ ॥ [६*] ० ॥

Third Plate ; First Side.

- 28 अथ¹⁵ वज्रहस्तनृपतेरग्रसुतादखिलगुणिजनाग्रण्यः [1*] कामा[र्णवा]-
 29 ¹⁶त्कवन्द्रप्रगीयमानावदातशुभकीर्तः ॥ [७*] श्रीय¹⁷ इव ¹⁸वेदुस्वान्वय[प]-
 30 यःपयोनिधिसमुद्भवायाश्च [1*] य(ः) समजनि ¹⁹विनयम[हा*]देव्याः श्रीवज्रह-
 31 स्त इति त[न*]यः ॥ [८*] ²⁰वियदृतुनिधिसंख्या²¹ याति ²²शाकाव्दसङ्के दिन[क्त]-
 32 [ति] वृषभस्ते²³ रोहिणीमे सुलग्ने [1*] धनुषि च सितपये²⁴ सूर्य[वार]े त-
 33 तोयांयुजि²⁵ सकलवरित्री रक्षितुं योभिषिक्तः ॥ [९*] न्यायेन²⁶ यत्र
 34 सममाचरितुं त्रिवर्गे²⁷ मार्गेण रक्षति महीम²⁸ महितप्रतापे [1*] नि-
 [व्या]धय-
 35 अथ निरसाश्च²⁹ निरापदश्च शशत्पजा³⁰ भुवि भवन्ति विभूतिमत्यः ॥ [१०*] व्या-³¹
 36 स्ते ³²गङ्गकुलोत्तमस्य स्यशसा³³ दि[क्क]कवाले शशिप्रद्योतामलिनेन य-

Third Plate ; Second Side.

- 37 स्य भुवन[ः]प्र[ह्व]ादसम्पादिना [1*] सिन्दूरैरतिसान्द्रपङ्क[प*]टलै[ः] [कुम्भ]स्थली-
 38 पट्टके[ष्व]ालिम्पन्ति पुनः पुनश्च हरितामाधोरणा वारणान³⁴ ॥ [११*] ³⁵अनुरागे-

¹ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita; read प्रद्योत°, °लुब्ध°.³ Read °नृपतिगाङ्गान्वयोत्तंशकः.⁶ Metre: Varnāśṭha.⁹ Metre: Mālinī.¹² Read °रक्षत्रीणि.¹⁵ Metre: Giti.¹⁸ Read वेदुस्वा°.²¹ Read °संख्या.²³ Read वृषभस्ते. The second वृ seems to have been cancelled by the engraver.²⁴ Read सितपचे.²⁷ Read त्रिवर्ग.³⁰ Read शशत्पजा.³³ Read यशसा.⁴ Read °मव्दकान्मम-.⁷ Read °भुव°.¹⁰ Read °जन्मा.¹³ Metre: Ślōka; read द्वेमा°.¹⁶ Read त्कवौन्द्र°.¹⁹ Read विनयमहा°.²² Read शाकाव्द°.²⁵ Read °यायुजि सकलवरित्री.²⁸ Read महीम्.³¹ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.³⁴ Read °णान्.² Read °गजानत्यि-.⁵ Read भुनक्पृथ्वी°.⁸ Read °समां समुज्जलः.¹¹ Read महीशः.¹⁴ Read °मव्दानेकान्नविंशति.¹⁷ Metre: Giti; read त्रिय.²⁰ Metre: Mālinī.²⁶ Metre: Vasantatilaka.²⁹ Read निरघाश्च.³² Read गङ्ग°.³⁵ Metre: Ślōka.

- 39 ण गुणीनो¹ यस्य वक्षोमुखावयोः² [1*] आशीने³ श्रीसरस्वत्यावनुकूले
 40 विराजतः ॥ [१२*] ०॥ ⁴कलिङ्गनगरातारममाहेश्वरपरमभट्टा-
 41 रक[म*]हाराजाधिराजत्रिकलिङ्गाधिपतिश्रीमदनन्तवर्मा व-
 42 ज्जहस्तदेव[:*] कुशली ⁵समस्तामात्यप्रमुखजनपदान्समा[ह]य [स]-
 43 मान्नापयति विदितमस्तु भवतां ॥ वराहव[र्त्त]न्यां । तामरचे-
 44 रुग्रामो नाम (i) चिखलीवाटकेन⁶ सममेकीकृत्य ॥ चतुस्त्रीमा-
 45 ⁷वच्छिन्नस्रजलस्थलस्रवर्णपोडाविहर्जितमाचन्द्रार्कचितिस-

Fourth Plate; First Side.

- 46 मकालं यावन्मातापित्रोरात्मनः पुण्ययशोभि[वृद्धये कृत]व-
 47 मुनिधिशकाब्दे⁸ । सूर्यग्रहोपरागे । विद्वद्भ्यो य[ज]नया[ज]ना[ध्यय]-
 48 नाध्यापन[दान*]प्रतिग्रहषट्कर्म्मनिरतेभ्यो ⁹वल्हव[र्त्त]मज्ञः ॥ पंच-
 49 ¹⁰सत[ब्राह्मणे]भ्य उदकपूर्वकं कृत्वाग्रहारोस्माभिः
 50 प्रदत्तस्तस्माद्भाविभि[र्भू]मि[पा]लैर्मुनोन्मोदधर्मागौ-¹¹
 51 रवात्परिपालनीयमिति¹² ॥ अपरं च । कोटीश्वर-
 52 देवाय आचन्द्रार्कपर्यन्तं निर्व्विरोधा । ¹³वल्लिचरुनैवेद्यदीपपू-
 53 जाद्यर्थं धान्यमुरकशतद्वयोत्पत्या¹⁴ भूमिर्हता । तत्र च । खण्डस्तु-

Fourth Plate; Second Side.

- 54 टितभग्नघटनं ¹⁵तत्रस्थवाह्मणेरवस्यं कर्त्तव्यमिति ॥

No. 12.—TALAMANCHI PLATES OF VIKRAMADITYA I.; A.D. 660.

By PROFESSOR E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.; HALLE (SAALE).

This inscription was first published by Messrs. A. Butterworth and V. Venugopal Chetti in their *Nellore District Inscriptions*, p. 189 ff. According to p. 192 of the same work, the plates were "discovered about 12 years ago by a servant of Adapalli Venkaṭa Redḍi of Pārlapalli

¹ Read गुणिनी.

² Read °खावयोः.

³ Read आसीने.

⁴ Read °नगरात्यरम°.

⁵ Read °मात्य°.

⁶ The engraver had originally written °वाटकेन.

⁷ The engraver originally wrote °जस्थलस्थल°, but cancelled the first स्थ. Read °विवर्जित°; after the व an 1 has been cancelled.

⁸ Read °शकाब्दे.

⁹ The reading of this word is very uncertain; read perhaps ब्रह्मवर्त्त°.

¹⁰ Read शतब्राह्म°.

¹¹ Read °भूमिपालैर्भूमुनोन्मोदधर्मागौ.

¹² Read °पालनीय इति.

¹³ Read वल्लि°.

¹⁴ Read °उत्पत्या.

¹⁵ The engraver seems to have begun to write तत्र°, but the 4-stroke has been left unfinished; read °ब्राह्मणेरवस्यं,

while ploughing some land known as Talamanchipádu in Talamanchi of Nellore taluk¹ where a flourishing village is said to have once stood." They "have been sent to the Madras Museum at the request of the owner." I re-edit the inscription from three sets of ink-impressions, kindly prepared at my request by Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya, M.A., who describes the original as follows:—

"Three copper-plates, of which the first and last are engraved on their inner side only. They measure $7\frac{1}{2}$ " in breadth. The height of the plates is not uniform. Generally they are higher in the margins than in the middle.

	<i>Height in the margins.</i>	<i>Height in the middle.</i>
1st plate:	$3\frac{1}{4}$ "	$3\frac{1}{8}$ "
2nd plate:	$3\frac{3}{8}$ "	$3\frac{1}{4}$ "
3rd plate:	$3\frac{1}{4}$ " & $3\frac{3}{8}$ "	$3\frac{1}{4}$ "

Through circular holes bored on the left margin of each plate passes an oval ring measuring $2\frac{1}{4}$ " by $3\frac{1}{8}$ ". It is nearly $\frac{1}{4}$ " thick. The ends of the ring are secured in the base of a seal, which is also oval and measures 1" by $\frac{7}{8}$ ". The emblems on the seal, which appear to have been engraved on a countersunk surface, are much worn, but show a lump in the middle—perhaps meant to represent a boar. The total weight of the plates with ring and seal is 80 tolas."

The writing on the plates is well preserved, excepting a few letters near the margins of plate i. and plate ii. a. The alphabet resembles that of two other grants of Vikramāditya I.² The *upadhmanīya* is used once (l. 24), a final form of *m* twice (ll. 24, 27), and one of *n* once (l. 17). The three Dravidian letters *l*, *ḷ* and *r*, the second of which has the same shape as the *upadhmanīya*, occur in the two village names *Eḷasatti* (l. 23) and *Koḷchumko[nra]* (l. 22). The language is Sanskrit. There are four well-known Anushtubh verses: one at the beginning and three near the end; the remainder of the inscription is in prose.

The document was issued in the sixth year of the reign (l. 20) of the (Western) Chalukya (l. 5) Vikramāditya (I.), the son of Satyāśraya (i.e. Pulakēśin II.), grandson of Kirtivarman (I.) and great-grandson of Polikeśin (I.). Each of these four kings receives the same laudatory epithets as in other published grants of the same period. The new inscription records the grant of the village of *Eḷasatti*,³ north of *Koḷchumko[nra]*, to Śrīmēghachārya (ll. 22 and 31 f.), the preceptor (*guru*) of Vikramāditya I., and was written by Vajravarman of the Vaidya family.

The historical importance of the plates lies chiefly in the date of the grant (l. 20 f.), regarding which Prof. Kielhorn kindly contributes the Postscript on p. 102 below. On the strength of the latter I have added the date "A.D. 860" to the title of this article and to the heading of the accompanying Plate.

TEXT.⁴

First Plate.

1 जयत्या[विष्कृतं विष्णो]र्वीराहं क्षोभितार्ण[वं] [।*] दक्षि[णी]न्नतदंष्ट्राय-
विश्रान्तभु-

¹ On the map prefixed to the *Nellore District Inscriptions*, Talamanchi is marked by the figure '32' on the north of Nellore town.

² *Journ. Bombay Br. R. A. S.* Vol. XVI. pp. 235 and 238.

³ Messrs Butterworth and Venugopal Chetti are unable to identify this village; see *Nellore District Inscriptions*, Preface, p. vi.

⁴ From three sets of ink-impressions.

- 2 वन वपुः [॥ १*] श्रीमतां सकलभुवनसंस्तूयमानमानव्यसगोत्राणां हारितियुत्रा-
 3 णां सप्तलोकमातृभिस्सप्तमातृभिरभिवर्द्धितानां कार्तिकेयपरिरक्षणप्राप्तक-
 4 ल्याणपरंपराणां भगवन्पारायणप्रसादसमासादितवराहलाञ्छनेक्ष-
 5 णक्षणावशीकृताशेषमहीभृतां चलिक्थानां कुलमलंकरिणीरश्वमे-
 6 धावभृथस्नानपवित्रीकृतगात्रस्य श्रीपोलिकेशिवल्लभमहाराज-
 7 स्य प्रपौत्रः ¹पराक्रमाक्रान्तवनवास्यादिपरनृपतिमण्डलप्रणिबद्धविशुद्ध-
 8 ²[वि]शुद्धकीर्त्तेश्श्रीकीर्त्तेश्श्रीकीर्त्तिवन्मपृथिवीवल्लभमहाराजस्य पौत्रः समर-
 9 [सं]सक्तसकलौत्तराप[थे]श्वरश्री[हर्षवर्द्धनपरा]ज[योप]ल[ब्धं]परमेश्वरा-

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 10 [पर]नामधेयस्य सत्याश्रयश्रीपृथिवीवल्लभमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वर[र]-
 11 [स्य] प्रियतनयः³ चित्रकण्ठाख्यप्रवरतुरंगमेषैकेनैव प्रतीतानेकस-
 12 मरमुखेषु रिपुनृपतिरुधिरजलास्वादनरनायज्वलदमलनिशितनिस्त्रिंश-⁴
 13 धारया च धृतधरणीभरभुजगभोगसदृशनिजभुजविजितविजिगीषुः⁵
 14 आत्मकवचावमग्नानेकप्रहारस्वगु[रोश्चिन्त्य]मवनिपतित्रितया-
 15 ⁶न्तरितामात्मसात्कृत्य ⁷कृतैकाधिष्ठितागे[षरा]ज्यभरस्तस्मिन्नाज्य-
 16 त्रये विनष्टानि देवस्वब्रह्मदेयानि धर्मयशोभिवृद्धये स्वमुखेन स्था-
 17 पितवान् रणशिरसि रिपुनरेन्द्रान्दिशि दिशि जित्वा स्ववंशजां लक्ष्मी
 प्राप्य च
 18 परमेश्वरतामनिवारितविक्रमादित्यः⁸ विक्रमादित्यसत्याश्रयश्रीपृ-
 19 [थि]वीवल्लभमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरस्त्वर्वा[ना]ज्ञाप[यति] [॥*] विधित-⁹

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 20 [म]स्तु ¹⁰भोस्माभिः प्रवर्द्धमानविजयराज्यषट्पुंस्वरतमे¹¹ आव-
 21 णमाससूर्यग्रहणे¹² उदकपूर्वं साङ्गोपाङ्गवेदविदुषे वासिष्ठ-
 22 सगोत्राय श्रीमेघाचार्याय स्वकीयगुरवे को७७चुंको[न्७७]ग्राम-
 23 स्योत्तरपाश्वे¹³ एकसत्तिर्नाम ग्रामः¹⁴ मातापित्रोरामन-
 24 ऋपुण्यशोवासये सर्ववोधापरिहार¹⁵ दत्तम् [॥*] आचन्द्रार्क-

¹ Read °क्रान्°.

² Read °तनयश्चि°.

³ Read °पुरात्°.

⁴ Read कृतैकाधिष्ठिताशेष°.

⁵ Read की°.

⁶ Read °पार्श्व°.

⁷ Cancel the second °विशुद्ध° and the second °कौर्त्तेश्श्री°; read °कौर्त्तिवर्द्ध°.

⁸ Instead of °रनाय° read °रसनायमान°.

⁹ Cancel the anusvara of तां and read °सात्कृत्वा°.

¹⁰ Read °दित्यो°.

¹¹ Read °षट्संवल्लरे°.

¹² Read ग्रामो°.

¹³ Read विदित°.

¹⁴ Read °ग्रहणे°.

¹⁵ Read ससर्ववोधापरिहारी दत्तः.

- 25 धराण्वस्थितिसमकालं यशस्विचीषुभिस्त्वदत्तिनिर्व्विघ्नं परि-
 26 पालनीयं [॥*] स्वन्दातुं सुमहच्छक्यं दुःखमन्यस्य पालनं [॥*] दानं
 27 वा पालनं वेति दानाच्छेयोनुपालनमिम् [॥ २*]

Third Plate.

- 28 उक्तं च भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन² [॥*] बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता
 29 राजभिस्सगरादिभिः [॥*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य
 30 तदा फलं [॥ ३*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरत वसुन्धरा[म् ॥*] षष्टिं व-
 31 र्षसहस्राणि विष्टायां जायते किमिरिति । [॥ ४*] श्रीमेघाचा-
 32 र्यस्यान्वयस्य शासनं वैद्यान्वयश्रीवज्रवर्मणा लिखितं [॥*]
 33 स्वस्त्यस्तु गोब्राह्मणेभ्यः [॥*] श्रीं ॥—

TRANSLATION.

[Verse 1 contains an invocation of the boar-incarnation of Vishnu.]

(Line 2.) The great-grandson of the glorious Polikēśi-Vallabha-Mahārāja, whose body was purified by bathing at the end of a horse-sacrifice, (and) who adorned the family of the glorious Chalikyas;⁴

(L. 7.) The grandson of the glorious Kirtivarma-Prithivivallabha-Mahārāja, whose pure fame was established in the territories of hostile kings, such as Vanavāsi, which had been subdued by (his) valour;

(L. 8.) The dear son of Satyaśraya-Śrīprithivivallabha-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara,⁵ who acquired the surname of 'supreme lord' (*paramēśvara*) by defeating the glorious Harshavardhana, the lord of the whole northern country, who had encountered (him) in battle;

(L. 11.) He who, at the head of many famous battles, (assisted) by none but (his) noble steed named Chitrakaṇṭha and by the edge of (his) glittering, spotless and sharp sword which behaved like a tongue in licking the blood of hostile kings, conquered would-be conquerors by his own arms which resembled the coils of the serpent who carries the burden of the earth; into whose own armour many blows had plunged; who, having gained for himself the royalty of his father, which had been concealed by the triad of kings,⁶ caused the burden of the whole kingdom to be governed by (himself) alone; who, for the increase of (his) merit and fame, by his own mouth confirmed the property of temples and the grants to Brāhmaṇas which had lapsed in that triad of kingdoms; the sun of whose valour (became) irresistible after he had recovered at the head of battles the royalty belonging to his family from the hostile kings of every quarter, and after he had acquired the title of 'supreme lord' (*paramēśvara*); Vikramāditya-Satyaśraya-Śrīprithivivallabha-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara commands all people (as follows):—

(L. 19.) "Be it known to you (*that*), in the sixth year of (Our) reign of growing victory, at an eclipse of the sun in the month of Śrāvaṇa, the village named Elasatti on

¹ Read ०नमिति.

² The ४ of व्या is expressed twice.

³ Expressed by a symbol.

⁴ The usual epithets of this family (ll. 2-5) are omitted in the translation.

⁵ I.e. Pulakēśin II.

⁶ Viz. the Chōla, Pāṇḍya and Kēraḷa. Compare one of the epithets applied to Vikramāditya I. in the grants of his son Vinayāditya, above, Vol. V. p. 202, note 16.

the northern side of the village of Koḷchumko[nṛa] has been given by Us, with libations of water, with exemption from all molestation, to Our own preceptor (*guru*) Śrīmēghāchārya of the Vāsishṭha *gōtra*, who knows the Vēdas with (their) *Āṅgas* and *Upāṅgas*, in order that (Our) mother and father and Ourselves might obtain merit and fame. As long as the moon, the sun, the earth and the oceans shall exist, (*this grant*) should be protected without distinction from their own gifts by those who desire to accumulate fame."

[Verses 2-4 contain the usual admonitions to future rulers.]

(L. 31.) (*This*) edict (*in favour*) of the family of Śrīmēghāchārya was written by the illustrious Vajravarmaṇ of the Vaidya family. Let there be welfare to cows and Brāhmaṇas! *Om*.

POSTSCRIPT.

By PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

The inscription edited above by Prof. Hultsch is dated in the 6th year of the reign of the W. Chalukya Vikramāditya I., at the time of a solar eclipse in the month Śrāvaṇa. From page 2 of Appendix II. to Vol. VIII. of this Journal it will be seen that this date must necessarily fall between A.D. 635 and 685; and from what we know to be the general rule regarding eclipses that are quoted in dates, we may conclude that the eclipse here referred to most probably was one that was visible at Bādāmi, the capital of the W. Chalukyas, situated in about Long. 76° and Lat. 16°.

Now it so happens that during the fifty years from A.D. 635 to 685 there was, in both the *pūrṇimānta* and the *amānta* month Śrāvaṇa, only a single solar eclipse that could have been at all visible at Bādāmi, *vis.* the eclipse which took place 3 h. 5 m. after mean sunrise of Monday, the 13th July A.D. 660. That eclipse, an annular one, was fully visible at Bādāmi, and the 13th July A.D. 660 was the 15th of the dark half of the *pūrṇimānta* Śrāvaṇa. We may compare especially the solar eclipse in the date of the Paṭṭadakal duplicate pillar inscription of the reign of the W. Chalukya Kirtivarman II. (No. 48 of my *Southern List*), of the 25th June A.D. 754, which likewise took place in the *pūrṇimānta* Śrāvaṇa; and to show that in early times the *pūrṇimānta* scheme of the months was prevalent in Southern India, we may also cite the solar eclipse in the date of No. 9 of the *List*, which took place in the *pūrṇimānta* Bhādrapada, and the solar eclipse in the date of No. 551 of the *List*, which took place in the *pūrṇimānta* Phālguna.

Monday, the 13th July A.D. 660 (in Śaka-saṃvat 582) would thus be in every way a suitable equivalent of our date; that it is its true equivalent is rendered more than probable by the date of the Nerūr plates of the queen Vijayabhāṭṭārikā (No. 23 of my *Southern List*). That date corresponds to the 23rd September A.D. 659, and is of the 5th year of a reign of which hitherto it appeared doubtful whether it was the reign of Vikramāditya's eldest brother Chandrāditya or of Vikramāditya himself. Since we now have a date in A.D. 660 which would be a most proper equivalent for a date of the 6th year of the reign of Vikramāditya I., the date in A.D. 659 must surely be definitely assigned to the 5th year of the same reign, and the two dates in my opinion must be taken to prove that Vikramāditya I. commenced to reign between some time in September A.D. 654 and July A.D. 655.¹

¹ Dr. Fleet, in his *Dynasties*, p. 363, arrived at the conclusion that "we shall probably be very close to the mark, if we place the formal commencement of his reign somewhere in the autumn of . . . A.D. 655."

No. 13.—MANDHATA PLATES OF DEVAPALA AND JAYAVARMAN II.
OF MALAVA.

By PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

Of the Paramāra kings, who ruled over Mālava for more than three hundred years, there have been published hitherto the texts of twelve copper-plate and three stone inscriptions. We have besides short notices of about half a dozen other stone inscriptions, generally of small extent or importance. Of the copper-plate inscriptions, three were first edited by Colebrooke in 1824, two by L. Wilkinson in 1836 and 1838, one by Rajendralal Mitra in 1850, and three by FitzEdward Hall in 1860 and 1861. Of the stone inscriptions, the largest was first edited by Bal Gangadhar Shastri in 1843, and another by FitzEdward Hall in 1859. And from these *editiones principes* the genealogy of the Paramāras of Mālava, with most of their dates, might have been drawn up, about fifty years ago, very nearly as I have given it above, Vol. VIII. App. I. pp. 14 and 15. Moreover, of so important a king as Udayāditya we even to-day hardly possess more than that 'wretched scrawl,' made known in 1840, of a person 'who knew nothing of Udayāditya's family.' I mention this to show how little that is really new we have learnt about Mālava, from its own records, for half a century, and to indicate what chances are open to the officials of the Archaeological Survey of India to enrich our knowledge of the history of that country. For, in my opinion, a systematic search for inscriptions in the ancient Mālava country will be sure to bring to light numerous documents of importance. Even now such a search has been well inaugurated.

In 1903 there were discovered at Dhâr the inscriptions published above, Vol. VIII. p. 96 ff. and p. 241 ff., highly interesting from a literary point of view. And in 1904 and 1905 were found, at or near Mândhâtâ, the two copper-plate inscriptions now here edited. These plates are of some value inasmuch as they show how Dêvapâla, one of the later kings of Mālava who was already known to us, was related to preceding rulers, and as they give us the names of two sons of his, Jaitugidêva and Jayavarman [II.], who, one after the other, succeeded him.

A.—MÂNDHÂTÂ PLATES OF DÊVAPÂLA; [VIKRAMA-]SÂMVAT 1282.

These plates were found, in May 1905, near the temple of Siddhêsvara at Mândhâtâ, an island in the Narmadâ (Narbadâ, Nerbudda) river attached to the Nimâr district of the Central Provinces.¹ They were discovered enclosed in a chest made of two stones, 1' 8½" long by 1' 5½" broad. They are now in the Provincial Museum at Nâgpur, to which they have been presented by Rao Jaswant Singh of Mândhâtâ. The first account of them was given by an old pupil of mine, Mr. Lele, Director of Education in the Dhâr State;² and a transcript of the inscription engraved on them, with a translation and notes, was afterwards furnished to the authorities by Mr. Pyari Lal Ganguli, pleader of Nimâr. The text and a translation, with an introduction, have also been sent to the Government Epigraphist by Pandit Hiranand Shastri, Curator of the Nâgpur Museum. At Prof. Hultzsch's request, I edit the inscription which is on these plates from impressions kindly supplied by Mr. Cousens.

The inscription is on three plates, which are stated to measure about 1' 5½" broad by 1' high, and of which the second is inscribed on both sides, while the first and third plates are

¹ See *Gazetteer of the Central Provinces*, p. 257 ff.; *Constable's Hand Atlas of India*, Plate 27, C d; and above, Vol. III. p. 46. On the temple of Siddhêsvara see also *Archæol. Survey of India, Annual Report, 1903-04*, p. 57.

² Mr. Lele at the time most kindly offered to send me impressions of the plates, but was somehow or other prevented from doing so. I take the opportunity of thanking him here also publicly for the generosity with which he has made over to me his valuable impressions of the Dhâr inscriptions published in Vol. VIII. of this Journal.

inscribed on one side only. The writing on the several sides covers a space between 1' 4" and 1' 4½" broad by between 10½" and 11¼" high. In the lower proper right corner of the first side of the third plate a space about 2" broad by 3" high is marked off by double lines, which enclose an engraving of the mythical bird Garuḍa, the exact shape of which may be seen from the accompanying photo-lithograph.¹ The plates are held together by two rings for which there are two holes in each plate; these rings, I am informed, are open and were apparently never soldered together.

The three plates contain 80 lines of well-engraved writing, which is in so perfect a state of preservation that, with the exception of not more than three *aksharas*, every letter may be read with absolute certainty. In line 40 a vacant space is left for four *aksharas* which may have been illegible in the original from which the inscription was copied; and there is a similar vacant space for two *aksharas* in line 54. The size of the letters is between $\frac{5}{16}$ " and $\frac{3}{8}$ ". The characters are Nāgarī of the period to which the inscription belongs, and the language is Sanskrit. The forms of individual letters hardly call for any remarks. Attention may be drawn to the initial *i* and *ī* (e.g. in *iva*, l. 4, and *Udati*°, l. 50), and to the initial *ē* (in *ēsha*, l. 17) and *au* (e.g. in *Audalya*-, l. 27, and *Aurvva*-, l. 40); perhaps also to the forms of *th* (e.g. in *purushārtha*-, l. 1,) and *ksh* (e.g. in *sākshāt*-, l. 1). It may also be stated that the signs for *t* and *bh*, and those for *ddh* and *dy*, often are so much alike that it is very difficult to distinguish between them. As the 22 verses in lines 1-17 are all numbered, the inscription offers specimens of all numeral figures; and in lines 28, 34, 49 and 50, it gives the fraction $\frac{1}{2}$, denoted by two vertical lines, placed, as the case may be, after a numeral or the sign for nought.² In line 79, before the word *rachitam*-, the text contains a peculiar symbol (perhaps a monogram), the meaning of which I am unable to explain.—As regards orthography, the sign for *v* denotes both *b* and *v*; the dental sibilant is used instead of the palatal about 30 times, and the palatal instead of the dental about 25 times (even in such ordinary words as *sutah* for *sutah*, l. 9, *Sāmavēda*- for *Sāmavēda*-, l. 29, etc.); *ri* is used for *ri* in *Rishi*-, l. 60, and *ri* for *ri* in *tri*° for *tri*° (i.e. *trivēda*-), l. 29 and elsewhere, and in *Śaktri*- for *Śaktri*-, ll. 23 and 71; *j* is employed instead of *y* in *jasō*- for *yaśō*-, l. 73, and in the names *Jasōdhara*-, l. 29, and *Jasādēva*- (for *Yaśōdēva*-), l. 64; and *ksh* for *khy* in *Śāṅkshāyana*-, l. 46. The occasional employment of *dy*, *dv* and *dhv* for *ddy*, *ddv* and *ddhv* need perhaps hardly be mentioned; but I may add that the word *tāmratām* is written *tāmvratām* in line 2, and that the sign of *avagraha* is employed three times, in *sōśābhuta*°, l. 15, °*dāyōsyam*-, l. 75, and *vudhvāṣmad*°, l. 75. There are a few clerical errors not referred to in the above, that can all be easily corrected.—The inscription, in lines 1-17, has 22 verses which chiefly contain genealogical matter, and of which verses 1-19 were already known to us from the three grants of king Arjunavarman.³ In addition to them, we have in lines 20-22 the well-known verse commencing with *Vātābhra-vibhramam=idaṁ vasudh-ādhipatyam* which, with a single exception,⁴ occurs in all Paramāra plates; and in lines 75-79 four benedictive and imprecatory verses, the last of which, commencing with *Iti kamaladalāmbuvindu-lōlām*, is common to all Paramāra plates. The rest of the text is in prose. In the poetical portion we find in line 6 the (as far as I can see, perfectly correct) adjective *uddāman*,⁵ instead of *uḍḍāma* which alone is given by the dictionaries. And in the prose part there occurs, in lines 72 and

¹ Similar representations of Garuḍa are found on all complete plates of the Paramāras of Mālava, of which facsimiles have been published; compare e.g. above, Vol. III. Plate opposite p. 50.

² Compare above, Vol. VII. p. 85.

³ Nos. 195, 197 and 198 of my *Northern List*.

⁴ Viz. the Ujjain plates of Vākpatirāja, published in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 160.

⁵ I know of no grammatical rule by which a compound formed of *ud* and *dāman* (in the sense of *dāma* *udgataḥ*) would become *uddāma*, and most of the passages, which in the dictionaries are quoted under *uddāma*, might just as well be placed under *uddāman*. In his commentary on *Raghuvamśa* I. 78, Mallinātha actually explains *uddāma-diggajā* by *uddāmanō dāma udgata diggajā yasmin*.

73, the strange revenue term *shamhalâtama*[ka]-*samanvita*, which I have not met with elsewhere and am unable to explain.

The inscription records a grant of land by the Paramâra (or Pramâra) king — *Mahârâja*, as he is styled in line 80— *Dêvapâla* of *Mâlava*. A full translation of the introductory verses will be given below. As has been already stated, up to the end of verse 19 (in line 15) the text is identical with the introductory part of the three published grants of the Paramâra *Arjunavarman*, and so far contains little more than a list of kings who were ruling over *Mâlava*: *Bhôjadêva*, *Udayâditya*, his son *Naravarman*, his son *Yasôvarman*, his son *Ajayavarman*, his son *Vindhyavarman*, his son *Subhatavarman*, and his son *Arjuna* (*Arjunavarman*). *Vindhyavarman* and *Subhatavarman* were at war with the *Gûrjaras*, and the first of them recovered *Dhârâ*, which must have been taken possession of by the enemy.¹ *Arjuna* in his youth put to flight *Jayasimha*, of whom it is elsewhere said that he was a king of *Gûrjara* and belonged to the *Chaulukya* family (of *Apahilapâtaka*).² To the nineteen verses of *Arjunavarman*'s grants only three new verses (vv. 20-22) are added here, which tell us that on *Arjuna*'s death he was succeeded in the government of *Mâlava* by *Dêvapâla* and record the name of this king's father. When I published the *Harsaudâ* inscription of *Dêvapâla*, I had to point out³ that by certain epithets in that inscription *Dêvapâla* was clearly connected with the *Mahâkumâras* *Lakshmivarmadêva*, his son *Hariśchandrâdêva*, and his son *Udayavarmadêva* of *Dhârâ*. Verse 21 of our inscription now informs us that *Dêvapâla* actually was a son of *Hariśchandra* (and therefore a brother of the *Mahâkumâra* *Udayavarman*, whose plates are dated in A.D. 1200). In the *Harsaudâ* inscription, which is dated in A.D. 1218, only three years after the date of the latest known grant of *Arjunavarman*, *Dêvapâla*, unlike his brother and his father and grandfather, is styled *Mahârâjâdhirâja*. This, together with the fact that he succeeded *Arjunavarman*, would indicate that in him the two branches of the *Paramâra* family which till then had separately held sway over *Mâlava* became reunited, or that one of them ceased to exist.⁴ Besides the *Harsaudâ* stone and the present plates, the date of which will be considered below, we know of two inscriptions of *Dêvapâla*'s reign, dated in about A.D. 1229 and probably 1232.⁵

In lines 17 ff. *Dêvapâla* informs all king's officers, *Brâhmaṇas* and others, and the *Paṭṭakila* and other people dwelling at the village of *Satâjuṇâ* in the *Mahuaḍa pratijâgarauka*, that, while staying at *Mâhishmati*, on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon⁶ on the full-moon *tithi* in the month *Bhâdrapada* in the year 1282 (given in words), after bathing in the *Rêvâ* (i.e. *Narmadâ*) and worshipping *Śiva* (at the temple) in the neighbourhood of (the temple of *Vishṇu*) *Daityasûdana*, he granted the village of *Satâjuṇâ*, (as stated in lines 72 and 73) well defined as to its four boundaries (*kaṅkaṭa*), etc., to certain *Brâhmaṇas* enumerated in lines 22-71; and (in line 74) he orders the resident *Paṭṭakila* and others to give to these *Brâhmaṇas* the customary share of the produce and money-rent, etc., excepting what was already enjoyed

¹ The context would indicate that *Dhârâ* had been taken by the *Gûrjaras*.

² See now above, Vol. VIII. p. 99; compare also below, p. 118, note 2.—In *Mêrutiṅga*'s *Prabandhachintâmaṇi*, p. 249 f., we are told that the *Mâlava* king *Sôhâḍa* (i.e. *Subhatavarman*), when about to invade the *Gûrjara* country, turned back from its frontier on hearing the verse: *Pratâpô râjamârtandâ pûrvasyâm=êva râjâtê | sa êva vilayâm yâti pâschimâśvalambinâḥ ||*; but that afterwards the *Gûrjara* country was 'broken' by his son *Arjunadêva*.

³ See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 311.

⁴ Nos. 207 and 214 of my *Northern List*.

⁵ The text has *sôma-parvati* instead of the fuller and ordinary *sômagrahaṇa-parvati*; similarly *sûrya-parvati* is used instead of *sûryagrahaṇa-parvati*, e.g. in the dates of No. 356 of my *Northern List* and of Nos. 339 and 380 of my *Southern List*.—I may add that, excepting the *Mandhâtâ* plates of *Jayasimha*, published above, Vol. III. p. 48, the word *parvati* occurs in the dates of all fully preserved *Paramâra* plates that have been hitherto published. We have *pavitrika-parvati* in No. 46 of my *Northern List*, *sômagrahaṇa-parvati* in Nos. 49 and 121, *udagayana-parvati* in No. 57, *saṃjâta-sûryaparvati* in No. 172, *Mahâ-Vaiśākhyâṃ parvati* in No. 189, *abhiśhêka-parvati* in No. 195, *sûryagrahaṇa-parvati* in No. 197, and *chandrôparvati* in No. 198.

by gods (i.e. temples) and Brāhmapas. After the usual appeal to future kings to preserve this grant and the imprecatory verses, the date (in line 79) is repeated in figures, with the additional remark that the day was a Thursday.

I may state here at once that, so far as the week-day is concerned, the date is incorrect. The full-moon *tithi* of Bhādrapada ended—

in the current *Chaitrādi* Vikrama year 1282: 10 h. 50 m. after mean sunrise of Friday, the 30th August A.D. 1224;

in the expired *Chaitrādi* Vikrama year 1282: on Tuesday, the 19th August A.D. 1225; and

in the expired *Kārttikādi* Vikrama year 1282: on Monday, the 7th September A.D. 1226.

None of the possible equivalents of the date therefore was a Thursday. On the other hand, there *was* an eclipse of the moon—a partial one—from 17 h. 45 m. to 20 h. 13 m. after mean sunrise, and therefore visible in India, on the second of the three possible days, and I have no doubt that that day, Tuesday, the 19th August A.D. 1225, is really the day on which the grant was made, and that in line 79 'Thursday' has been erroneously put down instead of 'Tuesday.'

Of the localities mentioned above, Māhishmati, from where the grant was made, is Maheswar, a town in the Indore State, Central India Agency, situated in Long. 75° 37' and Lat. 22° 11', on the northern bank of the Narmadā (Constable's *Hand Atlas of India*, Plate 27, B d). The village of Satājupā exists still under the same name—the *Indian Atlas* has 'Satajana'—about 13 miles south-west of Māndhātā in Long. 76° 3' and Lat. 22° 8' (*Indian Atlas*, sheet 54). Mahuaḍa, after which the *pratijāgaranaka* or district was called, probably is the village of 'Mohod,' about 25 miles south of 'Satajana,' in Long. 76° and Lat. 21° 48'. Below, in line 23 of the inscription B., we have *Mahuaḍa-pathakē*, clearly equivalent to *Mahuaḍa-pratijāgaranukē*. Among other Paramāra grants, the word for 'district' is *pathaka* also in No. 57 of my *Northern List*, and *pratijāgaranaka* in Nos. 172, 189, 195 and 198. The latter term long ago has been identified with the modern *parganā*, 'a district or tract of country including a number of villages.'

An abstract list of the donees will be given below, p. 115 f. From that list it will be seen that their number was 32, and that the proceeds of the village granted to them were divided into 32½ shares (*vaṇṭaka*),¹ in such a manner that 26 donees received one share each, 3 half a share each, 2 one share and a half each, and 1 (the *mahārāja-panḍita* or 'king's Panḍit' Gōsē²) two shares. The original in each case gives the *gōtra* and *pravaras* of the donee, the names of his father and grandfather, and his place (or country) of origin; also, with two exceptions, the Vēdic *sākhā* or Vēda studied by him. The *gōtras*, *sākhās* and localities so mentioned may be seen from the list; the names of the donees' fathers and grandfathers are given in a separate, alphabetical list, below, p. 116 f. The two lists will show that, with a single exception, the people referred to in the preceding are distinguished by certain epithets which are prefixed to their names, and which generally refer to their religious occupation and are mostly given in abbreviated forms. In alphabetical order, these epithets are: *agni*°, i.e. *agnihōtrin*; *āva*° or *avasathika*; *upā*°, i.e. *upādhyāya*; *cha*° or *chaturvēda*; *ṭha*°, i.e. *ṭhakkura*; *tri*° (for *tri*°), i.e. *trivēda*; *dī*°, i.e. *dīkshita*; *dvi*°, i.e. *dvivēda*; *paṁ*° or *paṁḍi*°, i.e. *paṇḍita*; *pāṭha*°, i.e. *pāṭhaka*; *yājñi*°, i.e. *yājñika*; *śu*° or *śukla*; *śrōtri*°, i.e. *śrōtriya*. In addition to these, we have *pañcha*° in line 71, *rājan* in line 37, and *mahārājapaṇḍita* in line 39. About the meaning of *pañcha*° I am somewhat doubtful. The meaning that first suggested itself to me was *pañchakula*; but as most of the other epithets refer to religious occupations, I would rather

¹ The inscription B. (in lines 32, 34, 36 and 37) shows that the word *vaṇṭaka* is synonymous with *pada*, 'a share.'

² He probably is the Gōsēka, mentioned in line 51 of the inscription B.

take *pañcha*^o to be equivalent to *pañchakalpin* (*pañchôli*) which occurs as an epithet of two persons (father and son) in Prof. Weber's Catalogue of the Berlin MSS., Vol. II. p. 96. In the case of 20 donees the same epithet is borne by grandfather, father and son; in 7 cases the grandfather and father have the same epithet, and the son has a different one; and in one case the epithet of father and son is the same, while that of the grandfather differs. In the four remaining cases we have the sequences: *dīkshita*, *āvasathika*, *śukla*; *upādhyāya*, *agnihōtrin*, *dīkshita*; *agnihōtrin*, *dīkshita*, *āvasathika*; and *agnihōtrin*, *upādhyāya*, *āvasathika*. Speaking from personal experience, I remember that many of my Indian pupils had one or the other of the above mentioned terms as surnames — Dikshit, Padhye, Pathak, Pandit, Shukle, etc.— which they probably have handed down unchanged to their children and children's children.

Of the places with which the donees are connected, I take *Mahāvana-sthāna* to be *Mahāban*, a town in the Muttra district of the United Provinces (Constable's *Hand Atlas*, Plate 27, C b); *Tripuri-sthāna* is *Tewar*, a village in the Jabalpur district of the Central Provinces, about six miles west of Jabalpur; *Akôla-sthāna* probably is *Akola* in *Berar* (*ibid.* Plate 31, D a), and *Mathurā-sthāna* is *Muttra* in the United Provinces (*ibid.* Plate 27, C b). *Ḍiṇḍvānaka-sthāna* apparently is the *Ḍeṇḍvānaka*, mentioned above, Vol. V. p. 210, now the town of *Didwāna*¹ in *Jōdhpur*, *Rājputāna* (*ibid.* Plate 27, B b). Regarding the remaining places I cannot offer any definite suggestions. *Mutāvathū-sthāna* is the same place which is mentioned as *Muktāvasthū-sthāna* in the three grants of *Arjunavarman*,² and *Hastināpura* may be the village of *Hathināvara* (on the northern bank of the *Narmadā* in the *Pagārā pratijāgarānaka*), which was granted by *Arjunavarman*'s grant published in *Journ. Am. Or. Soc.* Vol. VII. p. 27. With *Ṭakāri-sthāna* compare '*Ṭakāri*,' above, Vol. III. p. 350, and note 13. The names *Āsrama-sthāna* and *Sarasvatī-sthāna* I have not found elsewhere. On the other hand, *Madhyadēśa* is too well known to call for any remark here.

After the date in line 79, the text of our inscription has the three *aksharas* *dū° śrī mu*, followed by the numeral 3 and a peculiar mark the exact shape of which may be seen from the photograph. The first *akshara* of course stands for *dūtakah* or *dūtaḥ*, and should be followed by a name to which the word *śrī* would have been prefixed; but I do not know whether any or what name may be intended to be denoted by *mu* 3 and the following symbol. We find the same *mu* 3 (probably followed by the same mark which we have here) also in the two grants of *Arjunavarman* in *Journ. Am. Or. Soc.* Vol. VII. pp. 29 and 33.

The inscription then has the statement that 'this was composed by the king's preceptor (*rāja-guru*) *Madana*, with the approbation of the *mahāsāndhivigrahika* (or great minister of peace and war), the learned *Bilhana* '—a statement which occurs also in *Arjunavarman*'s grant in *Journ. Am. Or. Soc.* Vol. VII. p. 33, and (with *mahāpaṇḍita* instead of *mahāsāndhivigrahika-paṇḍita*) in the same king's grant in *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. V. p. 379. On *Madana*, who may reasonably be taken to have composed merely the introductory verses of the inscription, see now above, Vol. VIII. p. 99. As regards *Bilhana*, in verse 7 of the *prastāvi* at the end of *Āśādhara*'s *Dharmāmṛita*³ 'the learned *Bilhana*, the lord of poets,' is described as 'the *mahāsāndhivigrahika* of the glorious king *Vindhya* (*Vindhya-bhūpati*).' Since this king *Vindhya* can be no other than *Arjunavarman*'s grandfather *Vindhyavarman*,⁴ it might seem as if his *mahāsāndhivigrahika* *Bilhana* could not be the *Bilhana* of *Arjunavarman*'s grant and of the present inscription. But in my opinion there are not for the present any valid reasons why the

¹ In Prof. Peterson's *Third Report*, App. I. p. 335, the town is called *Ḍiṇḍavānanagara*.

² See *Journ. Am. Or. Soc.* Vol. VII. pp. 27 and 32, and *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. V. p. 379 (where the published text has *Muktāvastu-sthāna*).

³ See Dr. Bhandarkar's *Report on the search for Sanskrit MSS.* during 1883-84, p. 391.

⁴ *Vindhya-bhūpati* has been taken to mean 'king of the *Vindhyas* or *Mālava*'; but as *Arjuna-bhūpati* in the same *prastāvi* denotes *Arjunavarman*, the former can only denote *Vindhyavarman*.

two should not be considered to be identical. Of the length of the reign of Arjunavarman's father we know nothing; and all we know in this respect about Arjunavarman is, that he reigned during the five years from A.D. 1211 to A.D. 1215. Besides, it should be borne in mind that Āśādhara himself, from whose work the above statement is taken, was a contemporary of no less than five successive kings of Mālava, from Vindhavarman to Dēvapāla's son Jaitugidēva.¹

The inscription ends with the words: 'this is the own hand (*i.e.* the sign-manual) of the *Mahārāja*, the glorious Dēvapāladēva,' followed by the usual *maṅgalam mahā-śrīḥ*.

TEXT.²

First Plate.

- 1 Om³ || Om namaḥ puruṣārtha-chūḍāmaṇayē dharmmāya || ⁴Prativimva-⁵nibhād-bhūmēḥ kṛitvā sākshāt=pratigrahaṁ | jagad=āhlādayan=disyā[d*]=dvijēm-
- 2 drō maṅgalāni vaḥ |(II) 1 |(II) Jīyāt=Paraśurāmō=sau kshatraiḥ kshuṇṇaṁ rau-āhataiḥ | saṁdhyārka-vimvam=⁶ev=ōrvvi-dātur=yasy=ē(ai)ti tāmvratām⁷ |(II) 2 ||
- 3 Yēna Maṁdōdarivāṣṭha-vāribhiḥ sa(śa)mitō mṛidhē | prāpēsva(śva)rī-viyōgāgniḥ sa Rāmaḥ śrēyasē=stu vaḥ |(II) 3 |(II) Bhīmēn=āpi dhṛitā mū[r*]ddhni yat-pādāḥ
- 4 sa Yudhishtīraḥ | vams(s)-ādyēn=ēmdunā jīyāt=su-tulya⁸ iva nirmitaḥ |(II) 4 |(II) Paramārakul-ōttamasaḥ Kamsajin-mahimā nṛipaḥ | śrī-Bhōjadēva ity=ā-sin=nāsirakrānta-bhūtalaḥ |(II) 5 |(II) Yad-yaśaschamndrik-ōdyōtē⁹ digutsaṁgata-rāṁgitē | dvishannṛipa-yaśahpurnjapurndarīkai[r*]=nimilitam |(II) 6 |(II) Tatō=bhū-
- 6 d=Udayādityō nityōtsāh-aikakautuki | asādhāraṇa-viraśrīr=aśrī-hētur=virōdhinām |(II) 7 |(II) Mahākālaha-kalpāntē yasy=ōddāmabhīr=āsu(śu)-
- 7 gaiḥ | kati n=ōpmūlitās=tuṅgā bhūbhṛitaḥ kaṭak-ōlvaṇāḥ |(II) 8 |(II) Tasmāch=chhinna-dvishanmarmā Naravarmā narādhipaḥ | dharmō(rm-ā)-bhyuddharaṇē dhīmān=abhūt-sīmā
- 8 mahābhujām |(II) 9 |(II) Prati-prabhātām viprēbhyō dattai[r]=grāma-padaḥ svayam | anēkapadatām ninyē dharmmō yēn=aika-pād=api |(II) 10 |(II) Taty(sy)=ājani Yaśōvarmmā
- 9 putraḥ kshatriya-sēkharāḥ | tasmād=Ajayavarm=ābhūj=jayaśrī-viśrutaḥ .śu(su)taḥ |(II) 11 |(II) Tat-sūnur=vvira-mūrdhanyō dhany-ōtpati(tti)r=ajāyata | Gūrjarō-chchhēda-
- 10 nirvvaṁdhi¹⁰ Viṁdhyavarmā mahā-bhujāḥ |(II) 12 |(II) Dhāray=ōddhṛitayā sārddham dadhāti sma tridhāratām | sāmuyugīnasya yasy=āsis=trātum lōka-trayim=iva |(II) 13 |(II)
- 11 Tasy=āmushyāyanaḥ putraḥ Sutrāma-śrīr=ath=āśishat | bhūpaḥ Subhaṭavarmm=ēti dharmmē tishthan=mahī-talam |(II) 14 |(II) Yasya jvalati dig-jētuh pratāpas=tapana-dyu-
- 12 tēḥ | dāvāgni-chchhadman=ādy=āpi ¹¹garjjad-Gūrjjara-pattanē |(II) 15 |(II) Dēva-bhūyam gatē tasmin=namdanō=rjjuna-bhūpatti(ti)ḥ | dōshṇā dhattē=dhunā dhātri-valayam valayam

¹ See the inscription B., below.

² Denoted by a symbol.

³ Read *pratibimbi*.

⁴ Read *tāmratām*.

⁵ Read *-ōddyōtē*.

⁶ The editions of the plates of Arjunavarman have *garjan*=; but *garjjad*- is the reading also of R., below, p. 121, line 14.

⁷ From an impression supplied by Mr. Cousens.

⁸ Metre of verses 1-22: Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh).

⁹ Read *-dimbam*.

¹⁰ Read *sva-tulya*.

¹¹ Read *nirvvaṁdhi*.

- 13 yathâ | (II) 16 | (II) Vâ(bâ)lalil-âhavê yasya Jayasimhê palâyitê | dikpālahāsa-
vyājēna yaśō dikshu vijīmbhitam | (II) 17 | (II) Kāvya-gāṇḍharvva-sarvasva-
nidhinā
- 14 yēna¹ sāmpratam | bhār-āvataraṇam² dēvyās=chakrē pustaka-viṇayōḥ | (II) 18
| (II) Yēna trividha-virēṇa tridhā pallavitam yaśaḥ | dhavalatvam dadhus-
triṇi ja-
- 15 gaṇti katham=amya(nya)thâ | (II) 19 | (II) Ath=ārthinām=apūnyēna pūnyēna
svargga-subhruvām | sō śdbhutatyāgaśīlās=cha śrīmgārī cha divam gataḥ | (II) 20
| (II) Ta-
- 16 taḥ Pramāra-chamdrasya Hariśchamdrasya namdanah | raraksha Mālava-
kshōṇim Dēvapālāḥ pratāpavān | (II) 21 | (II) Pavitra-karapadmaśya(sya)
dānavāri-vijīmb-
- 17 bhitaiḥ | na vidmō Dēvapālasya dēvapālasya ch=āntaram | (II) 22 | (II) Sa
ēsha nara-nāyakaḥ sarvv-ābhayudayi |³ Mahuaḍa-pratijāgarāṇakē Satā-
- 18 juṇā-grāmē samasta-rājapuruṣhān=vrā(bṛā)hmaṇ-ōttarān=pratinivāsi(si)-paṭṭakila-jana-
pad-ādīmś=cha vō(bō)dhayaty=astu vaḥ samvidi-
- 19 tam yathâ |³ śrī-Māhishmatī-sthitair=asmābhiḥ=⁴dvyasītyadhika-dvādaśasata-
samvatsarē Bhādrapadē māśē paurṇamāsyām sō-

Second Plate; First Side.

- 20 ma-parvvaṇi Rēvāyām snātvā śrī-Daityasūdana-sannidhau bhagavantam
Bhavāni-patim samabhyarchchya samsārasy=āsaratām dṛishṭvā | tathā hi ||
Vā.⁵
- 21 tābhra-vibhramam=idam vaśu(su)dh-ādhipatyam=⁶āpātamātra-madhurō vishay-
ōpabhōgaḥ | prāṇās=trīṇāgrajalaviṇḍu-samā narāṇām dha-
- 22 rmmaḥ sakhā param=ahō paralōka-yānē || iti sarvvaṇi vimṛīsy=ādṛishṭa-
phalam=amgikṛitya ||⁷ Āśramasthāna-vinirggatāya Vājimādhyaṇḍinaśā-
- 23 kh-ādhyāyinē Parāśa[ra*]-gōtrāya Parāśa-Śakti-Vasishṭh-ēti⁸ tri-pravarāya śrōtri⁹
Dāmōdara-pautrāya śrōtri⁹ Vra(bṛā)hma-putrāya śrōtri⁹ Gaṅgādhā-
- 24 rasa(sa)rmmaṇē vrā(bṛā)hmaṇāya vaṇṭakam=ēkam | Mahāvanasthāna-
vinirggatāya Pavitra-gōtrāya Gārggya-Gaurivīt-Āṅgiras-ēti tri-pravarāya Āśva-
- 25 lāyanaśākh-ādhyāyinē dī¹⁰ Gaṅgādhara-pautrāya āvaśa(sa)thika-Mahāditya-putrāya
śukla-Bhadrēśva(śva)rasa(sa)rmmaṇē vrā(bṛā)hmaṇāya vaṇṭakam=ē-
- 26 kam | Mahāvanasthāna-vinirggatāya Pavitra-gōtrāya Gārggya-Gaurivīt-Āṅgiras-ēti
tri-pravarāya Āśvalāyanaśākh-ādhyāyinē dī¹⁰ Sim(sim)ha-
- 27 kamṭha-pautrāya śu¹¹ Madhukamṭha-putrāya śu¹⁰ Chamdrakamṭhasa(sa)rmmaṇē
vrā(bṛā)hmaṇāya vaṇṭakam=ēkam | Mahāvanasthā[na*]-vinirggatāya Audalya-
gōtrāya¹² Mā-
- 28 dhyamḍinaśākh-ādhyāyinē dī¹⁰ Padmasvāmi-pautrāya dī¹⁰ Trilōchana-putrāya dī¹⁰
Nārāyaṇasa(sa)rmmaṇē vrā(bṛā)hmaṇāya sārḍham vaṇṭakam=ēkam |¹/₂ Ma-

¹ Originally *yēma* was engraved.

² The edition of the grant of Arjunavarman in *Journ. Am. Or. Soc.* Vol. VII. p. 26, has *bhārāvātaraṇam*.

³ These signs of punctuation are superfluous.

⁴ Read =asmābhiḥ=.

⁵ Metre: Vasantatilakā.

⁶ Instead of the *akshara dhā* originally *dhau* seems to have been engraved.

⁷ This sign of punctuation is superfluous. Here and in other places below the rules of *samdhī* have not been observed.

⁸ Originally *Parāśā-Śa*^o was engraved. Read *Parāśara-Śakti-Vasishṭh-ēti*, where the name *Śakti*, as elsewhere, would stand for the more correct *Śakti*. See below, line 71.

⁹ I.e., here and below, *śrōtriya*.

¹⁰ I.e., here and below, *dtkshita*.

¹¹ I.e., here and below, *śukla*.

¹² Here the *pravaras* are omitted.

- 29 hāvanasthāna-vinirggatāya Kātyāyana-gōtrāya¹ Śā(sā)maṣṭād-ādhyāyinē tri²
Rāmēsva(sva)ra-pautrāya tri³ Jasōdhara-³putrāya tri⁴ Sūrasarmmaṇē⁴
vrā(brā)hmaṇāya vaṁṭakam=ē-
- 30 kaṁ 1 Takāristhāna-vinirggatāya Bhāradvāja-⁵gōtrāya Bhāradvāj-Āṅgīrasa-
Vā(bā)rhaspaty-ēti tri-pravarāya Kauthumaśākḥ-ādhyāyi-
- 31 nē tri⁶ Dālana-pautrāya tri⁶ Āśādhara-putrāya tri⁶ Visvēsvaraśarmmaṇē⁶
vra(brā)hmaṇāya vaṁṭakam=ēkaṁ 1 Takāristhāna-vinirggatāya Bhāradvā-
- 32 ja-gōtrāya Bhāradvāj-Āṅgīrasa-Vā(bā)rhasya(spa)ty-ēti tri-pravarāya Mādhyamīna-
śākḥ-ādhyāyinē di⁷ Kēlhaṇa-pautrāya di⁷ Madhu-putrāya di⁷ Rā-
- 33 masa(sā)rmmaṇē vrā(brā)hmaṇā[y]a vaṁṭakam=ēkaṁ 1 Tripurīsthāna-
vinirggatāya Bhāradvāja-gōtrāya Bhāradvāj-Āṅgīrasa-Vā(bā)rhaspaty-ēti tri-
prava-
- 34 rāya paṁ |⁷ Haridhara-pautrāya paṁ | Mahīdhara-putrāya paṁ⁸ Bhṛigu-
śarmmaṇē⁸ vrā(brā)hmaṇāya sārddham vaṁṭakam=ēkaṁ 1½ Mutavathūsthāna-⁹
vinirggatāya
- 35 Kāśyapa-gōtrāya Kāśyapa(p-Ā)vatsāra-Naidhruv-ēti tri-pravarāya Āśvalāyanaśākḥ-
ādhyāyinē cha¹⁰ Prithivīdhara-pautrāya cha¹⁰ Āśā(sā)dhara-pu-
- 36 trāya agni¹¹ Nārāyaṇaśarmmaṇē vrā(brā)hmaṇāya vaṁṭakam=ēkaṁ 1
Akōlāsthāna-vinirggatāya Parāvaśu(su)-gōtrāya Parāvaśu(su)-Kāmkāya-
- 37 na-Kaikaśēya¹² tri-pravarāya ṭha |¹³ Bharatapāla-pautrāya ṭha | Dālana-putrāya
rāja-Gōsa(sa)śarmmaṇē¹⁴ vrā(brā)hmaṇāya vaṁṭakam=ēkaṁ 1 Mathurāsthā-
- 38 na-vinirggatāya Āśvalāyanaśākḥ-ādhyāyinē Vasi(si)shṭha-gōtrāya Kāśyap-Āvatsāra-
Vāsi(si)shṭh-ēti tri-pravarāya chaturvēda-Janārdhana-pautrā-

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 39 ya chaturvēda-Dharaṇīdhara-putrāya mahārājapamṛita-srī-Gōsēśarmmaṇē
vrā(brā)hmaṇāya vaṁṭaka-dvayaṁ 2 Mathurāsthāna-vinirggatāya Ā-
- 40 śvalāyanaśākḥ-ādhyāyinē Bhārggava-gōtrāya Bhārggava-Chyavana-Āpnvān¹⁵
Aurvva-Jāmadagny-ēti paṁcha-pravarāya cha¹⁶¹⁶-pautrāya cha¹⁶
- 41 Vishṇu-putrāya cha¹⁶ Rāmēsva(sva)rasa(sā)rmmaṇē vrā(brā)hmaṇāya vaṁṭakam=
ēkaṁ 1 Mathurāsthāna-vinirggatāya Āśvalā[ya*]naśākḥ-ādhyāyinē Kāśyapa-
gōtrā-
- 42 ya Kāśyap-Āvatsāra-Naidhruv-ēti tri-pravarāya cha¹⁶ Samuddhara-pautrāya cha¹⁶
Dēvadhara-putrāya cha¹⁶ Gadādharaśa(sā)rmmaṇē vrā(brā)hmaṇāya vaṁṭakam=
ēkaṁ 1 Ma-
- 43 thurāsthāna-vinirggatāya Āśvalāyanaśākḥ-ādhyāyinē Bhārggava-gōtrāya Bhārggava-
Vaitahavya-Sāvētas-ēti tri-pravarāya cha¹⁶ Pavitra-pautrā-
- 44 ya cha¹⁶ Dharaṇīdhara-putrāya cha¹⁶ Garbhēsva(sva)raśarmmaṇē vrā(brā)hmaṇāya
vaṁṭakam=ēkaṁ 1 Mathurāsthāna-vinirggatāya Āśvalāyanaśākḥ-ādhyāyi-

¹ Kātyāyana-gōtrāya was originally omitted, and is engraved above the line. Here, again, the *pravara*s are omitted.

² Here and below for *tri*°, i.e. *trivēda*°.

³ For *Yasōdhara*°.

⁴ For *Sūrasarmmaṇē*.

⁵ In the place of the *akṣara ra* originally *dva* was engraved.

⁶ Read *Viśvēsvara*°.

⁷ This, or *paṁ*°, here and below, = *paṁṛita*°.

⁸ The *śākḥ* of this man is omitted.

⁹ Below, in lines 47 and 49, the name is *Mutavathū*°.

¹⁰ I.e., here and below, *chaturvēda*°.

¹¹ I.e., here and below, *agnihōtri*°.

¹² Read *Kaikaśēti*.

¹³ I.e., here and below, *ṭhakkura*°.

¹⁴ The *śākḥ* of this man is omitted.

¹⁵ Read -*Āpnvāna*°; see below, lines 52 and 66.

¹⁶ Here an open space is left for a name of four syllables which has been omitted.

[illegible]

60
62
64
66
68
70
72
74
76
78
80

- 45 nê Kâsyapa-gôtrâya Kâsyap-Âvatsâra-Naidhrv-êti tri-pravarâya cha° Samuddhara-
pautrâya cha° Dêvadhara-putrâya cha° Lôhataśarmmanê vrâ(brâ)hmanâ-
46 ya vam̐takam=êkam̐ 1 Dîm̐dvânakasthâna-vinirggatâya 1¹Śâmkshâyanaśâkh-
âdhyâyinê Gautama-gôtrâya Gautam-Âṁgirasa-Autatthy-êti² tri-prava-
47 râya cha° Dharaṇîdhara-pautrâya cha° Vra(bra)hma-putrâya cha° Purushôttama-
śarmmanê vrâ(brâ)hmanâya vam̐takam=êkam̐ 1 Mutâvathûsthâna-vinirggatâya
Mâdhyam̐-
48 dinaśâkh-âdhyâyinê Kâsyapa-gôtrâya Kâsyap-Âvatsâra-Naidhrv-êti tri-pravarâya
dvi°³ Gôvîm̐da-pautrâya dvi° Vâsadhara-putrâya dvi° Gadâ-
49 dharaśarmmanê vrâ(brâ)hmanâya vam̐taka(k-â)rddham̐ 1² Mutâvathûsthâna-
vinirggatâya Mâdhyam̐dinaśâkh-âdhyâyinê Kâsyapa-gôtrâya Kâsyap-Âvatsâra-
Naidhru-
50 v-êti tri-pravarâya dî° 4Gaṁgâdhara-pautrâya dî° Kêśava-putrâya Udaîsar-
mmanê vrâ(brâ)hmanâya vam̐taka(k-â)rddham̐ 1² Mahâvanasthâ[nâ*]-
vinirggatâya Kau-
51 thumaśâkh-âdhyâyinê Gautama-gôtrâya Gautam-Âṁgirasa-Autatthy-êti tri-
pravarâya pam̐° Madana-pautrâya pam̐° Kâhna(nha)ḍa-putrâya pam̐°
Kuladharasa(sa)rmmmanê
52 vrâ(brâ)hmanâya vam̐takam=êkam̐ 1 Takâristhâna-vinirggatâya⁵ Kanthumaśâkh-
âdhyâyinê Vatsa-gôtrâya Bhârggava-Chyavana-Âpnuvân° Aurvva-Jâmadagny-ê-
53 ti pam̐cha-pravarâya tṛi° Janârddana-pautrâya tṛi° Naraśim̐(sim̐)ha-putrâya âva°
Abhinam̐daśarmmanê vrâ(brâ)hmanâya vam̐takam=êkam̐ 1 Madhyadêśa-
vinirggatâ-
54 ya Mâdhyam̐di[nâ*]śâkh-âdhyâyinê Mudgala-gôtrâya Âṁgiraśa(sa)-Bhara . . sa-⁸
Mudgal-êti tri-pravarâya agni° Chehhitû-pautrâya agni° Dharaṇîdhara-putrâ-
55 ya agni° Anantaśarmmanê vrâ(brâ)hmanâya vam̐takam=êkam̐ 1 Madhyadêśa-
vinirggatâya Mâdhyam̐dinaśâkh-âdhyâyinê Śâmdîlya-gôtrâya Śâmdîlya-Âsî(si)ta-
56 Dêval-êti tri-pravarâya yâjñi°⁹ Nâgadêva-pautrâya yâjñi° Kṛishṇa-putrâya agni°
Sthânêśva(śva)raśarmmanê vrâ(brâ)hmanâya vam̐takam=êkam̐ 1 Mathurâsthâna-
vini-
57 rggatâya Âśvalâyanaśâkh-âdhyâyinê Dhaumya-gôtrâya Kâsyap-Âvatsâra-[Nai*]dhruv-
êti¹⁰ tri-pravarâya cha° Vishṇu-pautrâya cha° Sâdhâraṇa-putrâ-
58 ya cha° Ūdha[ra]śarmmanê¹¹ vrâ(brâ)hmanâya vam̐takam=êkam̐ 1 Mathurâsthâna-
vinirggatâya 1²Râṇâyiniśâkh-âdhyâyinê Bhâradvâja-gôtrâya Âṁgi-
59 rasa-Vâ(bâ)rhaspatya-Bhâradvâj-êti tri-pravarâya tṛi° Mâdhava-pautrâya¹³ tṛi°
Sômêśva(śva)ra-putrâya tṛi° Kuladharasarmmanê vrâ(brâ)hmanâya vam̐takam=
êkam̐ 1

Third Plate.

- 60 Mathurâsthâna-vinirggatâya Râṇâyiniśâkh-âdhyâyinê Bhâradvâja-gôtrâya Âṁgirasa-
Vâ(bâ)rhaspatya-Bhâradvâj-êti tri-pravarâya tṛi° Rî(ri)shi-pautrâya tṛi°

¹ Read *Śâmkhyâyana*° or, more correctly, *Śâmkhâyana*°.

² *Autatthy* = *Auchatthy*; see below, B., line 33.

³ *I.e.*, here and below, *dvivêda*°.

⁴ Originally *Gâṁgâ*° was engraved, but the first *â* has been struck out.

⁵ Originally *°sthânâ vi*° was engraved.

⁶ Read *°Apnavâna*°.

⁷ *I.e.*, here and below, *âvasathika*°.

⁸ In this name an open space is left for two syllables. The name which one would have expected is *Bhârmyasva*.

⁹ *I.e.*, here and below, *yâjñika*°.

¹⁰ The *akshara* *vê* is engraved above the line.

¹¹ Originally *Ūdhapa*° was engraved.

¹² Read, here and below, *Râṇdyantyaśâkh*°.

¹³ The *akshara* *dha* is engraved above the line.

- 61 Mārkaṇḍa-putrāya tṛi° Madhusūdanaśarmmaṇē vrā(brā)hmaṇāya vaiṇṭakam=ēkaṁ 1
Sarasvatīsthāna-vinirggatāya Kāṭhaśākh-ādhyāyinē [Har]ita-Kutsa-
- 62 gōtrāya Āṁgiraśa(sa)-¹ Am̐va(ba)rīsha-Yauvanāsv(sv)-ēti tri-pravarāya cha° Vijayī-
pautrāya cha° Ajayī-putrāya cha° Allīśarmmaṇē vrā(brā)hmaṇāya vaiṇṭakam=
ēkaṁ 1
- 63 Madhyadēsa-vinirggatāya Mādhyam̐dinaśākh-ādhyāyinē Kāśyapa-gōtrāya Kāśyap-
Āvatsāra-Naidhruv-ēti tri-pravarāya upā°² Nārāyaṇa-pautrāya agni°³
- 64 ⁴Jasadēva-putrāya dī° Lāhaḍaśarmmaṇē⁵ vrā(brā)hmaṇāya vaiṇṭakam=ēkaṁ 1
Madhyadēsa-vinirggatāya Mādhyam̐dinaśākh-ādhyāyinē Sām̐dilya-gōtrāya A-
- 65 śi(si)ta-Dēvala-Sām̐(sām̐)dily-ēti tri-pravarāya agni° Kāṭuka-pautrāya dī° Pura-
shōttama-putrāya āva° Nārasiṁhaśarmmaṇē vrā(brā)hmaṇāya vaiṇṭakam=ēkaṁ 1
Ma-
- 66 dhyadēsa-vinirggatāya Mādhyam̐dinaśākh-ādhyāyinē Mārkaṇḍēya-gōtrāya
Bhārggava-Chyavana-Āpnuvān°⁶ Aurvva-Jāmadagny-ēti pañcha-pravarāya agni°
Chchbītū-pau-
- 67 trāya upā° Dāmōdara-putrāya āva° Mārkaṇḍēyaśarmmaṇē vrā(brā)hmaṇāya
vaiṇṭakam=ēkaṁ 1 Madhyadēsa-vinirggatāya Mādhyam̐dinaśākh-ādhyāyinē
Bhāradvāja-gō-
- 68 trāya Āṁgiraśa(sa)-⁷Vā(bā)rhaspatya-Bhāradvāj-ēti tri-pravarāya dvi° Nārāyaṇa-
pautrāya dvi° Padmanābha-putrāya pāṭha°⁸ Vāyudēvaśarmmaṇē vrā(brā)hmaṇāya
vaiṇṭaka-
- 69 m=ēkaṁ 1 Mathurāsthāna-vinirggatāya Āśvalāyanaśākh-ādhyāyinē Kautsa-gōtrāya
Āṁgiraśa(sa)-Am̐va(ba)rīsha-Yauvanāsv(sv)-ēti tri-pravarāya cha° Hari-pau-
- 70 trāya cha° Janārdana-putrāya cha° Rājēśarmmaṇē vrā(brā)hmaṇāya vaiṇṭakam=
arddham ½ Hastināpura-vinirggatāya Kauthumaśākh-ādhyāyinē Pārāsa(śa)ra-gōtrā-
- 71 ya Pārāsa(śa)ra-Śakti-⁹Vaśi(si)shṭh-ēti tri-pravarāya pañcha°¹⁰ Kāhna(nha)ḍa-
pautrāya pañcha° Kumara-putrāya paṇḍi°¹¹ Kusumapālaśarmmaṇē
vrā(brā)hmaṇāya vaiṇṭakam=ēkaṁ 1
- 72 samastō=pi grāmaś=chatuḥkāmkaṭa-¹²visu(śu)ddbah sa-vṛikshamālākulaḥ sa-
hiraṇyabhāgabhogah s-ōparikarah sarvvādāya-samētaḥ sa-nidhinikshēpaḥ sha-
- 73 mhalātama[ka]-¹³samanvitō mātāpitṛr=ātmanaś=cha puṇyajasō-¹⁴bhivṛiddhayē
chamdrārkaṇṇavakshiti-samakālaṁ yāvat=paraya(yā) bhaktyā śāsā(sa)nēn=ōdaka-
pūrvvām pradattaḥ [!°] tam=ma-
- 74 tvā tannivāsi(si)-pa[ṭṭa]kilajanapadair=yathādīyamāna-bhāgabhogakarāhiraṇyādikaṁ
dēvavrā(brā)hmaṇabhukti-varjjam=ājñā-vidhēyair=bhūtva sarvvam=ēbhyaḥ vrā(brā)-
hmaṇēbhyaḥ dātavyam [!°]
- 75 sāmānyam ch=aitat=puṇya-phalaṁ vudhvā¹⁵ ssmadvamśajair=anyair=api bhāvi-
bhōkṭribhir=asmatpradatta-dharmmadāyō¹⁶ syam=anumantavyaḥ pālānyas=cha¹⁷ ||
Uktam cha || ¹⁸Va(ba)huhbir=vaśu(su)dhā

¹ Originally *Āṁgiriśa*- was engraved.² I.e., here and below, *upādhyāya*-.³ This sign of abbreviation is engraved at the commencement of the next line.⁴ For *Yasōdēva*-.⁵ Originally *Lāhaḍa*° was engraved.⁷ Originally *Āṁgiriśa*- was engraved.⁶ Read *Āpnavāna*-.⁹ Read *Śakti*-, and see above, p. 109, note 8.⁸ I.e. *pāṭhaka*-.¹¹ I.e. *paṇḍita*-.¹⁰ I.e., here and below, *pañchakalpi*-(P).¹² Read *chatuḥkāmkaṭa*-.¹³ The *akshara* in brackets might possibly be read *okha*. As will be seen from the facsimile, the space between *ld* and *ta* at the commencement of line 73 is larger than it generally is between two *aksharas*.¹⁴ Read *puṇyajasō*-.¹⁵ Read *buddhvā*.¹⁶ One would have expected *dharmmadāyō*; but *dharmmadāyō* is the reading of most of the Paramāra copper-plates.¹⁷ Originally *śi=cham* was engraved.¹⁸ Metre of this verse and the next: Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh).

- 76 bhuktā rājabhiḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ | yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā
phalaṁ || Sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ vā yō harēta vasuṁdharāṁ | sa
vishṭhāyāṁ kṛimir=bhūtvā pitṛibhiḥ saha
77 majjati || ¹Sarvvān=ēvaṁ bhāvinō bhūmipālān=bhūyō bhūyō yāchatē
Rāmabhadraḥ [*] sāmānyō=yam dharmma-sētur=nṛpāpāṁ kālē kālē pālān-
78 yō bhavadbhiḥ || Iti² kamaladalām̐vu(bu)vindu-lōlām̐ śriyam=anuchintya
manushya-jivitaṁ cha | sakalam=idam=udāhṛitaṁ cha vudhvā³ na hi pu-
79 rushaiḥ para-kīrttayō vilōpyā iti || Samvat 1282 varshē Bhādra-sudi 15 Gurau ||
Dū⁴ śrīmu 3||⁵ Rachitam=ida[m*] mahāsāndhi-
80 vighraḥ-paṇḍita-śrī-Vi(bi)lhaṇa-saṁmatēna ⁶rāja-gurūṇā Madanēna | Sva-hastō-
yam mahārāja-śrī-Dēvapālādēvasya || Maṁgalaṁ mahā-śrīḥ [||*]

TRANSLATION OF VERSES 1-22.

Om ! Om ! Obeisance to *dharma*,⁷ the crest-jewel of the aims of man !

(Verse 1.) May (the Moon), the Lord of the twice-born, gladdener of the world, after having openly accepted the earth in the guise of its reflection,⁸ bestow blessings on you !

(V. 2.) May that Paraśurāma be victorious, for whom, when he granted the earth (to the *Brāhmaṇs*), the very orb of the twilight-sun, pierced by the Kshatriyas slain (by him) in fight, became the copper-plate !⁹

(V. 3.) May Rāma minister to your welfare, he who in battle quenched the fire of separation from his life's mistress by the water of Mandōdarī's¹⁰ tears !

(V. 4.) May Yudhisṭhira be victorious, whose feet even Bhīma placed on his head, (and) whom the Moon, the progenitor of his race, framed as it were equal unto himself !

(V. 5.) There was a king, great like Kaiśa's conqueror,¹¹ an ornament of the Paramāra family, the glorious Bhōjadēva, who occupied the surface of the earth by the van of his army.¹²

¹ Metre : Śālinī.

² Metre : Pushpitāgrā.

³ Read *buddhvā*.

⁴ I.e. *dūtakaḥ* or *dūtaḥ* (as in the inscription B.).

⁵ For the exact shape of this mark, which is not a sign of punctuation, see the accompanying photo-lithograph.

⁶ This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

⁷ I find no English word by which I could fully express all the meanings of the Sanskrit *dharma* ; in the present case 'religious merit' would perhaps best convey some idea of what is intended. The four aims of man are *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma* and *mōksha*.

⁸ The spot (*kalaṅka*) in the moon is by poets taken to be the reflected image of the earth. Prof. Jacobi, who first drew my attention to this notion, quotes *Raghuvamśa* XIV. 40, and especially *Haraviṣaya* XLI. 64; and I find that the idea is clearly expressed in verse 1982 of the *Subhāshitāvalī*, according to which 'others have said' that the spot in the moon is 'the reflected image of the earth' (*bhāmēs=cha bimbaṁ parē*); compare also *ibid.* v. 2584, *śaśalakṣmaṇaḥ pariṇatā prithivī kalaṅkāyātē*. With *pratibimba-nibhāt* compare *pratibimba-mishāt* in the *Pārijātamañjarī*, above, Vol. VIII. p. 110, line 50; and with *jagad=āhlādayan*, as applied to the moon, *āhlādayan=viśvam* in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI. p. 208, line 1.—The Moon being a *dviṣa* (or *Brāhmaṇ*), one of his privileges is to receive gifts (*pratigraha*), just as it is his duty to make them (*dāna*).

⁹ The verse has been called awkward, because it has not been understood. Since warriors slain in battle enter heaven through the sun, this luminary, covered with their blood, assumes the reddish hue of copper. In this state it appears in the twilight sky, and is thus represented to be the very copper-plate charter (*tāmra*) by which Paraśurāma granted the earth to the *Brāhmaṇs*. For the idea of warriors who are slain in battle splitting the sun compare, e.g., *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 192, v. 33; *Subhāshitāvalī*, v. 2274; and the pretty verse, given to illustrate the figure of *śākṣma*, in *Ēkāvalī*, Bombay ed., p. 325: *Navēśhu kāntēśhu kṛitābhilāshāḥ svargāṅganāḥ prēkshya martchimālī | Nṛisimha bhūpāla tav=āhavēśhu kampākulaṁ darsayati svalimbam* ||; afraid of being split, the sun trembles.

¹⁰ Mandōdarī was Rāvapa's favourite wife.

¹¹ I.e. the god Kṛishṇa.

¹² The word *nāsira* (i.e. *sānd-mukha*) occurs in the *Pārijātamañjarī*, above, Vol. VIII. p. 116, l. 78; also, e.g., in the *Naishadhyācharita*, XII. 73 and XIII. 23.

(V. 6.) When the lustre of the moonlight of his glory overflowed the lap of the regions, there closed the day-lotuses of the glory accumulated by hostile kings.

(V. 7.) Then came Udayāditya, whose one desire was constant enterprise; who, of unequalled glory as a hero, made inglorious his adversaries.

(V. 8.) As lofty mountains, abounding in ridges, at the end of a mundane period are uprooted by impetuous winds, so in fierce contest how many rulers of the earth, abounding in armies, were not uprooted by his irresistible arrows!

(V. 9.) From him sprang king Naravarman, who cleft the vital parts of adversaries; the acme of kings, wise in upholding religion.

(V. 10.) At every dawn freely granting shares of villages to Brāhmaṇs, he made religion, one-footed though it is (*in this Kālī age*), possessed of several feet.¹

(V. 11.) His son was Yaśōvarman, the chaplet of Kshatriyas; (*and*) from him sprang his son Ajayavarman, renowned for the glory of victory.

(V. 12.) His son, of auspicious birth, the foremost of heroes, was Vindhyavarman, long of arm, eager to extirpate the Gūrjaras.

(V. 13.) The sword of this (*king*) skilled in war, with Dhārā rescued by it, assumed three edges,² to protect as it were the three worlds.

(V. 14.) Then the son of that illustrious one, king Subhaṭavarman, abiding by religion, ruled the surface of the earth, glorious like Indra.

(V. 15.) The fire of prowess of that conqueror of the quarters, whose splendour was like the sun's, in the guise of a forest-fire even to-day blazes in the town³ of the blustering Gūrjara.⁴

(V. 16.) Now⁵ that he has attained unto godhead, his son king Arjuna supports with his arm the circle of the earth like a bracelet.

(V. 17.) When in the battle which was his childhood's frolic Jayasimha took to flight, his fame spread in the quarters in the guise of the laughter of the quarters' guardians.

(V. 18.) A treasure-house of the stores of poetry and song, he now has relieved the goddess (Sarasvatī) of the burden of her books and lyre.

(V. 19.) This triple hero⁶ made his fame triply sprout. How otherwise did the three worlds acquire their whiteness?

¹ In the golden age *dharma* had four feet, of which it lost one in each subsequent age (*Parāśarasmiti*, ed. by Vāman Śāstri Islāmpurkar, Vol. I. P. I. p. 82). The word for 'share' in the original being *pada*, i.e. 'foot,' the king by granting shares of villages increased the number of *dharma's* feet and so brought back as it were the golden age. Compare *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 218, l. 19: *mahādānādy-aśūnyāni kurovan=parvāny-anekāṣaṇi dharmasya=atvavidhā=yō-mhriti*; see also *ibid.* Vol. XII. p. 159, l. 7.

² By itself the sword had two edges (*dhārā*); the town of Dhārā, retaken by it, became its third edge (*dhārā*). The author suggests that the sword became like the *tridhārā*, i.e. the 'three-streamed' Gaṅgā, which flows through, and purifies, heaven, earth, and the lower regions.

³ The word *pattana* may also be taken as a proper name of the well-known Pattana (see e.g. above, Vol. VIII. p. 224, No. XII., and p. 229, No. XXXII.).

⁴ *Garjjād-Gūrjjara* occurs also above, p. 35. l. 27; compare also *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 217, l. 11: *m=aiṣam G[ūrjjara] garjja*.

⁵ This 'now' is really inappropriate in inscriptions of Arjunavarman's successors, but the verses 16-19 have been taken over unchanged from that king's own grants.

⁶ I.e. a hero in fight, in compassion (like Jīmūtavāhana), and in bounty (like Bali)—*yuddha-vīra*, *dayā-vīra*, and *dāna-vīra*; compare Vāmanāchārya in his edition of the *Kāvyaprakāśa*, p. 113; *Śrīngārutilaka*, III. 14 (*trividhō nāyakaḥ*); and similar works. In the *Pārijātaṃjart*, above, Vol. VIII. p. 102, l. 7, and p. 103, l. 13, Arjunavarman is styled *trividhāvīra-chāḍdmani*. The same epithet I find applied to a person named Udaya, in three Mount Ābū inscriptions of the Vikrama years 1245 and 1291 (Mr. Cousens' List, Nos. 1725, 1726 and 1840). With the whole verse one may compare *Ēkāvalī*, p. 258: *Narasimha mahāpāla kīrtis-tripathagā tava | na kasya bhavitā slāghyā punānā bhuvanatrayam* l.

(V. 20.) Then, through the want of merit of suppliants and through the merit of the lovely-browed damsels of paradise, he who was both marvellously bountiful and amorous went to heaven.

(V. 21.) Then Dēvapāla, full of prowess—the son of Hariśchandra, the moon of the Pramāras—came to rule the Mālava country.

(V. 22.) Because of the pouring out of the water of donations by him who holds *kuśa* grass in his lotus-hand, we know no difference between Dēvapāla and the guardian of the gods [whom the exploits of the enemy of the Dānavas caused to take the *argha* in his lotus-hand (to make a respectful offering)].¹

LIST OF THE DONEES IN LINES 22-71.

Number.	Name of donee.	Description.	Gōtra.	Śākhā or Vēda.	Place of origin.	Shares.
1	Gaṅgādhara ²	śrōtriya	Parāśa[ra]	Vājīmādhyaṁdina	Āśrama ³	1
2	Bhadrēśvara	śukla	Pavitra	Āśvalāyana	Mahāvana	1
3	Chandrakaṇṭha	"	"	"	"	1
4	Nārāyaṇa	dikshita	Andalya	Mādhyaṁdina	"	1½
5	Śūra	trivēda	Kātyāyana	Sāmavēda	"	1
6	Viśvēśvara	"	Bhāradvāja	Kauthuma	Takāri	1
7	Rāma	dikshita	"	Mādhyaṁdina	"	1
8	Bhṛigu	pañḍita	"	omitted.	Tripurī	1½
9	Nārāyaṇa	agnihōtrin	Kāśyapa	Āśvalāyana	Mutāvathū	1
					Carried over	10

¹ The king Dēvapāla and the guardian of the gods (*dēvapāla*, i.e. the god Indra) are alike because either of them is *dānavāri-vijṛimbhitaiḥ pavitrakarapadmaḥ*. About the exact meanings of the first of these two words there can be no doubt; it means both 'the pouring forth of the water of donations' (*dāna-vāri*), and 'the exploits of the enemy of the Dānavas' (*Dānava-ari*, i.e. the god Vishṇu-Kṛishṇa). I am not so sure about the two meanings of the second word. Referred to the king, it means 'holding *pavitra* (i.e. *kuśa* or *darbha* grass, which is taken up by the person who is about to make a donation) in his lotus-hand.' Applied to Indra, I take it to mean that Indra, pleased with the exploits of the conqueror of the Dānavas, took up the *pavitra* (i.e. the *argha* vessel) to make a respectful offering to Vishṇu. In support of this explanation I would quote *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 124, v. 2, where Brahman offers to Vishṇu the *argha-salita*, when he sees how the latter has cheated Bali. But I am myself not quite satisfied with this explanation, because I suspect the word *padma* to have been used in two different senses in the compound.—From inscriptions we may compare with our verse especially the verse in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 218, ll. 19 and 20: *Śriyaṁ babhāra vidhivad=dānavārātītōshitaḥ Mahēndravād=devijatrēshthavarggas=tat-saṅgam-āgataḥ*, where *dānavārātītōshitaḥ* means both 'excessively pleased by the water of donations' and 'pleased by the enemy of the Dānavas.' *Dānavāri* also has a third meaning, 'the rutting-juice of elephants' (*mada-jala*), and in that sense as well as in the sense of 'the enemy of the Dānavas' the word is used in the *Naishadhyācharita*, XIII. vv. 3 and 23, the first of which, in so far as it is applicable to Indra, seems to have suggested the *śriyaṁ babhāra* . . . *dānavārātītōshitaḥ Mahēndra[h]* of the verse quoted above from an inscription. (Incidentally I may mention that *Pañchanaltya* is not 'the title of a work,' but a name of the 13th *sarga* of the *Naishadhyācharita*). In *Ākāvali*, p. 200, the hand of a king is compared with the ocean, because both hold the *dānavāri*.

² All these names have the word *śarman* attached to them.

³ With the exception of *Madhyadēva* and *Rastināpura*, these names have the word *sthāna* attached to them.

LIST OF THE DONEES IN LINES 22-71—*contd.*

Number.	Name of donee.	Description.	Gôtra.	Śākhā or Vēda.	Place or origin.	Shares.
					Brought forward	10
10	Gôsala	rājan	Parāvasu	<i>omitted.</i>	Akôlā	1
11	Gôsē	mahārājapaṇḍita	Vasishṭha	Āśvalāyana	Mathurā	2
12	Rāmēśvara	chaturvēda	Bhārgava	"	"	1
13	Gadādhara	"	Kāśyapa	"	"	1
14	Garbhēśvara	"	Bhārgava	"	"	1
15	Lôhaṭa	"	Kāśyapa	"	"	1
16	Purushôttama	"	Gautama	Śāṅkhāyana	Diṇḍvānaka	1
17	Gadādhara	dvivēda	Kāśyapa	Mādhyamīdina	Mutāvathū	†
18	Udat (Udayi)	<i>omitted.</i>	"	"	"	†
19	Kuladhara	paṇḍita	Gautama	Kaṭhuma	Malāvana	1
20	Abhinanda	āvasathika	Vatsa	"	Ṭakāri	1
21	Ananta	agnihôtrin	Mudgala	Mādhyamīdina	Madhyadēsa	1
22	Sthānēśvara	"	Śāṇḍilya	"	"	1
23	Ūdha[ra]	chaturvēda	Dhaumya	Āśvalāyana	Mathurā	1
24	Kuladhara	trivēda	Bhāradvāja	Rāqāyini	"	1
25	Madhusûdana	"	"	"	"	1
26	Alli	chaturvēda	Harita-Kutsa	Kaṭha	Sarasvatī	1
27	Lāhaḍa	dikshita	Kāśyapa	Mādhyamīdina	Madhyadēsa	1
28	Narasimha	āvasathika	Śāṇḍilya	"	"	1
29	Mārkaṇḍēya	"	Mārkaṇḍēya	"	"	1
30	Vāyudēva	pāṭhaka	Bhāradvāja	"	"	1
31	Rājē	chaturvēda	Kautsa	Āśvalāyana	Mathurā	†
32	Kusumapāla	paṇḍita	Pārāsara	Kaṭhuma	Hastināpura	1
TOTAL						32†

NAMES OF THE FATHERS AND GRANDFATHERS OF THE DONEES.

Ajayi, chaturvēda, l. 62.
 Āśādhara, trivēda, l. 31 ; chaturvēda, l. 35.
 Bhāratapāla, ṭhakkura, l. 37.
 Brahman, śrôtriya, l. 23 ; chaturvēda, l. 47.
 Chhitû, agnihôtrin, ll. 54, 66.
 Dālaṇa, trivēda, l. 31.

Dālaṇa, ṭhakkura, l. 37.
 Dāmôdara, śrôtriya, l. 23 ; upādhyāya,
 l. 67.
 Dēvadhara, chaturvēda, ll. 42, 45.
 Dharaṇḍhara, chaturvēda, ll. 39, 44, 47 ;
 agnihôtrin, l. 54.

Gaṅgādhara, dikshita, ll. 25, 50.
 Gōvinda, dvivēda, l. 48.
 Hari, chaturvēda, l. 69.
 Haridhara, paṇḍita, l. 34.
 Janārdana, chaturvēda, ll. 38, 70; trivēda, l. 53.
 Jasadēva, agnihōtrin, l. 64.
 Jasōdhara, trivēda, l. 29.
 Kānhaḍa, paṇḍita, l. 51; pañchakalpin(?), l. 71.
 Kaṭuka, agnihōtrin, l. 65.
 Kēlhaṇa, dikshita, l. 32.
 Kēśava, dikshita, l. 50.
 Kṛishṇa, yājñika, l. 56.
 Kumara, pañchakalpin(?), l. 71.
 Madana, paṇḍita, l. 51.
 Mādhava, trivēda, l. 59.
 Madhu, dikshita, l. 32.
 Madhukaṇṭha, śukla, l. 27.
 Mahāditya, āvasathika, l. 25.

Mahādhara, paṇḍita, l. 34.
 Mārkaṇḍa, trivēda, l. 61.
 Nāgadēva, yājñika, l. 56.
 Narasimha, trivēda, l. 53.
 Nārāyaṇa, upādhyāya, l. 63; dvivēda, l. 68.
 Padmanābha, dvivēda, l. 68.
 Padmasvāmin, dikshita, l. 28.
 Pavitra, chaturvēda, l. 43.
 Prithvidhara, chaturvēda, l. 35.
 Purushōttama, dikshita, l. 65.
 Rāmēśvara, trivēda, l. 29.
 Rishi, trivēda, l. 60.
 Sādhārāṇa, chaturvēda, l. 57,
 Samuddhara, chaturvēda, ll. 42, 45.
 Simhakaṇṭha, dikshita, l. 26.
 Sōmēśvara, trivēda, l. 59.
 Trilōchana, dikshita, l. 28.
 Vāsadhara, dvivēda, l. 48.
 Vijayī, chaturvēda, l. 62.
 Vishṇu, chaturvēda, ll. 41, 57.

B.—MĀNDHĀTĀ PLATES OF JAYAVARMAN II.; [VIKRAMA-JSAMVAT 1317.]

These are two plates which were found by Mr. Lele,¹ some time in 1904, at the village of Godarpura opposite the island of Māndhātā, on the southern bank of the Narmadā in the Nimār district of the Central Provinces. They were sent by the Deputy Commissioner of Nimār to the Provincial Museum at Nāgpur, where they are now deposited. They measure about 1' 5½" broad by 10¾" high, and are held together by two rings, now cut, for which there are two holes in either plate. I edit the inscription which they contain from impressions sent to me by the Government Epigraphist.

The first plate is inscribed on one side, and the second on both sides. The writing both on the first plate and on the first side of the second plate covers a space about 1' 4" broad by between 9½" and 10" high, that on the second side of the second plate 1' 4½" broad by 8" high. The three sides together contain 53 lines of well-engraved writing which throughout is in a perfect state of preservation. On the proper right of the second side of the second plate, between lines 42 and 50, a vertical line marks off a space 3" broad by 4" high, which contains an engraving of Garuḍa, with, below it, the words *sva-hastō-yaṁ mahārājasya* ||, in smaller characters than those in the body of the inscription. The bird is represented in human form, kneeling towards the left, but with the head turned towards the right, and with four hands, the two inner ones of which are joined over the breast, while the two others are lifted up on either side, the one on the left holding a snake, the head of which looks like a bird's head. The size of the letters is about ⅜". The characters are Nāgarī, closely resembling those of the inscription A., and the language is Sanskrit. The inscription is so carefully written that in respect of orthography only few remarks are necessary. The sign for *v* denotes both *b* and *v*; the dental sibilant is used for the palatal only in *sata*-, l. 25; as is often the case elsewhere, *dy*, *dv* and *dhv* are employed instead of *ddy*, *ddv* and *ddhv*; *Janārdana* is written *Janārjjana*- in line 34, and *śaḍbhīr*= as *śaṭbhīr*= in line 37. The sign of *avagraha* is employed seven times; and, excepting in *sāṁprataḥ*, l. 16, *m* at the end of a verse or half-verse

¹ The plates were first mentioned by Mr. Lele in a Report of his on the progress of Archaeological work in the Dhār State, dated the 24th August 1904.

is denoted by the sign for *m*, not by that of *anusvāra*.—In lines 1-23 the inscription has 23 verses, chiefly containing genealogical matter, 21 of which are already known to us from the inscription A.; and in lines 25-27 we again find the verse commencing with *Vātābhra-vibhramam=idaṁ vasudh-ādhipatyam*, and in lines 42-48 five benedictive and imprecatory verses, the last of which here too is the verse commencing with *Iti kamaladalāmbuvindu-lōlām*. There are besides two verses in lines 50-52, which record the names of persons who had to do with the writing of the grant. In the prose part of the text, attention may be drawn to the peculiar construction in lines 25-28, *asmābhīḥ . . . Gāṅgadēva-pārsvāt . . . grāmō=yaṁ tribhīḥ brāhmaṇābhīḥ dāpitāḥ*, 'we have caused Gāṅgadēva to give this village to three Brāhmaṇs.'¹

The inscription records an order by the Paramāra Mahārājādhirāja Jayavarman [II.] of Mālava, dated, as will be shown below, in A.D. 1260 and 1261. Of the 23 verses with which it opens, verses 1-21 are identical (except for two various readings²) with the same verses of the inscription A., and contain therefore the same list of kings from Bhōjadēva to Dēvapāla. The two new verses, 22 and 23, may be rendered thus:—

"When³ that king, the glorious Dēvapāla, had joyfully resorted to Indra's abode, his son, a death-dealing god to enemies (*while*) ever pleasing the people by his good qualities, the wise king Jaitugidēva, the glorious Mālava chief, ruled this land, by his noble exploits a young Nārāyaṇa."⁴

"Now that he, after enjoying the delights of royalty, has gone to the habitation of the gods, his younger brother, king Jayavarman, rules the land."

Dēvapāla, therefore, was succeeded by his son Jaitugidēva, and he by his younger brother Jayavarman [II.].—Jaitugidēva was known already from the *prāsasti* in Āśādihara's *Dharmāmṛita*, referred to above,⁵ according to which the commentary on that work was completed during the reign of the Paramāra Dēvapāla's son Jaitugidēva, on a date which corresponds to Monday, the 19th October A.D. 1243. In my *Northern List*, No. 223, I have assumed that Jaitugidēva is identical with a king who is mentioned in a Rāhatgaḍh inscription of the 28th August A.D. 1256, noticed by me in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 84, where I have given the king's name as *Jaya[simha]dēva*. But with what we now know from the present inscription, I am not sure whether Sir A. Cunningham⁶ was not right in reading the same name as *Jaya[varma]dēva*, and would therefore suspend my judgment on the matter till we possess proper impressions of an inscription at Udaypur in Gwālior,⁷ which seems to be of the reign of a king Jayasīṅhadēva and to be dated in the [Vikrama] year 1311 (in Jan.

¹ Exactly the same construction occurs in my *Report on the search for Sanskrit MSS.*, Bombay, 1881, p. 11: *tēna . . . lēkhaka-Sōhāḍa-pārsvāt=likhāpitā*, 'he caused the writer Sōhāḍa to write (a certain MS.).' With the use of *pārsvāt* we may compare that of *hastāt* in Prof. Peterson's *Fifth Report*, p. 29: *Udayachandraganinā Jinabhadralēkhaka-hastād=Vimalachandraganin-hastāch=cha Ōghaniryuktisūtram lēkhitam*.

² In verse 17 this inscription has *Jaitrasimhē* instead of *Jayasimhē*, and in verse 21 *prāsasti* instead of *raraksha*.—For the reading *Jaitrasimhē* see above, Vol. VIII. p. 203, where a certain person is called both *Jayantasimha* and *Jaitrasimha*. If any importance could be attached to the new reading, it would in my opinion show that the *Jayasimha*, who was defeated by Arjunavarman, undoubtedly was the Chalukya Jayantasimha (*Jayasimha*) Abbinavasiddharāja.

³ The text actually has: "Now that Dēvapāla has resorted to Indra's abode, his son Jaitugidēva rules this land." The verse undoubtedly was taken over unchanged from an inscription of Jaitugidēva himself.

⁴ 'Bāla-Nārāyaṇa' most probably was an epithet of the king. Compare *Kumdra-Nārāyaṇa*, as an epithet of the Paramāra Sindhurāja, in the *Navasāhasākhacharita*, I. 59.

⁵ See above, p. 107.

⁶ See *Archæol. Survey of India*, Vol. X. p. 31. Judging from Sir A. Cunningham's rubbing of the inscription which I have again examined, the two *aksharas* between *Jaya* and *dēva* are almost completely broken away.

⁷ I am writing this with Sir A. Cunningham's rubbing of the inscription before me.

uary 1255). For the present, what is certain is, that Jaitugidēva¹ was reigning in A.D. 1243 and his younger brother Jayavarman in A.D. 1260-61.

In lines 23 ff. of our inscription Jayavarman informs all king's officers, Brāhmanas and others, and the *Paṭṭakīla* and other people dwelling at the village of Vadaūda in the Mahuaḍa pathaka, that, while staying at Maṇḍapadurga, in the year 1317 (given in words), he caused the *Pratīhāra*² Gaṅgadēva to give the village of Vadaūda to three Brāhmanas.

And, according to lines 28 ff., the *Pratīhāra* Gaṅgadēva, on Sunday, the third *tithi* of the bright half of Āgrahāyana (Mārgaśīrsha) of the year 1317, while the *nakshatra* was Pūrvāshāḍhā and the *yōga* Śūla, at Amarēśvara-kshētra on the southern bank of the Rēvā (Narmadā), after bathing at the confluence of the Rēvā and Kapilā and worshipping the holy Amarēśvaradēva (Śiva) with the five offerings,³ gave the village of Vadaūda, divided into six shares (*vaṇṭaka*) so that—

four shares (*pada*) were assigned to the *agnihōtrin*⁴ Mādhavaśarman—a son of the *pāṭhaka* Hariśarman and grandson of the *divivēda* Vēda—a Brāhman of the Bhārgava *gōtra*⁵ and student of the Mādhyamīna *sākhā*, who had come from Navagāmva;⁶

one share (*pada*) to the *chaturvēda* Janārdana—a son of the *divivēda* Līmadēva and grandson of the *divivēda* Lāshū—a Brāhman of the Gautama *gōtra* and student of the Āśvalāyana *sākhā*, who had come from Ṭakāri; and

one share (*pada*) to the *divivēda* Dhāmadēvaśarman—a son of the *dīkshita* Divākara and grandson of the *dīkshita* Kēkū—a Brāhman of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra* and student of the Mādhyamīna *sākhā*, who had come from Ghaṭāushari.

From line 37 to line 48 the text contains so well-known phrases that it may be passed over here. The remaining part of the inscription yields the following information:—

On Thursday, the 11th of the bright half of Jyēshṭha of the year 1317, this king's order (*rāja-sāsana*) was written 'here, at Maṇḍapadurga,' by Harshadēva, a son of the learned Gavīśa, with the approbation of the *sāndhivigrahika* (or minister of peace and war), the *paṇḍita* Mālādhara, an official of the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the glorious Jayavarmadēva; and the king's document was corrected by the grammarian (*sābdika*) Āmadēva, a disciple of the learned Gōsēka (Gōsē)⁷ 'who knew the boundless essence of legal science.' The grant was engraved by the *rūpakāra* Kānhaḍa. The *dūta* was the great minister (*mahāpradhāna*), Rājā Ajayadēva.

The words 'this is the own hand (i.e. the sign-manual) of the *Mahārāja*' are engraved, as has been already stated, under the engraving of Garuḍa on the second side of the second plate.

The dates contained in this inscription are both correct. The first date, in lines 28 and 29, for the expired (*Uchaitrādi* or *Kārttikādi*) Vikrama year 1317 corresponds to Sunday, the 7th November A.D. 1260. On this day the third *tithi* of the bright half ended 16 h. 13 m.; the *nakshatra* was Pūrvāshāḍhā, by the Brahma-siddhānta for 17 h. 4 m., according

¹ In the first half of the 13th century A.D. we find the name *Jaitugi* twice in the family of the Yādavas of Dēvagiri; and there was a [Śīlāra] *Koṅkaṇachakravartin Jaitugidēva*, an unpublished inscription (belonging to the Bombay As. Soc.) of whom apparently is dated in A.D. 1207.

² Given in the abbreviated form *prati*^o. The word *pratīhāra* means 'a door-keeper', but denotes a high official.

³ Compare *pañchōpachāra-pūjā*, e.g. in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 347, l. 10, and above, Vol. III. p. 215, l. 5, and p. 300, l. 42. The five articles presented are *gandha*, *pushpa*, *dhūpa*, *dīpa* and *nairṛdya*; compare *Sādra-kamalākara*, p. 140 f., where *pañchōpachāra*, *dasōpachāra* and similar terms are explained.

⁴ These epithets here too are given in the abbreviated forms *agni*^o, *pā*^o, *dvi*^o, *cha*^o, and *dī*^o.

⁵ In the original the *pravara*s also are given.

⁶ The names of the places of origin here also have the word *sthanā* attached to them.

⁷ See above, p. 106.

to Garga for 22 h. 20 m., and by the equal space system from 10 h. 30 m.; and the *yōga* was *Śūla* for 20 h. 46 m., after mean sunrise. And the second date, in lines 48 and 49, for the expired *Kārttikādi* Vikrama year 1317 corresponds to Thursday, the 12th May A.D. 1261, when the 11th *tithi* of the bright half ended 10 h. 46 m. after mean sunrise. The dates show that the year 1317 of the inscription was a *Kārttikādi* year.

Of the localities mentioned in the inscription, Maṇḍapadurga, from where the king's order was issued, is Mandogarh (Māṇḍū), a deserted town in the Dhār State, in Long. 75° 26' and Lat. 22° 21' (Constable's *Hand Atlas*, Plate 27, B d). From the same place was issued the order in the Piplianagar plates of king Arjunavarman.¹ On Mahuaḍa, see above, p. 106. Vaḍaūda perhaps is the village of 'Burud' which according to the *Indian Atlas* is about three miles north-east of 'Satajana,' the village granted by the inscription A. I have already pointed out that *Mahuaḍa-pathaké* of this inscription is equivalent to *Mahuaḍa-pratijāgarānaké* of the inscription A.; and I may state that a (or the ?) village of Vaḍaūda is mentioned also in the plate of the Paramāras Yaśovarman and Lakshmi-varman, in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 352, ll. 5 and 13. Amarēśvara-kshētra is the Amarēśvara-tīrtha from which the grant of Arjunavarman in *Journ. Am. Or. Soc.* Vol. VII. p. 27 was issued, and the Amarēśvara mentioned in the plates of Jayasinha, above, Vol. III. p. 47; it is near the island of Māndhātā, on the southern bank of the river Narmadā. The grant in *Journ. Am. Or. Soc.* quoted just now also mentions the confluence of the Rēvā and Kapilā, which is now called 'Kapila Sangam, where a small stream joins the Narmadā.'² Of the places of origin of the donees, Takāri-sthāna is one of the places mentioned in A.; Navagāmva-sthāna may be the town of Nawegāon in the Chāndā district, mentioned in the *Gazetteer of the Central Provinces*, p. 370, but there is at least one other place of the same name in the Central Provinces; Ghaṭāushari-sthāna I am unable to identify.

TEXT.³

First Plate.

- 1 || Ōm namaḥ puruṣārtha-chūḍāmaṇayê dharmmāya || ⁴Prativimva-⁵nibhād-bhūmēḥ
kṛitvā sākshāt=pratigrahaṁ | jagad=ā-
2 hlādayan=diśyā[⁶]=divijēndrō⁶ maṁgalāni vaḥ || 1 [||*] Jiyāt=Paraśurāmō=sau
kshatraiḥ kṣuṇṇaṁ raṇ-āhataiḥ | ⁷saṁdhyārka-vimvam=⁸ḥ-
3 v=ōrvī=dātur=yasy=aiti tāmratām || 2 [||*] Yēna Maṁdōdarivashpa-vāribhiḥ
sāmitō mṛidhō [||*] prāṇēśvarī-viyōgāgniḥ sa
4 Rāmaḥ śrēyasē sstu vaḥ || 3 [||*] Bhīmēn=āpi dhṛitā mūrdhni
yat-pādāḥ sa Yudhishṭhiraḥ | vaṁś-ādyēn=ēmdunā jiyāt=sva-tulya i-
5 va nirmmitaḥ || 4 [||*] Paramārakul-ōttamaḥ Kāṁsajin-mahimā nṛipaḥ |
śrī-Bhōjadēva ity=āśin=nāśirakrānta-bhūtalāḥ⁹
6 || 5 [||*] Yad-yaśaśchāmḍrik-ōdyōtē¹⁰ digutsaṁga-taraṁgitē | dvishannṛipa-
yaśahpūṁjapūṁḍarikair=nnimlitaṁ || 6 [||*] Tatō śbhūt=U-
7 dayādityō nityōtsāḥ-aikakautukī | asādḥāraṇa-vīraśrīr=asrī-hētur=vvirōdhinām ||
7 [||*] Mahākalaha-kalpā-

¹ See *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. V. p. 379.—The town is called *Maṇḍapapura* in line 16 of the *Dēoḍaḍh* inscription published *ibid.* Vol. LII. P. I. p. 70.

² See *Gazetteer of the Central Provinces*, p. 258.

³ Metro of verses 1-21 : Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh).

⁴ After *drō* another vertical stroke was engraved, but has been struck out.

⁵ This sign of punctuation was originally omitted.

⁶ In the place of *ta* originally *la* was engraved.

⁷ Read -*ōddyōtē*.—Between the *akṣaras* *śa* and *ścham* a vertical stroke was originally engraved, but has been struck out.

⁸ From an impression supplied by Dr. Sten Konow.

⁹ Read *pratilimba*.

¹⁰ Read -*bimbam*.

- 8 ntê yasy=ôddâmabhir=âsugaiḥ | kati n=ônmlitâs=tumgâ bhûbhṛitah kâṭak-ôlvapâḥ
 1(1) 8 [||*] Tasmâch=chhinna-dvishanmarmmâ Narava-
 9 rmmâ narâdhipah | dharmm-âbhyuddharanê dhimân=abhût=simâ mahîbhujâm ||
 9 [||*] Prati-prabhâtam viprêbhyô dattair=grâma-padaḥ svaya-
 10 m | anêkapadatâm ninyê dharmmô yên=aika-pâd=api || 10 [||*] Tasy=âjani
 Yaśôvarmmâ putrah kshatriya-sêkharah | tasmâd=Ajayava-
 11 rmm=âbhûj=jayaśrî-viśrutah sutaḥ || 11 [||*] Tat-sûnur=vvira-mûrddhanyô
 dhany-ôtpattir=ajâyata | Gûrjjarôchchhêda-nirvvaṁdhi¹ Viṁdhyavarmmâ
 mah[â]-
 12 bhujaḥ || 12 [||*] Dhâray=ôddhṛitayâ sârdham dadhâti sma tridhâratâm |
 sâmyuginasya yasy=âsis=trâtum loka-trayim=iva || 13 [||*] Tasy=â-
 13 mushyâyapah putrah Sutrâma-śrîr=ath=âśishat | bhûpah Subhâṭavarmm=êti
 dharmmê tishṭhan=mahî-talam || 14 [||*] Yasya jvalati da(di)g-jê-
 14 tuḥ pratâpas=tapana-dyutêḥ | dâvâgni-chchhadmâ(dma)n=âdy=âpi | garjjad-
 Gûrjjara-pattanê || 15 [||*] Dêva-bhûyam gatê tasmin=namdanô=rjuna-
 bhûpati[h*]
 15 | dôshnâ dhattê sḍhunâ dhâtri²valayam valayam yathâ || 16 [||*]
 Vâ(bâ)lalil-âhavê yasya Jaitrasimhê³ palâyitê | dikpâlahâ-
 16 sa-vyâjêna yaśô dikshu vijrîmbhitam || 17 [||*] Kâvyagâṁdhavva-sarvvasva-
 nidhinâ yêna sâmpratam | bhâr-âvataranam dēvyâś=chakrê
 17 pustaka-vinayôḥ⁴ || 18 [||*] Yêna trividha-vîrêṇa tridhâ pallavitam yaśah |
 dhavalatvam dadhus=trîṇi jaganti katham=anyathâ ||
 18 19 [||*] Ath=ârthinâm=apunyêna punyêna svargga-subhruvâm | sô sḍbhuta-
 tyâgaśilaś=cha śrîngâri cha divam gataḥ
 19 || 20 [||*] Tataḥ Pramâra=chamdrasya Hariśchamdrasya namdanah ||(1)
 prasâsti⁵ Mâlava-kshônîm Dēvapâlah pratâpavâ-

Second Plate; First Side.

- 20 n || 21 [||*] ⁶Tasminn=Aindra-padam mud=âśritavati śrî-Dēvapâlê⁷ nripê
 tat-sûnur=dvishad-amtakô nija-gupair=lôka-
 21 n=sadâ ramjayan | dhimân(ñ)=Jaitugidêva êsha nripatih śrî-Mâlav-âkhamḍalah
 sâsti kshônîm=imâm=udâra=cha-
 22 ritah svair=Vvâ(bbâ)lanârâyanah || 22 [||*] Bhuktivâ⁸ rājya-sukham tasmin=
 prâptê tridasa-mamdiram | sâsti tasy=ânujah kshônîm Jaya-
 23 varmmâ janâdhipah || 23 [||*] Sa êsha nara-nâyakah sarvv-âbhyudayî ||⁹
 Mahuaḍa-pathakê Vâḍaṭa-grâmê samasta-râjapurushân=vvâ(brâ)-
 24 hman-ôttarân=pratinivâsi-pattakila-janapad-âdîm=cha vò(bô)dhayaty=astu vah
 samviditam yathâ ||⁹ śrîman-Mamḍapadurgga-sthitair=a-
 25 smâbbih saptadaśâdhika-trayôdaśasa(śa)ta-samvatsarê ||⁹ samśrasy=âśratâm
 drishṭvâ || tathâ hi || ¹⁰Vâtâbhra-vibhramam=idam vasu-
 26 dh-âdhipatyam=âpatamâtra-madhurô vishay-ôpabbôgah | prânâs=trîṇâgrajalaviṁdu-samâ
 narânâm dharmmah sakhâ param=ahô

¹ Read -nirbbaṁdhi.² Originally dhâtri- was engraved.³ In A. and in the three grants of Arjunavarman the name is Jayasimhê.⁴ In the place of vî originally vâ was engraved.⁵ Instead of this word A. has raraksha.⁶ Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.⁷ The akshara pā of this word seems to be corrected out of lā which was originally engraved.⁸ Metre: Ślôka (Anushtubh).⁹ These signs of punctuation are superfluous.¹⁰ Metre: Vasantatilakâ.

- 27 paralōka-yānē [||*] iti sarvvaṁ vimṛśya dāpan-ādrishṭaphalam=aṁgikṛitya |
 prati² śrī-Gāṁgadēva-pārsvāt³ Vāḍaūda-grāmō=yam
 28 tribhyō vrā(brā)hmaṇēbhyō dāpitaḥ | Tēna cha prati² śrī-Gāṁgadēvēna
 sammat⁴ 1317 Āgrahana-⁵śukla-tritīyāyām tithau
 29 Ravi-vāsarē Pūrvvāśhādhā-nakshatrē Śūla-nāmnī yōgē śrīmad-Amarēśvara-
 kshētrē Rēvāyā dakṣiṇē kûlē Rēvā-Kapilā-
 30 saṁgamē snātva bhagavāntam charāchara-gurum śrīmad-Amarēśvara-
 dēvam pañch-ōpachārāḥ samabhyarchya ||¹ jīvitam vidyuch-chamchalām
 jñātva
 31 Navagāmvasthāna-vinirgatāya Bhārgava-sagotrāya Bhārgava-Chyāvana-⁷Āpnavāna-
 Aurva-Jāmadagny-ēti pañcha-pravarāya Mādhyam-
 32 dinaśākh-ādhyāyinē dvi⁸ Veda-pantrāya⁹ pā¹⁰ Harisarmma-putrāya agni¹¹
 Mādhyasarmmanē vrā(brā)hmaṇāya padāni chatvāri
 33 4 Takāristhāna-vinirgatāya Gautama-sagotrāya Gautam-Āṅgīrasa-Auchatthy-ēti
 tri-pravarāya Āśvalāyanaśākh-ādhyā-
 34 yinē dvi² Lāshū-pautrāya dvi² Līmadēva-putrāya cha¹² Janārjjanaśarmmanē¹³
 vrā(brā)hmaṇāya padam=ēkam 1 Ghaṭāusharisthā-
 35 na-vinirgatāya Bhāradvāja-sagotrāya Āṅgīrasa-Vā(bā)raspatya-Bhāradvāj-ēti
 tri-pravarāya Mādhyamdinaśākh-ādhyāyinē
 36 dī¹⁴ Kēkū-pantrāya dī² Divākara-putrāya dvi² Dhāmadēvasarmmanē
 vrā(brā)hmaṇāya padam=ēkam 1 ēvam=ēbhyaḥ=¹⁵tribhyō
 37 vrā(brā)hmaṇēbhyah śatbhir=¹⁶vamśakair=Vāḍaūda-grāmō=yam samastō=pi
 chatuḥkamkaṭa-¹⁷visuddhaḥ sa-vṛikshamālākulaḥ sa-hiranyabhā-
 38 gabhōgaḥ s-ōparikarāḥ sarvvādāya-samētaḥ sa-nidhē(dhi)nikshēpō mātāpitṛr=
 ātmanas=cha puṇyayaśōsbhivṛiddhayē
 39 chamdrārkkārṇava[ksh]iti-samakālam yāvat-parayā bhaktyā dēvavrā(brā)hmaṇa-
 bhukti-varjām śāsanēn=ōdaka-pū-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

40. rvva[m] pradattaḥ || tan=matvā tannivāsi-pattakilajanapadair=yathādīyamāna-
 bhāgabhōgakarahiranyādīkam=ājñā-vidhē-
 41 yair=bhūtvā sarvvam=ētēbhyaḥ samupanētavyam¹⁸ | sāmānyam ch=aitad=dharmma-
 phalam vu(bu)ddhv=āsmadvamśajair=anyair=api bhāvi-bhōktribhir=a-
 42 smatpradāpita-dharmmadāyō¹⁹ syam=anumantavyaḥ pālaniyaś=cha || Uktam cha ||
²⁰Va(ba)hubhir=vasudhā bhuktā rājabhīḥ Sagar-ādi-
 43 bhiḥ | yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalam [||*] Sva-dattām
 para-dattām vā yō harēta vasumdharam

¹ These signs of punctuation are superfluous.

² I.e., here and below, *prathāra*.

³ Read *-pārsvāt*.

⁴ Originally *sammata* seems to have been engraved. Read *samvat*.

⁵ Read *Āgrahāyana*.

⁶ The *akṣara* *rē* of this word in the engraving is really *rara*.

⁷ Read *Chyavana*; this correction may have been made already in the original.— Here and in some places below the rules of *samāhi* have not been observed.

⁸ I.e., here and below, *dvivāda*.

⁹ Originally *-shautrāya* was engraved.

¹⁰ I.e. *pāṭhaka*.

¹¹ I.e. *agnihōtri*.

¹² I.e. *chaturvāda*.

¹³ Read *Jandrdāna*.

¹⁴ I.e., here and below, *dikṣita*.

¹⁵ Read *-ēbhyaḥ*.

¹⁶ Read *śatbhir*.

¹⁷ Read *chatuḥkamkaṭa*.

¹⁸ Originally, *-nētavyam* was engraved.

¹⁹ Compare above, p. 112, note 16.

²⁰ Metre of this and the next two verses : Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh).

- 44 | vishtāyām sa krimir-bhūtvā pitribhiḥ saha majjati | (||) Shashṭīm varsha-
sahasrāṇi svargē tishṭhati bhūmidāḥ |
- 45 āchchhēttā ch=ānumattā(ntā) cha tāny-ēva narakē vasēt | (||) ¹Sarvvān=ēvaṁ
bhāvinō bhūmipālān=bhūyō bhū-
- 46 yō yāchatē Rāmabhadraḥ | sāmānyō syaṁ dharmma-sētur-nṛpāṇām kālē kālē
pālaniyō
- 47 bhavadbhiḥ || Iti² kamaladalām(vu)viṁdu-lōlām śriyam=anuchintya manushya-
jivitaṁ cha | saka-
- 48 lam=idam=udāhṛitaṁ cha vudhvā³ na hi purushaiḥ para-kīrttayō vilōpyā iti
||*|| Samvat
- 49 1317 Jyēshṭha-śudi 11 Gurāv=ady=ēha śrī-Mamḍapadurgē māmārājādhirāja-
śrīmaj-Jayavarmma-
- 50 dēva-niyuktēna sāmudhiyirga(gra)hika-paṁ⁴ śrī-Mālādhara-sammatēna ||⁵
⁶Pa[m]ḍitēndra-Gaviśasya sūnūnā vidushā spu(sphu)ṭam |
- 51 Harshadēv-ābhidhēn=ēdaṁ lēkhitaṁ⁷ rāja-sāsanaṁ⁸ | (||) Yō⁹ vēṭṭy=apāraṁ
smṛtisāstra-sāraṁ Gōsēka-nāmnō vu(bu)dha-puṁgava-
- 52 sya | śishyaḥ sudhiḥ sāvdi(bdi)ka Āmadēvō bhūpasya lēkhyāṁ samasōdhi
tēna | (||) Utkīrṇam=idam ru(rū)pakāra-Kānhaḍēna |
- 53 Dūtō mahāpradhāna-rāja-śrī-Ajayadēvaḥ | (||)
¹⁰Sva-hastō=yam mahārājasya ||

No. 14.—KANKER INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF BHANUDEVA;
THE [SAKA] YEAR 1242.

BY HIRA LAL, B.A.; NAGPUR.

This inscription or *prasasti*, as it is called in line 19, is lying in the veranda of the school house at Kanker, the capital of the Feudatory State of that name in the Central Provinces, and was brought away from the ruins between the Dīwān and Śitalā tanks in that town. It was first brought to my notice by Mr. Baijnath, B.A., Superintendent of the Bastar State, who kindly furnished me with an inked estampage, and further estampages were supplied to me by the Dīwān of the Kanker State and the Agency Inspector of Schools, Chhattisgarh Feudatories.

The stone is a cubit square and half a cubit thick, and the writing covers a space of 18" by 17" in 19 lines. The letters are bold and well formed, the average size being $\frac{3}{4}$ ". The characters are Dēvanāgarī, and the language is Sanskrit. The whole of the inscription is written in verse, except the commencement (*ōm siddhiḥ*) in line 1, and the concluding portion (ll. 18 and 19) containing the date and the names of the erector and the writer of the inscription. There are altogether eight verses, of which six are in the Śārdūlavikṛīḍita metre, and the first and the last in Sragdharā and Anuṣṭubh respectively. The principal orthographical peculiarities are the indifferent use of *ś* for *s* and *vice versa* (ll. 1, 2, 3, 7, 8, 9, 15, 17, 19) and the use of *b* for *v* (ll. 2, 12, 14). Some of the letters with a superscribed *rēpha* have been doubled (especially *m* and *t*), others not. The sign of *avagraha* has not been used at all. Final forms of *t* occur in ll. 12 and 18.

¹ Metre: Śālini.

⁴ I.e. *-paṁḍita-*.

⁷ Read *likhitaṁ*.

¹⁰ These words are engraved in small letters under the figure of Garuḍa which is on the proper right of the plate between lines 42 and 50.

² Metre: Pushpitāgrā.

³ This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

⁸ Originally *-śāsanaṁ* was engraved.

⁵ Read *buddhva*.

⁶ Metre: Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh).

⁹ Metre: Indravajrā.

The inscription is an eulogy of the *Nāyaka* Vāsudēva, the minister of king Bhānudēva of Kākaira.¹ It states that he constructed two temples of Mahādēva, and another in honour of the local deity of the fields, besides a building with a gateway, and excavated two tanks. It is dated in the [Śaka] year 1242 bearing the name Raudra, on the 5th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Jyāishṭha, corresponding to (Tuesday), the 27th May A.D. 1320. Unfortunately the week-day is not mentioned, and hence the date does not admit of verification. It is also possible that it may have been Wednesday, the 28th May, as there was a repetition of the Hindū date *pañchamī* in that fortnight and month. The record gives the genealogy of the minister for four generations, and that of his sovereign for seven generations. It is stated that Vāsudēva's ancestors were elephant-catchers (?). Though in the Kanker State wild elephants are not now found, they are still to be met with in the division in which it is included.² The most important part of the inscription is that which gives the genealogy of the Kākaira chiefs, mentioning in order the following:—Simharāj, Vyāghra, Vōpadēva, Krishṇa, Jaitarāja, Sōmachandra and Bhānudēva. The dynasty is stated to be lunar, and the want of any epithet indicating paramount sovereignty postulates a subordination to another power. The epithets applied to them:—*avanīśa* (l. 1), *nṛipa* (ll. 2 and 5), *dharanīdhara* (l. 6), *bhūpāla* (l. 7) and *nṛipati* (ll. 10 and 13), are all synonyms of the word 'king.' In two copper-plate grants of Pamparājādēva found in the Kanker State³ the king is styled *Sōmavaṃśānvaya-prasūta-mahāmāṇḍalika* (feudatory chief of the lunar race), which supports the above statement. The present Rāj family of Kanker is doubtless connected with these kings. It belongs to the lunar race and has always claimed to be a very ancient family.⁴ According to its own traditions it claims to have come from Orissa. Its original ancestor was ruling at Jagannāthapurī, but, on suddenly becoming a leper, in which state he could no longer occupy the throne, left the place and went out in search of a cure. At Sihāwā, close to Kanker and now in the Dhamtarī tahsil of the Raipur district, a spring was found, by bathing in which he got rid of the loathsome disease. The local people⁵ persuaded him to stay on at Sihāwā and installed him king, and he and his descendants continued to rule there. There can be little doubt that Sihāwā was once the capital of this dynasty, as its ruins and temples testify. There is still an inscription there, which is dated in the Śaka year 1114. The capital was finally removed to Kanker. This must have been done prior to Bhānudēva's times. For in line 12 we read: *Kākairē nṛipa-Bhānudēva-nagarē* (in Kākaira, the town or capital of king Bhānudēva), and in lines 3 to 5: *Kākairē . . . śrī-Jaitarājō=bhavat* (there was the illustrious Jaitarāja in Kākaira). This Jaitarāja was the grandfather of Bhānudēva. Thus Kākaira has been the capital of the State for over 600 years. Kanker once included the rich Dhamtarī tahsil of the Raipur

¹ This is really the correct name of the town and State, but it is now officially written as Kanker. In General Cunningham's *Report* for 1873-74 it is spelt as Kākēr, showing that the nasal had not been till then inserted. The local people at present still call it Kaikar.

² The Central Provinces, called Gondwānā by the Musalmāns, were so infested by these animals that even revenue was levied in elephants. Even places like Jabalpur, which were and are far less jungly than Kanker, had their quota of wild elephants. See Jarrett's *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II. p. 196, where the following occurs:—"Garha (2 miles from Jabalpur) is a separate State abounding with forests in which are numerous wild elephants. The cultivators pay the revenue in mohurs and elephants." About a dozen years ago 40 elephants were captured in Rairākhōl, a State now transferred to Bengal, and I had once an occasion of riding one of them.

³ These have not yet been published and are at present in my possession.

⁴ *Central Provinces Gazetteer*, 1870, p. 236.

⁵ It is said that the installation of the Kanker chief is up to this day confirmed by the Halbās by anointing the Rājā before the shrine of Maulidēvī. The Halbās are an aboriginal tribe mostly living in that State and the adjoining tracts. These Halbās claim to have come from Orissa along with the leper king and are still the chief domestics of the Kanker chief. They speak a dialect which is a curious mixture of Oriyā, Chhattisgarhī (a form of Eastern Hindī) and Marāṭhī; see Dr. Grierson's *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. VII. p. 331.

district, but is now limited to an area of 1,429 square miles lying between 20° 6' and 20° 34' N. and 80° 41' and 81° 40' E.

As regards the buildings and tanks mentioned in the inscription, there can be no doubt that the two tanks are identical with the present Diwān and Śītalā talāos, between which the ruins of the temples may still be seen. It is very probable that the Śītalā talāo—a name which gained currency since a hut dedicated to the goddess Śītalā was constructed on its bank—is the Kauḍika-bandha of the inscription, the unnamed tank being called Diwān talāo or 'minister's tank,' thus keeping up the memory of its original constructor, who by calling it a *taḍāga* apparently distinguished it from the *bandha*, i.e. the tank formed by merely damming up a stream. The very name Kauḍika-bandha indicates its secondary importance. In the first place it was merely a *bandha* (dam), and secondly it was probably constructed by the payment of *kauḍikas*,¹ a Sanskritised form of *kauḍis* (cowries) or shells, a currency of the lowest value.

The temples and buildings have all fallen or been pulled down, and from the materials a fresh temple was constructed by the predecessor of the present chief. The old temples were seen by Mr. Fisher, who was Deputy Commissioner of the Raipur district (to which Kanker was formerly attached) about 1873 A.D., and he alludes to them in his private Journal² thus:—"Saw some very curious old temples to the west of the village; one has a *bījak* giving, as I was told, some particulars of its history. They are very old and utterly neglected now." This *bījak* was seen on the gate of the Mahādēva temple about the year 1825 as recorded in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV. p. 505, where its date is also stated, which is the same as that of our inscription in all details. A noteworthy point in our inscription is the mention of the construction of a *puratōbhadrā* with a *pratōli*, about which latter Dr. Vogel has written an article in the *Royal Asiatic Society's Journal*, July 1906, p. 539. He has proved that *pratōli* really meant a gate-way, evidently strongly built and of considerable height. It was sometimes provided with a flight of steps.³ I have not been able to find *puratōbhadrā* in the *Kōśas* to which I have access, but *sarvatōbhadrā* is described as a kind of house with 4 doors facing the 4 quarters.⁴ From this I infer that a *puratōbhadrā* was a building with only one door in front. And the Kākaira *puratōbhadrā* was actually furnished with a gate-way (*pratōli*).

¹ In this part of the country a good deal of transactions were done in cowries (shells, Sanskrit *kapardikā*), which are still used as currency by the poor people. It must not however be supposed that there were no coins here. In the copper-plates of Pamparājādēva alluded to before, the coin *ṭaṅka* of local mint finds a mention. It is still a practice in some places to get work done, chiefly digging and throwing of earth, by what is called *kauḍikai*, a mode of piecework payment, 2 or 4 cowries or more according to the labour involved being paid for each basket of earth thrown out. A man with cowries stands at a place where the earth is to be thrown, and as each labourer turns up and throws down the earth, he receives immediately the fixed number of cowries each time. This mode of labour automatically punishes the idlers and saves a good deal of supervision and account-keeping where a large number of labourers are engaged simultaneously on such a work.

² Quoted in Cunningham's *Archæological Reports*, Vol. VII. p. 147.

³ Dr. Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 43.

⁴ The idea seems to have been taken from a *sarvatōbhadrā* village, which is described in the *Mānasāra*, a book of the highest authority on Hindū architecture, as "a town or village of quadrangular form, containing in the middle a temple dedicated to one of the triad, Brahmā, Viṣṇu or Mahēśvara. It has 4 streets of equal length on the 4 sides at right angles, and 2 more crossing each other in the middle. Between these may be formed 3, 4, 5, or as many more streets as the extent of the village will admit, on each side, parallel to the middlemost street. Without the walls should be placed the shrines of the deities who preside over and defend the several quarters of the village; at the angular points should be erected halls, porticoes, colleges and other public edifices, and towards the quarter of Agni (south-east) a watershed for the accommodation of travellers and passengers. The whole village should be secured by a quadrangular wall and a ditch around it, with 4 large and as many small gates in the middle of the sides and at the angular points. Without the northern gate should be erected a temple for the worship of Mahākālī, and the huts of Chandālas or outcastes should be a *krōśa* distant from the village. A tank or reservoir should be constructed either on the south or north side or near either of these 2 points for ablutionary and culinary purposes."—See Ram Raz's *Architecture of the Hindus*, 1834, p. 43.

TEXT.

- 1 श्री सिद्धिः ॥ आशीदंशे¹ हिमांसोर्महितगुणगणस्त्रिंहराडैरिसिंहस्तस्माद्ग्राव-
नीशोभव-
- 2 दतुलयशा तेजसापास्तशूर्यः² ॥ जज्ञे सोपि स्ववीर्योचितनृपतिलकं³ बोपदेवं
स चैवं कृष्या-⁴
- 3 ख्यं वैरिराजव्रजदलनपरं विक्रमाक्रांतविस्त्रं⁵ ॥१॥ काकैरेवनिपालमौलिमुकुट-
प्रोद्धा-
- 4 ⁶सिंहोरांकुरज्योतिद्योतितपादपंकजनखज्योतिस्त्रकाशा⁷ भुवि ॥ संयामांगणवीर-
विक्र-
- 5 मगुणः श्रीजैतराजोभवत्तस्मादद्भुतसम्यतापमहसः श्रीसोमचन्द्री नृपः ॥२॥
तस्मात्श्री-⁸
- 6 गुणसागरादभिनवस्सर्वांगवेधोज्ज्वलः⁹ श्रीभानुर्दरणीधरः क्षितितले¹⁰ लब्धप्रतिष्ठो-
दयः [*]
- 7 जागेर्त्ति¹¹ प्रतिपक्षपक्षदलनो भूपालचूडामणिर्यस्मिन्शाशति¹² लोक एष सुकृती
जागर्त्ति श-¹³
- 8 हासनः ॥३॥ देशः¹⁴ पुण्यनिरोतिशास्त्रतधनस्सत्कर्मनिष्ठा द्विजाः स्वेष्टापूर्त-
पराः प्रजाष्कि-¹⁵
- 9 मपरं पौराः परं धार्मिकाः [*] सभ्याः¹⁶ शास्त्रविचारधौतमनसो धर्माव-
तारे कलौ राज्यं शास-
- 10 ति भानुदेवनृपतौ किं किं न लोकोत्तरं ॥४॥ वंशे नागदलोपजीवन-
जनस्कीर्तेभवन्ना-
- 11 यकः श्रीदामोदरसूनुखज्वलयशा¹⁷ पो[लू]प्रजानायकः ॥ ख्यातस्तत्तनयः
स्वभावसर-
- 12 लो भीमाभिधस्तत्पुतो काकैरे नृपभानुदेवनगरे¹⁸ श्रीवासुदेवोभवत् ॥५॥
स्तंभोयं [न]-
- 13 गरस्य जातिजनतानध्यप्रभानायको¹⁹ विख्यातष्किल²⁰ भानुदेवनृपतेः²¹ पादांजु-
राधकः [*]

¹ Read आसीदंशे हिमांशो.⁴ Read कृष्या.⁷ Read ज्योतिःप्रकाशी.¹⁰ Read लब्ध.¹³ Read सहासनः.¹⁶ The original has *śāstra*.¹⁹ Read नध्य.² Read सूर्यः.⁵ Read क्रान्तविश्वं.⁸ Read तस्माच्छ्री.¹¹ Read जागर्त्ति.¹⁴ Read शास्त्रत.¹⁷ Read खज्वल.²⁰ Read विख्यातः किल भानुदेव.³ Read वीप.⁶ Read ज्योतिर्द्योतित.⁹ Read वीज्वलः.¹² Read अस्मिन्शासति.¹⁵ Read प्रजाः कि.¹⁸ Read श्रीवासु.²¹ Read पादांजु.

- 14 संग्रामांगणसादिवर्गपुरतः ख्यातप्रभावो ¹महान्जागर्त्यद्भुतविक्रमो धृतिधरः
 श्रीवा-²
- 15 सुदेवो भुवि ॥६॥ देवश्रीशसिभूषणस्य³ कृतिना देवालयं कारितं युग्मं
 मंडपशोभितं च
- 16 पुरतोभद्रं प्रतोल्या सह । जैत्रेशस्य तथा सुरालयवरं स्फुटं [त*]-
 डागं तथा बंधं कौडिकसंज्ञकं
- 17 बहुजलं दीर्घं तथा खानितं ॥७॥ ⁴हृष्टापूर्तपरस्याशीत्स्वीत्तिशसि-
 चंद्रिका⁵ [†] वासुदे-
- 18 वस्य विस्फारा स्थिताचन्द्रार्कतारकं ॥८॥ संवत् १२४२ रौद्रसंवत्सरे ।
 ज्येष्ठ⁶ वदि
- 19 पंचम्यां । ⁷प्रसस्तिस्समारोपिता नायकवासुदेवेन ॥ लिखिता ⁸सत्तिकुमा-
 रेण ॥ शिवं [†]

TRANSLATION.

Om. Success! (Verse 1.) In the race of the Moon there was (*born*) *Simharāj*, a (*very*) lion to enemies, (*and*) praised as possessing numerous virtues. From him was born king *Vyāghra*, of unequalled fame, who outshone the sun by his splendour. He also begot an ornament of kings befitting his own manliness: *Vōpadēva*; and the latter, likewise, (*had a son*) named *Kri[shṇa]*, who was given to destroying crowds of hostile kings, (*and*) who dominated the universe by (*his*) valour.

(V. 2.) (*Then*) there was in *Kākaira* the illustrious *Jaitarāja*, the lustre of the nails of whose lotus-feet was rendered (*still more*) brilliant by the light emanating from the shining diamonds in the diadems on the heads of kings (*prostrating themselves before him*) to the ground, (*and*) who had the merit of conquering heroes on the battle-field. From him who owned the glory of wonderful great valour (*was born*) the illustrious king *Sōmachandra*.

(V. 3.) From him, the glorious ocean of virtues, (*was born*) a young king: the illustrious *Bhānu*, who was brilliant by (*his*) whole body and apparel, who acquired honour and prosperity, the destroyer of the party of opponents, a crest-jewel of kings. (*He*) is (*now*) protecting the earth. While he is ruling, the people are (*all*) virtuous (*and*) well-intentioned.

(V. 4.) The country is replete with permanent wealth and virtue and is devoid of (*all*) calamities; the twice-born are devoted to good actions; the subjects are intent on performing sacrifices and doing charitable acts. What more? The citizens are very virtuous (*and*) refined, (*and*) their minds are purified by the study of the *Śāstras*. What wonder does not (*happen*) in (*this*) iron age, while king *Bhānudeva*, the incarnation of virtue, is ruling the kingdom?

(V. 5.) In a family which abounded in men subsisting on (*catching*?) groups of elephants there was the *Nāyaka Pō[ṭ]*, of brilliant fame, a leader of men, the son of the illustrious *Dāmōdara*. His famous, straightforward son was called *Bhīma*. His son was the illustrious *Vāsudēva*, (*who resided*) in *Kākaira*, the town of king *Bhānudeva*.

¹ Read महाज्जाग°.² Read श्रीवा°.³ Read °शशि°.⁴ Read हृष्ट°.⁵ °सासीक° and °शशि°.⁶ Read ज्येष्ठ°.⁷ Read प्रशस्ति°.⁸ Read शक्ति°.

(V. 6.) This illustrious Vāsudēva, the pillar of the city, the chief gem (*shining*) with priceless splendour amongst (*his*) caste fellows, famous, devoted to the lotus-feet of king Bhānudēva, known to be very valorous before the array of knights on the battle-field, great, of wonderful power (*and*) patience, is (*now*) administering the country.

(V. 7.) (*This*) clever (*minister*) caused to be built two temples of the god whose ornament is the moon (*viz.* Mahādēva), together with halls, a *puratōbhadrā* with a gate-way, and an excellent temple (*dedicated*) to the guardian deity of the fields. Moreover (*he*) caused to be dug a large pond (*taḍāga*) and a long tank (*bandha*) called Kauḍika, which contained a great quantity of water.

(V. 8.) The moon-light of the true fame of Vāsudēva, devoted to sacrifices and charitable works, has expanded (*and*) become established so long as the moon, the sun and the stars endure.

(Line 18.) *Samvat* 1242, in the Raudra year, on the 5th (*tithi*) of the dark (*fortnight*) of Jyāishṭha, (*this*) *prastā* was erected by the Nāyaka Vāsudēva. Written by Śaktikumāra. Hail!

POSTSCRIPT.

By PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

Prof. Hultsch has asked me to express an opinion on the date of the stone inscription published above, of which he has sent me an impression. He also, at the instance of Mr. Hira Lal, has requested me to give my readings of, and, if possible, to verify, the dates of two copper-plate inscriptions of the Kākaira (Kanker) chief Pamparājadēva, which are about to be published by Mr. Hira Lal, and of which impressions have been forwarded by him.

The date of the stone inscription clearly is, as given by Mr. Hira Lal: *Samvat* 1242 *Raudra-samvatsarē* | *Jyēshṭha-vadi pañchamyām* |. It does not admit of exact verification, and the only question concerning it is, to which era the year 1242 should be referred so that the date may fall in a *Raudra-samvatsara*. *A priori* the expression *samvat* 1242 would be taken here to denote the Vikrama year 1242; but there is no Vikrama year 1242 that could be called a Raudra year. Nearest to V. 1242, Raudra, by the southern system, would be the expired *Chaitrādi* Vikrama year 1257; and by the northern mean-sign system it would indicate the time from the 13th November A.D. 1195 to the 8th November A.D. 1196, in the expired *Chaitrādi* or *Kārttikādi* Vikrama years 1252 and 1253. If the year of the date were 1252 instead of 1242, it might be taken to be the expired *Kārttikādi* Vikrama year 1252, in which case the 5th of the dark half of Jyāishṭha would undoubtedly fall in a Raudra year; but there is nothing to prove that the writer erroneously put 1242 instead of 1252.

Assuming, then, the figures for the year and the Jupiter's year to have been correctly given, it would only remain to take the expression *samvat* 1242, as has been done by Mr. Hira Lal, to denote the expired Śaka year 1242, which by the southern system was a Raudra year. But here we are at once met by a difficulty. In my paper on the dates of the Śaka era in inscriptions I have shown¹ that among 400 Śaka dates of inscriptions only five do not contain the word *Śaka* or *Śāka*, and that of even these five dates three are spurious or suspicious, while the two others are in verse. There is therefore every reason to assume that the writer of the inscription would have denoted the Śaka year 1242 by some such expression as *Śakē* 1242, not by *samvat* 1242. And there might be the further objection that in the Central Provinces, where the date comes from, the system of Jupiter's years ordinarily followed seems to have been the northern system, not the southern system by which alone the Śaka year 1242 can be described as a Raudra year.

¹ See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXVI. p. 149.

As the date cannot be verified, it would be useless to indulge in further speculations.¹ To me the wording of it seems certainly to be suspicious. And I can only say that, assuming the figures for the year to be correct and the date to be really a Śaka date, it would correspond, for the *pūrṇimānta* Jyaisṭha, to Monday, the 28th April A.D. 1320, and for the *amānta* Jyaisṭha, as stated by Mr. Hira Lal, to Tuesday, the 27th, or Wednesday, the 28th May,² A.D. 1320.

Of the two copper-plate inscriptions of Pamparāja, one is clearly dated as follows:—

[L. 7] Īsvara-
[L. 8] saṁvatsarē Kārtika-māsē Chitrā-rikshē Ravi-dinē suryōparāgē
[L. 10] saṁvat 966

i.e. "in the Īsvara year, at an eclipse of the sun on a Sunday, in the *nakshatra* Chitrā in the month Kārttika, in the year 966."

I have no doubt that the year 966 of this date must be referred to the Kalachuri era.

In *Festgruss an Roth*, p. 53 ff., I have tried to prove from the 12 dates between the years 793 and 958, which hitherto have been available, that the Kalachuri (Chēdi) era commenced on the 5th September A.D. 248, that the years were *Āśvinādi* years and the months *pūrṇimānta* months, and that therefore, to convert an expired Kalachuri year into an expired year of the Kaliyuga, we must add 3349 when the date falls in the bright half of Āśvina or in any month from Kārttika to Phālguna, and 3350 in all other cases. Applying this here, we find that our date, for the *pūrṇimānta* Kārttika of the expired Kalachuri year 966 = Kaliyuga expired $966 + 3349 = 4315$, regularly corresponds to Sunday, the 5th October A.D. 1214, when the 15th *tithi* of the dark half ended 3 h. 33 m., and when the *nakshatra* was Chitrā, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 2 h. 38 m., after mean sunrise. On the same day there was a total eclipse of the sun, the greatest phase of which at Kanker (in about Long. 82° and Lat. 20°) was four digits.³

It will, I think, be generally admitted that Sunday, the 5th October A.D. 1214, undoubtedly is the proper equivalent of our date; but, in connection with this date, the writer apparently has wrongly quoted the year Īsvara instead of the immediately following year Bahudhānya. By the northern mean-sign system Īsvara lasted from the 2nd September A.D. 1212 to the 29th August A.D. 1213. By the northern luni-solar system therefore Īsvara was the proper name of Kaliyuga 4314 expired, and not of the year of our date, viz. Kaliyuga 4315 expired, which according to the northern luni-solar system, as already intimated, would have received the name Bahudhānya. For the present, I can ascribe the error only to the writer's carelessness, but the error is of such a nature that it confirms rather than invalidates our general result.⁴

The date of the other copper-plate of Pamparāja I read thus:—

[L. 9] | saṁvata | 965 Bhādrapadē vadi 1[0]
[L. 10] Mṛiga-rikshē Sô[ma]-dinē |

Here everything is perfectly clear and certain in the impression excepting the number of the *tithi* and the second *akshara* of the name of the weekday. As regards the latter, it appears to

¹ If the year were 1244 (instead of 1242), it might be taken to be a Kalachuri year, in which case the date would have fallen in a Randra year. I do not mean to suggest hereby that the inscription could be assigned to so late a period (A.D. 1492-93).

² The 5th *tithi* commenced 1 h. 4 m. before mean sunrise of the Tuesday and ended 0 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise of the Wednesday.

³ Between A.D. 1201 and 1250 this is the only solar eclipse in the month Kārttika that could have been visible at Kanker.

⁴ Mr. Hira Lal quite lately has sent me for calculation a date from the Central Provinces, which undoubtedly corresponds to Wednesday, the 5th October A.D. 1065. According to the original date, this day should fall in the year Parābhava; but by the northern luni-solar system it would fall in the year Plavaṅga which follows immediately upon Parābhava, and by the southern system in the year Viśvāvasu which immediately precedes Parābhava.

me evident that the engraver after the *akshara sô* in the first instance by mistake engraved the letter *d* (of *dinê*), and that he then altered this *d* to *ma*. Under any circumstances there could be no doubt that the intended weekday is *Sôma-dîna* or 'Monday.' Nor can there be any real doubt about the number of the *tithi*. The date clearly gives us the dark half of the month Bhâdrapada and during it the *nakshatra* Mrîga (Mrîgaśîrsha). Now in the dark half the *nakshatra* will ordinarily be Mrîga about the 8th *tithi* of the *amânta* and the 10th *tithi* of the *pûrṇimânta* Bhâdrapada; and a careful examination of the impression shows that the word *vadi* is actually followed by 10, the 0 of which is engraved quite on the margin of the plate. I therefore take it that the date gives us for calculation "the year 965, the 10th *tithi* of the dark half of (the *pûrṇimânta*) Bhâdrapada, with the *nakshatra* Mrîga and a Monday." And treating the year again as a Kalachuri year, I find the following equivalents:—

For the expired Kalachuri year 965 = Kaliyuga expired 965 + 3350 = 4315 : Saturday, the 2nd August A.D. 1214, when the 10th *tithi* of the dark half of the *pûrṇimânta* Bhâdrapada ended 18 h. 25 m., and the *nakshatra* was Mrîga, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 21 h. 40 m., and by the Brahma-siddhânta for 20 h. 21 m., after mean sunrise.

For the current Kalachuri year 965 = Kaliyuga 4315 current : Monday, the 12th August A.D. 1213, when the 10th *tithi* of the dark half of the *pûrṇimânta* Bhâdrapada commenced 7 h., and when the *nakshatra* was Mrîga, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 15 h. 46 m., and by the Brahma-siddhânta for 14 h. 27 m., after mean sunrise.

Of the two, I do not hesitate to accept Monday, the 12th August A.D. 1213, as the true equivalent of our date. That the *tithi* of the date was a current *tithi* can cause no difficulty. And the fact that Kalachuri years, occasionally and exceptionally, are quoted as current years is proved by another date, in an inscription of which Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar some time ago has been good enough to send me a photograph. The inscription referred to is one at Seorinârâyan which the late Sir A. Cunningham had stated to be dated—

Kalachuri-samvatsarê || 898 || Asvina-sudî 2 Sôma-dinê.

According to the photograph the date really is—

Kalachuri-samvatsarê || 898 || Asvina-sudî 7¹ Sôma-dinê, and with this reading the date regularly corresponds, for the current Kalachuri year 898, to Monday, the 24th September A.D. 1145, when the 7th *tithi* of the bright half of Âsvina ended 20 h. 57 m. after mean sunrise.

NO. 15.—NOTE ON THE TWO COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE TIME OF MAHENDRAPALA OF KANAUJ.

By PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E. ; GÖTTINGEN.

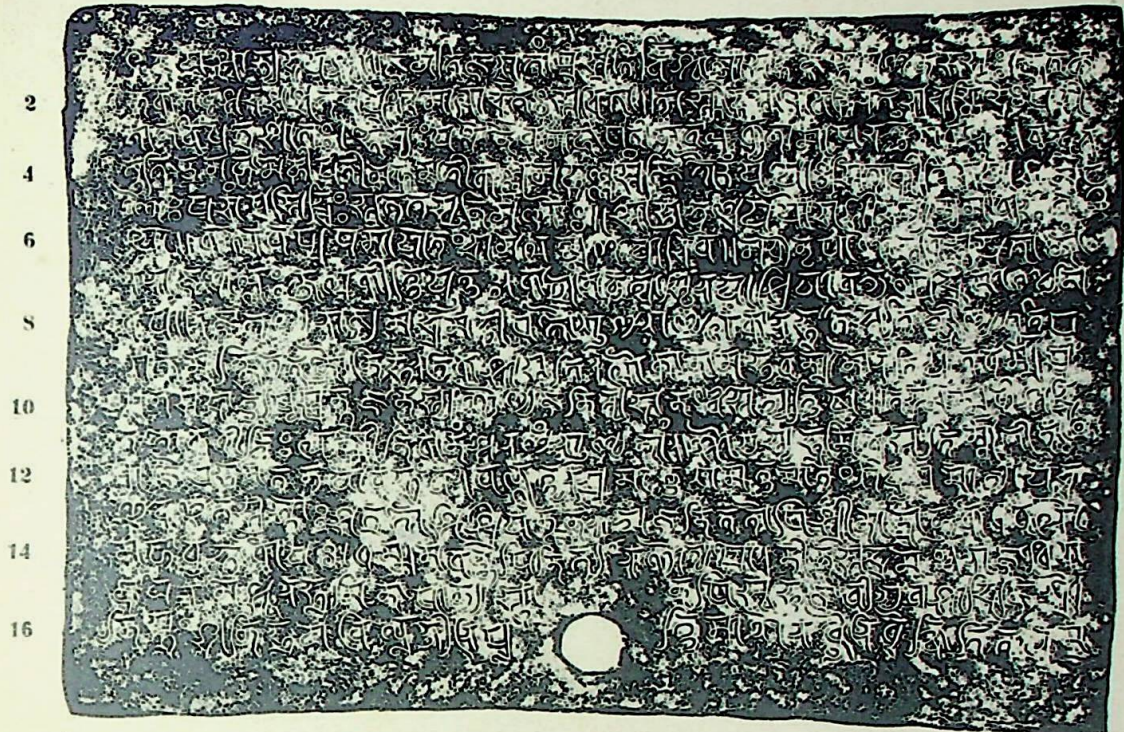
While I was reading the final proof of my paper on the two copper-plate inscriptions of the time of Mahêndrapâla of Kanauj, published above, p. 1 ff., I received from Prof. Hultsch excellent ink-impressions of the two inscriptions which had been supplied to him by Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya. The impressions enabled me to make one or two slight corrections in my texts, but it was impossible to insert in my article Mr. Venkayya's description of the original plates, and to get ready in time the collotype facsimile of the second of the two inscriptions, the plates of Avanivarman II. Yôga, which Prof. Hultsch had at once ordered to be prepared and which is now published herewith.

On the plates A., those of Balavarman, Mr. Venkayya writes as follows:—

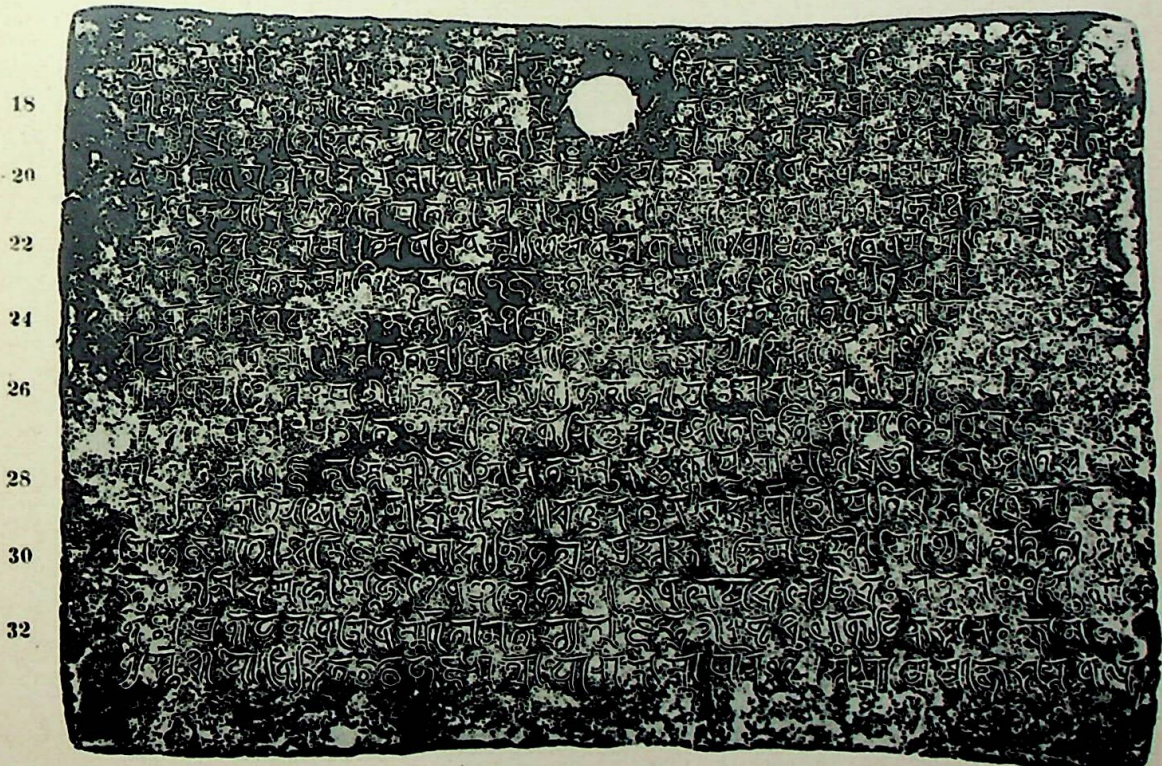
"The two plates are about 13" broad and about $9\frac{1}{2}$ " high, somewhat less in the middle. They are strung on an almost circular ring, $2\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter. The ends of the ring are secured below

¹ So the *tithi* was already given, correctly, in *As. Res.* Vol. XV. p. 505.

i.



ii.



Scale 45

E. Hultzsch.

Collotype by Gebr. Plettner, Halle-Saale.

CC-0. Jangamwadi Math Collection. Digitized by eGangotri

a circular seal, which is slightly damaged and measures nearly $1\frac{3}{4}$ " in diameter. It is about $\frac{1}{8}$ " thick, and bears in relief a squatting figure, perhaps representing a god, the right hand of which seems to be raised, as if to indicate the *abhaya-hasta*. Either plate near the top has a ring-hole which is about $\frac{7}{8}$ " in diameter."

On the plates B., those of Avanivarman II. Yôga, Mr. Venkayya writes :—

"The three plates are between $12\frac{1}{8}$ " and $12\frac{1}{4}$ " broad and between $8\frac{3}{8}$ " and 9" high. They are strung on an oval ring which measures $2\frac{1}{2}$ " by $2\frac{1}{4}$ ". The ends of the ring are secured below a circular seal, which is slightly mutilated and measures nearly 2" in diameter. The seal bears in relief a squatting figure, similar to the one on the seal of the other plates. Each plate contains a ring-hole which is about $\frac{5}{8}$ " in diameter."

On the excellent facsimile published herewith I have to say only a few words. It will show that the inscription in some places is not very easy to read. As regards individual signs, I would merely draw attention to the forms of the initial *i* and *ê*, e.g. in *iha*, l. 33, and *êvam*—, l. 45; to the sign for *ry*, e. g. in *śauryasya*, l. 11; to the final *t*, e.g. in *=bhât*, l. 32; and to the numeral figures, especially that for '9', in line 68.

In my text of the inscription the word *śrī*- has by an oversight been omitted before *Ta[ru]nâ-*, above, p. 10, l. 57.

No. 16.—VANDRAM PLATES OF AMMARAJA II.

By PROFESSOR E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.; HALLE (SAALE).

These plates were found in the backyard of Buddharaju Venkataraju of Vandram, a village in the Bhimavaram taluka of the Kistna district, and were forwarded by the Head Assistant Collector of Narsapur through the Collector of Kistna to Rai Bahadur Venkayya, who sent me two sets of ink-impressions of them, with the following remarks :—

"These are five copper-plates, measuring $7\frac{1}{4}$ " in length and $3\frac{5}{8}$ " in height. They have high rims more than $\frac{1}{8}$ " thick. The ring on which the plates are strung was cut by me for the first time and soldered subsequently. It is oval, measures $3\frac{1}{8}$ " by $3\frac{1}{8}$ ", and is nearly $\frac{1}{8}$ " thick. The ends of the ring are secured in an expanded eight-petalled lotus at the bottom of a circular seal, which measures $2\frac{3}{8}$ " in diameter. The seal is much damaged, but bears, in relief on a countersunk surface, the legend *Śrī-Tribhu[vanâmkusa]*, with a boar facing the proper left over it and a floral device below. The other symbols cut in the seal are not quite distinct. Traces of the sun over the boar, of the crescent of the moon behind his tail, and of an elephant goad in front of him are visible."

The first and last plates bear writing only on one side, and the three remaining plates on both sides. The plates are in a bad state of preservation. Of plate i. a small portion is missing. Plate ii. b is a palimpsest, and part of its writing is effaced. The two first lines of plate iii. b and some letters of the two last lines of plate iv. a are damaged by corrosion. Of plate iv. b the two first lines and part of the third are in a still worse condition. On the last plate (v.) some letters are more or less doubtful.

After the MS. of this article had gone to the press, I received from Mr. Venkayya the original copper-plates, with the help of which I was able to improve my readings of several indistinct words.

The alphabet is ancient Telugu of the usual type. I would only draw attention to the peculiar form of the secondary *â* in *-mûrtîr*—, l. 18, and *samâhâya*, l. 36 f. The language is Sanskrit; but the four first lines of the last plate contain some Telugu words. The Sanskrit portion consists of both prose and verses.

The inscription opens with the genealogy of Ammarāja (II.) of the (Eastern) Chālukya (I. 5) dynasty. Ll. 1-17 are practically identical with ll. 1-23 of the Elavaṅṅu grant of the same king.¹ But Vikramāditya (I.) receives the title *Yuvarāja* (I. 13), and the name *Kollabigaṇḍa* is twice (ll. 14 and 17) spelt with *b*, not with *bh*.

Ammarāja II. is then praised in seven verses, all of which occur in his Paḍaṅkalūru grant,² where they are however differently arranged.³ The two verses (5 and 6) recording the date of his coronation are also found in the Maliyapūṇḍi grant.⁴ It is a curious fact that the major portion of plate ii.b (consisting of verses 3-5 and nearly the whole of verse 6) of the Vandram plates is engraved over another grant of Ammarāja II., which seems to have been partially effaced by the writer, but of which distinct traces are still visible.⁵ I subjoin a transcript of those lines of the original inscription on plate ii.b which can still be made out.

- 20 स समस्तभुवनाययश्रीविजयादित्यम-
 21 हाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरः परमभट्टारकः परमब्रह्मण्यो मातापितृपादानुधा-
 22 यी वेंगीसहसराष्ट्रकूटप्रमुखान् कुटुंबिनस्समाह्वयेत्यमात्रा-
 23 पयति [*] विदितम स वंशे वशिष्ठगोत्रो विद्वान् आ-

The poetical description of Amma's reign is followed by a prose passage (ll. 30-37) which is worded in nearly the same manner as ll. 30-36 of the Elavaṅṅu grant.⁶ Ammarāja II., who is here styled '*Samastabhuvanāśraya*, the glorious *Vijayāditya* (VI.) *Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, the very pious one, who meditates at the feet of (his) mother and father, thus commands, having called (them) together, the ryots, headed by the *Rāshtrakūṭas*, inhabiting the twelve villages (the chief one of which is) *Prāṇḍoṇu* in the *Pāvunavāra* district (*vishaya*).'

So far the text can be easily transcribed and understood. But the remainder of the inscription cannot be deciphered in full, as a number of words in the damaged portions are doubtful or quite illegible. Besides, the author of the long metrical passage describing the donee (ll. 37-61) knew so little Sanskrit, or got his draft copied in such an imperfect way, that I am unable to propose satisfactory corrections even of some of the well-preserved portions of it. The whole of this passage seems to be in verse. Making allowance for the damaged and lost lines I number the verses as 8-23. Verse 8 praises the family (*gōtra*) named *Mitrayu*. A descendant of it was *Tūrkkaya-Peddiya*⁷ (v. 9), who lived in the large village *Rāviparṅṅu* (v. 10), his son *Vijayāditya* (v. 11) and his grandson *Tūrkkīya-Yajvan* (v. 12). The last had by *Kandamāmbā* a son named *Kuppanayya* (v. 14), who seems to have enjoyed the titles of minister (*amātya*, v. 15) and vassal (*sūmanta*, v. 16). He had the surname *Vipranārā[yaṇa]* (v. 21) and founded a shrine of *Śiva* at *Drākshārāma*.⁸

"To this *Kuppan[ā]mātya*, who is devoted to Me, the village named *Tāṇḍoṇu* has been given by Us, having made (it) an *Agrahāra*; to whom (the village) named *[Beṭi]pūṇḍi* (in the neighbourhood) of *Prāṇḍoṇu*⁹ in your district¹⁰ (*vishaya*), together with the share of gold,

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 91 ff.

² *Ibid.* Vol. VII. p. 15 ff.

³ The verses of the Paḍaṅkalūru grant (ll. 23-37) correspond to the following verses of the Vandram plates: 1, 4, 3, 5, 6, 7, 2; and an additional verse is inserted between 1 and 4.

⁴ Above, p. 47 ff.

⁵ Both sides of plate v. also exhibit traces of obliterated writing. A grant of *Bhīma* I. is a similar palimpsest; see Prof. Kielhorn's remarks, above, Vol. V. p. 127.

⁶ In the latter the epithet *mātāpitṛpādānūdhyaṭaḥ* (l. 35) is however missing.

⁷ With *Tūrkkaya* compare the names *Tūrkaśarman* (above, Vol. V. p. 120, note 14) and *Tūrkkama* (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 214, text l. 49).

⁸ *Drākshārāmē kṛta-Śiva-nīlayō*; v. 22 (l. 58).

⁹ *Prāṇḍoṇi* is the Telugu genitive of *Prāṇḍoṇu* (l. 35).

¹⁰ I.e. in the *Pāvunavāra-vishaya* of l. 35.

was given with exemption from all taxes, having made (it) an *Agrahāra*." I subjoin my reading of this passage, which is so peculiarly worded, that it remains doubtful whether the present grant refers to Tāṇḍeru or to Beṭipūṇḍi or to both, and whether only the second or both of them belonged to the Pāvunavāra-vishaya.

- 61 तस्मै कुप्पन[१*]म[१]त्या[य]
 62 महत्ताय¹ ताण्डे²नामग्रामग्रहारिकृत्योस्माभिर्दत्त³ । य[स्य भव]द्दि-
 63 षये प्रान्दो⁴ति [विटि]पूण्डिनाम सह[१*]टकभागमग्रहा[री*]कृत्य सर्व्व[कर]-
 64 पर⁵ दत्त इति विदितमस्तु वः[] ॥ अस्य (स) ग्रामस्यावधयः[*] ॥

Of the subsequent description of the boundaries of the village granted (ll. 64-67) I am unable to furnish a satisfactory transcript. The remainder of the inscription (ll. 67-72) is nearly identical with ll. 57-60 of the Elavaggu grant.⁴ The last line (72) seems to read:—

य[१] ते कृमिः ॥ [२५*] आज्ञसिः ⁵कटकराजः [१*] महा[का]भट्टक[१*]व्यं [१*]
 जोन्ताचार्य्येण लिखितं ॥

Accordingly the *Ājñapti* was the *Kaṭakarāja*,⁶ the poet⁷ Mahā[kā?]bhaṭṭa, and the writer Jontāchārya.⁸

Of the localities mentioned in this inscription, Drākshārāma is well-known,⁹ and the Pāvunavāra-vishaya is probably the same as Pāgunavara-vishaya in a grant of Bhīma II.¹⁰ The villages Prāṇḍoru, Beṭipūṇḍi, Tāṇḍeru and Rāvipaggu I am unable to identify.

FIRST HALF OF THE TEXT.¹¹

First Plate.

- 1 ॐ स्वस्ति श्रीमतां सकलभुवनसंस्तूयमानमानव्यसगीत्राणां हा-
 2 रीतिपुत्राणां कौशिकीवरप्रसादलब्धराज्यानां मातृगणपरिपालीतानां¹² स्वा-
 3 मिमहासेनपादानुध्यायीनां¹³ भगवन्नारायणप्रसादसमासादित-
 4 वरवराहलाञ्छनेक्षणक्षणवशीकृतारातिमण्डलानाम-
 5 ¹⁴श्रमेधावभृतस्नानपवित्रीकृतवपुषां चालुक्यानां कुलम-
 6 लंकरिण्योः सत्य[१*]श्रयवत्तमेन्द्र[स्य*] भ्राता कुब्जविष्णुवर्द्धनोष्टाद-
 7 श वर्ष[१]णि वेगिदेशमपालयत् ॥ तत्पुत्री जयसिंहस्त्रयस्त्रिंशतं । त-
 8 दनुजेन्द्ररा[जनन्दनो] विष्णुवर्द्धनो नव । तत्पुनर्मृगियुवराजः पंचविं-¹⁵
 9 शतिं । तत्पुत्री जय[सिंहस्त्रयोदश] । तदवरजः कोकिलिः षण्मासान् ॥

¹ Read महत्ताय.

² Read °हारीकृत्योस्माभिर्दत्तः.

³ Read परिहारिण.

⁴ Instead of *tath-ōktaṁ Vyāsēna*, l. 69 reads *tathā ch-ōktaṁ Vyāsa-bhaṭṭi[ā*]rakēna(na)*.

⁵ Read कटक°.

⁶ See above, p. 49 f.

⁷ I.e. the author of the verses describing the donee. In other grants of Ammarāja II. Pōtanabhaṭṭa and Mādhavabhaṭṭa are mentioned as 'poets.'

⁸ The same person was the writer of the Elavaggu and Paḍaṅkalūru grants.

⁹ See e.g. above, Vol. IV. p. 37, note 3.

¹⁰ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 213.

¹¹ From two sets of ink-impressions and the original copper-plates.

¹² Read °पालितानां.

°ध्यायिनां.

¹⁴ Read °मृद्य°.

¹⁵ The *anusvāra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

Second Plate; First Side.

- 10 तस्य ज्येष्ठो भ्राता विष्णुवर्द्धनस्तमुच्चाय सप्तत्रिंशतं । तत्पुत्रो विजया-
दित्यभट्टार-
- 11 कोष्टादश । तत्पुत्रो विष्णुवर्द्धनः षट्त्रिंशतं । तत्पुत्रो विजयादित्यनरेन्द्र-
मृगराज-
- 12 अष्टाचत्वारिंशतं । तत्पुत्रः कलिविष्णुवर्द्धनोद्धारवर्ष । तत्पुत्रो गुणगां-
कविजया-
- 13 दित्यश्चतुश्चत्वारिंशतं । तदनुजयुवराजविक्रमादित्यभूपतेः सूनुश्चालु-
- 14 क्वभिममूपास्त्रिंशतं । तत्पुत्रः कोल्लबिगण्डविजयादित्यः षण्मासान् ।
तत्पुत्र-
- 15 म्भराजः सप्त वर्षाणि² । तत्पुत्रविजयादित्यं बालमुच्चाय तालपो मासमेकं [1*]
- 16 तं जित्वा चालुक्यभीमतनयो विक्रमादित्य एकादश मासान् । ततस्ता-
लपराजस्य सुतो युद्ध-
- 17 मल्लः सप्त वर्षाणि । तं जित्वा कोल्लबिगण्डविजयादित्यसुतो भीमराजो
द्वादश वर्षाणि । तस्य म-
- 18 हे[श्व]रमूर्तेरुमासमानाकृतेः कुमारभः [1*] लोकमहादेव्याः खलु यस्मिन्-
भवदम्भराजा-

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 19 ख्यः ॥ [1*] यो रूपेण मनोजं विभवेन महेन्द्रमहिमकरसुरमहसा
[1*] हरमस्मिपुरद-
- 20 हनेन न्यकुर्व(र)न्नाति विदितदिगवनिक्तिः³ ॥ [2*] कविगायककल्पतरु-
विजसुनि-⁴
- 21 दीनान्धबन्धुजनसु(न)रभिः । याचकजनचिन्तामणिरवनिश्रम-⁵
- 22 निर्भीहोयमहसा द्युमणि[1*] ॥ [3*] विदितधराधिपविद्यो वि-
- 23 विधायुधकोविदो [विल्लीनारिकुल]ः । करितुरगागमकुश-
- 24 लो हरचर मधुपः⁶ श्रीमान् ॥ [4*] गिरि-
- 25 सवसुसंख्याब्धे⁷ सक[स] [श्री]र्षमासेस्मिन् [1*] कृष्ण-
त्रयो-
- 26 दशदिने भृगुवारे मैत्रनक्ष[त्रे] ॥ [5*] धनुषि रवी घटलग्ने द्वाद-
- 27 [श]वर्षे तु [जन्मनः] पटं । योधादुदयगिरिन्द्रो⁸ रवि[रि]व लोका-

¹ Read °कर्मौम°.² Read वर्षाणि.³ Read °कौर्षिः. From here to the end (l. 27) this side of the plate is a palimpsest.⁴ Read °तर्द्धिज°.⁵ Read °रवनीशमणि°.⁶ Read हरचरणाभीजयुगलमधुपः.⁷ Read °ख्याब्धे शकसमये मार्गशीर्ष°.⁸ Read °गिरौन्द्रो रविमिव.

27- 126

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ii a.

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iii a.

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Third Plate; First Side.

- 28 नुरागाय ॥ [६*] यस्मिन्^१ सासति नृपती परिपक्वानेकसस्यसं-^२
 29 पच्छालिः । ^३सततपयोधेनुरभिर्णिरीतिरपरुग्निरस्तचोरो
 30 देशः ॥ [७*] स सकलरिपुनृपतिमकुटतटघटितमणिगण-
 31 मधुकरनिकरपरिचुंबितचरणसरसिरुहयुग-
 32 लोयु[ग*]लोचनपदकमलविलसद्भिरेफायमानो^४ मा-
 33 नोन्नतोद्धतः^५ समस्तलोकः समस्तभुवनाश्रयश्चीविज-
 34 यादित्यमहाराजाधिराजप[र*]मेश्वरः परमभट्टारकः परमब्र-
 35 ह्मण्यः मातापितृपादानुध्यातः पावनवारविषये ग्रान्दोऽऽ-
 36 [द्वाद]शग्रामनिवासिनो राष्ट्रकूटप्रमुखाकुटुंबिनस्समाह-

Third Plate; Second Side.

- 37 येत्यमाज्ञापयति ॥

No. 17.—THE INSCRIPTIONS ON THE MATHURA LION-CAPITAL.

By F. W. THOMAS, M.A.; LONDON.

The Mathurā lion-capital was discovered by the late Dr. Bhagvanlal Indraji under circumstances detailed in his article on *The Northern Kshatrapas* edited and published by Professor E. J. Rapson in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, N. S., Vol. XXVI. 1894, pp. 541-554; see in particular pp. 542-4. It was found embedded in the steps of an altar devoted to Śitalā on a site belonging to some low-caste Hindus at Mathurā, but not more definitely located. Having been with difficulty secured by Dr. Bhagvanlal, the capital was conveyed to Bombay; subsequently, on his death, it was despatched to England, and it can now be seen in the Buddhist Room at the British Museum.

The inscriptions incised on the capital were transcribed and translated by the discoverer himself; but owing to his death the task of publishing the MS. was entrusted by the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society to the late Professor Bühler, who was able to compare the readings with the stone itself and with paper impressions presented to him in 1889 by Dr. James Burgess. At the commencement of the published account, which appeared in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, N. S., Vol. XXVI. 1894, pp. 525-540, Prof. Bühler observes that "the collation has made necessary some alterations in the transcript and in the translation, among which the more important ones have been pointed out in the notes. But I may confidently assert that all really essential points have been fully settled and explained by Dr. Bhagvanlal, whose great acumen and scholarship are as conspicuous in his interpretation of these inscriptions as in his other epigraphic publications. For convenience's sake I have prefixed an introduction, summarising the chief results deducible from the inscriptions."

¹ Read यस्मिन्सासति.

² The *anuvāra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

³ Read °रमीर्णिरीति°.

⁴ Read °माणी.

⁵ The Elavargu grant (l. 32 f.) supplies the correct reading मानीन्नतो नतीद्धतसप्तसखीकः.

While endorsing in the main these statements of so great an authority, from all points of view, as the late Prof. Bühler, I have endeavoured, in re-editing the inscriptions with Plates, which before were wanting, to give an unbiased reading based upon new impressions supplied by the kindness of the Department in the Museum (at the instance of Dr. J. F. Fleet, who originated the suggestion of this article), and upon frequent inspections of the stone itself. The present versions will therefore be found to differ in some particulars from those of Dr. Bhagvanlal and Prof. Bühler.

The shape and dimensions of the capital will be best realized from the accompanying Plates; but some particulars demand a verbal description. *In the first place*, the circular hole in the upper square surface, corresponding to a similar hole in the under surface, proves that the capital was surmounted by a shaft or some other continuation. Prof. Bühler remarks that various representations on slabs from the Amarāvati Stūpa prove this shaft to have supported a *Dharma-chakra*, referring to the Archaeological Survey Plates published by Dr. Burgess (Plate xxxviii. figs. 1 and 6, and Plate xl. figs. 3 and 4). But it has already been pointed out by me in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1906, pp. 216 and 464, that the use of lion-capitals of actual pillars was a common feature in Indian architecture, derived from Persian models. Examples may be seen in the Archaeological Survey publications relating to Bharhut (Cunningham, Plates vi., viii., x.), Sāñchī (Maisey, Plates xix., xxxiii.), Mathurā (V. A. Smith, Plates xliii.-xlvi. and xlix.-l.); Amarāvati (Burgess, p. 93, Plates xlix., liii., liv., lv., and Burgess, 1882, Plate xiv.), and elsewhere. The presumption, therefore, is that the lion-capital formed the crown of a real pillar.

Secondly, the state of the stone has been somewhat impaired by time and accident. In some cases, e.g. in the loss of the horn-like projections of the two heads, this has involved no curtailment of the text. The chippings at the two bottom corners have been, no doubt, equally harmless. But the front, which would be the most exposed portion of the stone, has in part so peeled away as to render some characters illegible. In the second line of the large inscription carved on the body of the lion to the spectator's left (J. l. 1) the large *rva* is followed by traces of two or three *aksharas* of equal size leading to a partly visible *sa* (?), after which intervene three doubtful characters before we come to firm ground again in *palī*.¹

In size the *aksharas* vary considerably. We may distinguish five groups: (1) the inscriptions B. E. F. I. J. M. on the front and back of the stone (among which I. perhaps exceeds the others slightly in size), having characters about 2-2½ in. in height; (2) G. N. P. E'', on the back and under surface of the stone, circa 2-1½ in.; (3) A. (on the unpolished top and back of the stone), K. L. (on the breast of the left lion), O. Q. R. (underneath), J'. (front, on the leg of the left lion), circa 1½ in.; (4) C. D. E'. (which may be estimated from E'', slightly the largest, visible among the characters of E.), circa 1 in.; (5) H. H', slightly incised in small characters, of about ¾ in., at the places indicated on the front. In the same inscription the *aksharas* generally maintain a fair average size, but sometimes they become a little cramped by limitations of space. It is clear that the inscriptions in the larger characters (1), (2) and (3) were carved first, and those of a smaller size were afterwards crammed in wherever space offered.

In type, on the other hand, the characters present an uniformity which, like the subject-matter of the records, forbids any supposition of additions during the subsequent history of the stone. They have been compared by Prof. Bühler to those of the Shāhbāzgarhī and Mansehra versions of the Edicts of Aśoka. But the degree of similarity and dissimilarity may now be more exactly estimated from Bühler's *Indian Palæography*, where the columns viii. and ix.

¹ In quoting Kharōṣṭhī records, length of vowels is noted except where the intention is to insist upon the exact reading supplied by the original in question.

Front of the capital.



W. GRIGGS, COLLOTYPE.

J.

FROM GENERAL SIR ALEXANDER CUNNINGHAM'S PHOTOGRAPHS.

J. F. FLEET.

SCALE ABOUT .25

of Plate No. 1 are based chiefly upon these inscriptions. The type may be described as intermediate between the Aśoka forms and the cursive derivatives of the Dhammapada MS. and those discovered by Dr. Stein, to which approximate the vase-scratchings from Māpikīāla and other places and the inscription of Sue-Vihār (see the Plate given by Dr. Hoernle in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. X. facing p. 325). It does not, however, appear to be quite identical with that exhibited in any of these or in the Taxila plate (see the facsimile above, Vol. IV. facing p. 56), where on account of the historical contiguity we should expect to find, and do find, a near congener. The inscriptions edited by M. Senart in the *Journal Asiatique*, Sér. IX. Vol. XIII. (1899), p. 526 ff. and Vol. IV. (1894), p. 504 ff. (No. 35), are also in similar characters (see the Plates).

The forms of the individual letters may be seen from Plate IV. Those of *ṭha*, *sa*, *mu*, *śpa*, the position of medial *e* and the looped form of *u* have been described by Bühler. Attention may be called to the *rda* in Q. 1, the *spa* in A. 7, the *rna* (?) in I. 1, the curious form in J. 1 interpreted by Bühler as *shṭṣ*, the archaic *ma* with the original angle beneath in A. 2. A few points call for further consideration. The form of *ta*, which occurs many times, has in other records the value of *tra* (see the Plate). Although we have certainly one case (J. 2, in *kārīta*), and perhaps two others (E" in *krakārīta*?, and R. 1 in *Tachhilasa* or *Rachhilasa*?), where the bottom curve is wanting, the character occurs so often that there can be no doubt as to what it denotes. In supposing it to be a *da* Bühler, who in his articles in the *Z. D. M. G.* Vol. XLIII. pp. 133 and 294-6 has read a similar character as *tt* (so also Johansson, *Der Dialekt der Shāhbāzgarhī-Redaktion*, I. p. 126), was influenced by finding it in *pratṣṣ* (M. 2) and similar cases. But the regular form of *da* is several times instanced, and the *t* for *d* in *pratṣṣ* and elsewhere is a dialectical, not an orthographical, feature, found in other Kharōṣṭhī records.

The only question remaining, as concerns *ta*, is part of a larger matter. How do we find represented the conjunct *r*? In a number of cases the addition is made by a stroke inclined to the left attached to the lower curve. This occurs in A. 1 (*chhattra*°), A. 6 (*mātrā*), A. 7 (*pitṛā*°). In these examples there was some slight danger of confusion with *tō*, which shows (see the Plate) a similar stroke attached to the upper curve. Perhaps for this reason another device is more frequently adopted, namely a dot in place of the stroke; see B. 1 and 3 (*chhatra*°), B. 2 (*putra*), M. 1 (*chhatra*°), Q. 2 (*chhatra*°). There remain A. 3 (where *ts* is written), A. 5 (where I can detect no clear indication of the *r*-stroke or dot), G. 1 (where there is nothing attached to the *ta*, though the reading may be *chhratava*, if not *chchhatava*), G. 2 (*chhatava*), A. 9 (where we seem to have *atraürēna* for *atē*°). In A. 1 we have two strokes, both of which seem to be intentional; one of them, which resembles the downward stroke of the Aramaic and Pahlavī *t*, I have conjectured to denote a doubled *t* before the *r*. Of a cerebral (*ṭa*) I can find no trace, unless indeed it is contained in the mysterious third sign of A. 13.

With other consonants than *t* the *r* is regularly inserted where required. We may quote *bhra* in A. 7 (where it takes the form of a detached stroke), *gra* in A. 2 and N. 2, *pra* in A. 10 (*praḍhravīpra*°), A. 11 (*prati*°), M. 3 (*pratṣṣ*), N. 3, *ḍhra* in A. 10 and M. 2, *chhra* (*chchha*?) in G. 2 and I. 1 (*chhratava*° and *chhratrava*). In the last example, as also in *praḍhravī* (A. 10, *paḍhravī* in I. 2), it would seem to be even repeated; but this may be a feature of pronunciation rather than of writing. A really otiose *r*-stroke is found in *mahēshri*, A. 2, and probably in *Pispasri*, A. 7.

The case of *ka* is peculiar. If we disregard the doubtful inscription E", it is found four times, in *bhagravatō* (A. 12), *nākrarausa* (F. 1 and N. 1), and *sakrastānasa* (P. 1), i.e. in places where we expect a simple *ga*. This can hardly be accidental; it would seem probable that in these cases the combination *kra* represents a spirantic pronunciation of *ga*, analogous to the Persian *ḡ*; more especially as in the name of Seistān (Pahlavī *Saghasstān*) this sound no doubt prevailed at the time.

T

A few further points remain to be noticed. (1) In *atsūrēna* and *hōrakāparivārēna* (A. 9 and 10) we find a perhaps intentional stroke diverging from the tail of the *na*, though not in both cases on the same side. Have we here *ṇa*? The rather noticeable variations in the form of the nasal may be observed in Plate iv.

(2) *Sa* varies between the forms with and without the small adjunct near the centre (see Plate iv). In N. 3 the addition of the *r*-stroke makes *saṃ*. In E. 4 a slight curve at the foot may also indicate *saṃ*, anticipating, as in the Stein documents, the following nasal. A writing *sya* is certainly to be seen in G. 1 and probably also in B. 2.

(3) The two occurrences of *kharaōsta* (A. 4 and E. 1) seem both to show a small diverging mark in the place where *h* is usually appended, a circumstance which, together with the probable derivation of the word, suggests a reading *rha*=*hra*.

(4) In A. 2 *a* has a small stroke added as a sort of head.

(5) In A. 13 we have the distinguishing mark of *ē* vertical and at the top; elsewhere it is horizontal and at the centre.

(6) The *śē* of A. 11 has two small (head and foot) strokes differentiating it from the *śē* of the previous line,— apparently without reason.

(7) The complicated *jo* of C. 2 recalls the varieties on the coins (see Gardner, *The Coins of Bactria*, pp. 55, 83).

(8) Lastly we may mention that the stone presents a number of dots and other small marks which must apparently be ascribed to accident or wear. In some cases we might be tempted to trace the *anusvāra*, e.g. in J., where we should thus arrive at a reading *Sarvāstivātaṃnaṃ*.

The Prākṛit in which the inscriptions are composed has been described by Bühler and perhaps need not be discussed at length. It is distinguished by closeness to Sanskrit. Elision of medial consonants occurs, if we neglect the suffixal *k* (*nāgarāa*, *kuśūlaa*, *māhāsāṅghia*), only in *ateūreṇa* (for *°vurēṇa* ?), *saśpa*[*t*]*ē*. In *ayaria* and *puya* (= *āchārya* and *pūjā*) we have a weakening of *ch* to *y*. I have suggested (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1906, p. 205) that the sound denoted by this *y* was that of the French *j*, and the matter will arise again in connection with the proper names. The changes apparent in the word *chhatrava* are not necessarily Indian. The hardening of *g* and *d* to *kr* and *t* has been already dealt with; on the other hand *p* appears in *thūva* and *pratiḥāvitō* as *v*, never *b* as *p*. Conjunct *s* is, except in foreign and technical names (*kharaōsta*, *sakastāna*, *sarvāstivāda*), assimilated ([*t*]*thūva*, *kadhavāra*, *prati*[*t*]*thārita*, *bhi*[*k*]*khū*); *r*, on the other hand, remains both as prior (*sarva*, *khardaa*), and as posterior, member of a conjunction. The forms of the *a* and *ā* declensions are very well preserved. The nominative sing. masc. appears both as *a* (in *thūva*, etc.) and as *o* (*kharaōstō*, etc.); the neuter is in *a*[*m*] (*śarīra*[*m*]), the genitive singular in [*s*]*sa*, twice written *sya*. In *-munisa* the *i* declension shows the Prākṛit form; of the *i* inflexion we have several forms (instrumental *-iā*, etc.). The *r*-stems seem to be regular (*dhīte* in A. 3 being a miswriting for *dhitrā*), while in *yuvardāna*[*h*] in A. 4 we have an ultra-Sanskrit use of the consonant paradigm. We may note the employment of *sarvāstivāda* in place of *°vādīn*. The only pronouns occurring are *imō*, nominative masculine, and *iśē*, a locative, and the only finite verb *bhusavi* (certainly not *bhūsati*, as Bühler read) presents a problem; see the note to A. 13. The false concord *śarīra pratiḥāvitō* is found elsewhere (see the note *ad loc.*).

We now come to the historical matter, which has been discussed both by Bühler, pp. 529-33, and by Professor Rapson (p. 541 ff. of the same volume). The object of the chief inscription (A.) is to record a religious donation on the part of the Chief Queen of the Satrap Rājūla, with whom are associated various members of her family and her whole court. In the other inscriptions we find honourable mention of (1) certain other members of the Satrap family at Mathurā, (2) other Satraps, and (3) a Buddhist teacher, or two Buddhist teachers, bearing the

names Buddhila (or Budhila) and Bu[d]dhadēva. The last named, who is termed an *āchārya* and represented as a champion of the Sarvāstivādin school against the rival Māhāsāṅghikas, bears a name which cannot have been rare; one teacher of this name is mentioned by Tāranātha as a leader of the Vaibhāshikas (see Schiefner's translation, pp. 4 and 67, and the references in the St. Petersburg Dictionary), and we have therefore no sufficient means of identification. It is different with some of the other names.

In the first place, the Great Satrap Rājūla himself and his son, the Satrap Śudāsa, have both been identified with rulers named on coins and in other inscriptions from Mathurā (see Bühler, pp. 531-2, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. pp. 195-6, 199; Cunningham, *Archæological Survey Reports*, Vol. III. p. 30, and Vol. XX. pp. 48-9; V. A. Smith, *Mathurā*, p. 21; Rapson, *Indian Coins*, p. 9, § 33). These identifications were made by Cunningham, who also proposed to identify the Yuvarāja Kharaōsta with the Kharamōsta, son of Artas, known from coins, a suggestion which is scarcely tenable (Bühler, *op. cit.* p. 532). The further identification of the Great Satrap Kusūlaa Pādika with Pātika, son of the Satrap Liaka Kusūlaka, named in the Taxila plate, is important not only as supplying a date, though in an unknown era,—for the Taxila Plate is dated in the year 78, (in the time) of the Great King Mōga,—but also as implying that the other Satraps mentioned may also have ruled in distant places. It appears therefore that the inscriptions make a point of naming with respect the chief representatives of the Kshatrapa dominion in Northern India; and this is a strong argument for retaining the evident interpretation of inscription P. as 'in honour of the whole Saka realm' (*Sakastāna*). It is therefore important to ascertain what other indications of nationality the inscriptions supply.

In an article published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1906 (pp. 181-216; see also pp. 460-4) I have endeavoured to prove (1) that Sakas inhabited the region now known as Seistan as early as the time of Darius the Great and Alexander; (2) that the inscriptions of the lion-capital exhibit a mixture of Persian and Saka nomenclature; and I have inferred that the Kshatrapas of Northern India were the representatives of a mixed Parthian and Saka domination. I think that all these propositions must be adhered to. Upon the first of them we need not dwell here. The second is strongly supported *a priori* by the fact that Pātika of Taxila, who bears himself a distinctively Persian name, mentions as his overlord the Great King Mōga, whose name is with equal distinctiveness Saka.

I may here refer to a small point in the Taxila inscription which is not without interest. The form of the phrase *chhatrapasa Liakō Kusūlakō nāma tasa* (for *chhatrapasa Liakasa Kusūlakasa*), which recurs in a second phrase, has been by Bühler compared with passages in two of the Jaina inscriptions from Mathurā. We may perhaps find something of the kind in later Sanskrit inscriptions and in the style of the *Pañchatantra* and *Hitōpadēśa*. But the turn of the phrase is so conspicuous a feature of the edicts of the Achæmenids that we are strongly tempted to regard it as, like the earliest Indian architecture, derived through the Satraps from a Persian model.

This is not the place for resuming at length the discussion of the etymology of all the names occurring in the inscriptions. A few points may be mentioned:—

1. The name *Kharaōsta* or *Kharha(hra)ōsta*, as = *khshathra*, 'sovereignty,' + *ōsta*, 'blessing,' is practically certain. The initial *kha*, which reappears in *khaharāta* with variant *kshaharāta*, presents no difficulty; it recurs in the *kharapallāna* (no doubt = *khshathrapahlāna*, 'defence of sovereignty,') of the new Sārnāth inscription (above, Vol. VIII. p. 173 ff.). The variation in the initial consonant group, of which we find a third form in *chhatrapa*, is of the same nature as that in *cavalier* and *chivalry*, that is to say, it is due to historical and dialectical differences.¹

¹ On a coin given by Prof. Rapson, *Indian Coins*, Pl. iii. No. 1, we have *Kshaharāta* in Brāhmī together with *Chhaharāta* in Kharōshthī; some of the Nāsik inscriptions have *Khakharāta*; etc.

The *hra*, from *thra*, arose (with other forms) on Iranian soil, *Mihra* (Skt. *Mihira*) being a variant of *Mithra*,¹ of which a still more simplified form is found in *Miraboyana* of the Takht-i-Bahi inscription (see M. Boyer's article in the *Journal Asiatique*, Sér. X. Vol. III. (1904) pp. 463-4); the old Persian dialect had also *s*, concerning which it may be sufficient to refer to the grammars.

2. *Mévaki* is no doubt a variant of the Scythian name *Mauakes* *Μεβακης*, which we find attached to the king Maues and *Môga* (= *Mauaka*).

3. The two names *Kâlûi*, *Kâmûiô* show a Pahlavî suffix *ûi*, in the second case with addition of an Indian termination.

4. *Naûludo* is no doubt for *Naûrûdô*, 'New Growth,' with a Pahlavî or Afghan *l* for *r*.

5. The element *Khala-* appears in *Khalama* and *Khalaśamušo*.

6. The termination *-ûs* in *Kômûsâ* and *°samûšo* seems to be Scythic.

7. The element *-si* in *Âyasi* *Kômûsâ*, *Nandasikasa*, *Pispasi* is certainly not the Sanskrit *śri*, which would have been so written in these inscriptions. It is a derivative element, perhaps identical with the *-ci*, *-si* (Pahlavî *-cik*) which appears in many Iranian names.

8. The *y* in *Ayasi*, *Hayuarana*, *Ayimisa*, found also on the coins as an alternative for *z* in *Âyilisa*, etc. (see Gardner, *op. cit.* pp. 93, 173), most probably represents a *j* sound resembling the French *j*, for which reasons it must also remain undetermined whether the *ayaria* (= *âchârya*) and *puya* (= *pûjâ*) of our inscriptions were intended or not to represent a pronunciation with a *y*.

9. The name *Abûhôlâ* doubtless consists of two members, *Abû* (of uncertain meaning) to be traced in *Αβουλῆτης* (see Justi's *Iranisches Namenbuch*, s. v.) + *hôla*, a variant of the *hōra* in *Spâlahôra* and the *hōrakâ* of our inscriptions. That *spâla* is a Pahlavî form of O. Pers. *spâda* = Zend *spâda* = Neo-Pers. *sipâh* is plain from its occurrence in *Spalapati*, which corresponds to the Persian *Ispahbad*, Pahlavî *Spâkpat* (see Justi, *op. cit.* and Horn, *Neupersische Etymologie*, No. 699). As the Zend-Persian *ahura* is used in the sense of 'prince' and as the form *hōra* is to be traced in the common (Sassanian) name *Hormisdas*, there can be no reason to doubt that this is the meaning of the second part of the name of *Abûhôlâ* and that her *hōrakâparivâra* was a 'retinue of princesses (or ladies).'

10. As regards the term *Kusûlâa* (= *Kusûlaka* of the Taxila Plate), it seems to me extremely unlikely that the word is unrelated to the *Kuyûla*, *Kujûla*, *Κοζουλα* applied to Kadphises and Kanishka, more especially now that the Sârnâth inscriptions have brought Kanishka into relation with the northern Satraps. The word seems to me to have been probably a title of the order of *Şâhib*, *Bahâdur*, and the like.

It will now be sufficient to enumerate the persons occurring in the inscriptions. These are:—

(1) The family of *Râjûla*:—

(a) *Râjûla* himself with his sons *Kharaôsta* (*Yuvarâja*,² son of the Chief Queen *Abûhôlâ*), *Šudâsa* (entitled Satrap), *Khalama* (entitled *Kumâra*³), and *Maja* (entitled *Kanishka*),—the two last also being possibly children of the Chief Queen *Abûhôlâ*—and his daughter *Hana*.

(2) Five other, probably princely, persons: *Kâlûi*, *Naûlûdô*, *Kâmûiô*, *Âyimisa* *Khalaśamušo*. These were perhaps relatives of *Râjûla*.

(3) Friendly satraps, namely *Kusûlâa* *Pâdika*, *Mevaki* *Miyika*,³ *K(r)ônina*, *Khardaa*, *Tachhila* (*Rachhila*).

(4) A Buddhist *âchârya*, named *Buddhila* (*Budhila*), and a second (perhaps identical with the former), named *Buddhadêva*.

¹ Cf. Hüsing in *Kuhn's Zeitschrift*, Vol. XXXVI. p. 562 ff., and Foy, Vol. XXXVI. p. 489 ff.

² On this and other similar titles see M. Lévi's article in the *Journal Asiatique*, Sér. IX. Vol. XIX. p. 95 ff.

³ The name of a satrap *Mevaku* is traced by Prof. Rapson on a coin (*J. R. A. S.* 1894, p. 518).

The inscriptions supply in themselves no means of dating. But the style of the monument of which they celebrate the foundation seems to have been strongly Persian. This is in favour of an early date; but for a definite determination of it we must continue to rely upon the more or less contemporary Taxila plate belonging to the year 78 (in the reign) of the Great King Môga, who is usually placed (see Rapson, *Indian Coins*, § 29) as early as 120 B. C.

TEXTS, TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES.

A. I.

- 1 Mahachhatra(ttra)vasa rajulasa [Mahâchhatravassa Râjûlassa]
- 2 agra(ggra)maheshriayasia(o ?) [agramahêshi-Âyasiâ]
- 3 komusaa dhite [Kômûsââ dhite]
- 4 khara(rha ?)ostasa yuvarâña [Kharaôstassa yuvarâñah]
- 5 mata nadadi(si ?)akasa .. [mâtâ Namdadi(si ?)akasa ..]

A. II.

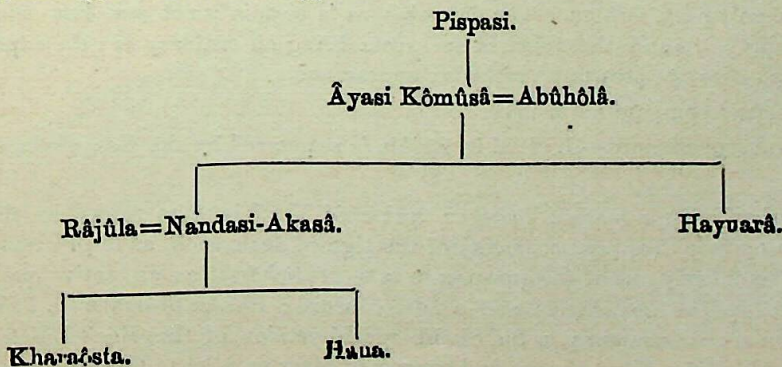
- 6 sadha mata(tra) abuholaa(e ?) [sadha mâtrâ Abûholaâ]
- 7 pitramahi pispasria bhra [pitâmahî-Pispasiâ bhrâ-]
- 8 tra hayuarana sadha hanadhitra(?) [-trâ Hayuarânâ sadha Hana-dhitrâ]
- 9 atra(te)ûrena horakapa [antêûrêna hôrakâpa-]
- 10 rivarena ise pradhraviprate [-rivârêna isâ pradhravîpratê-]
- 11 se(ère ?) nisime sarira pratîthavito [-sê nissimê sarîra[m] pratîthâvitô]
- 12 bhakravato sakamunisa budhasa [bhakravatô Śakamunissa Buddhassa]
- 13 ma(mra ?)kiṭe(hi ?)ra(?)ya saṣpae bhusaveti(?) [. . . rāya saṣpae bhûsâ-v-iti]
- 14 thuva cha sagharama cha chatu [thûva cha saṅghârâma cha chatu-]
- 15 diṣesa saghasa sarva [-ddisassa saṅghassa Sarvâ-]
- 16 stivatana parigrahe [-stivâtânâṁ parigrahê].

TRANSLATION.

By the Chief Queen of the Great Satrap Râjûla, daughter of Âyasi Kômûsâ, mother of the Heir Apparent Kharaôsta, Nandasi-Akasâ (by name), together with her mother Abûhola, her paternal grandmother Pispasi, her brother Hayuarâ (?), her daughter Hana, her household and court of hôrakûs (ladies), a relic was deposited in this piece of land in a *stûpa* with the thought : 'May it be for the eternal . . . of the Holy Śākya sage Buddha.' And the *stûpa* and the monastery are for the acceptance of the universal *Saṅgha* of the Sarvâstivâdins.

NOTES.

Genealogy.—The scheme appears to be as follows:—



Readings.—L. 1. The additional stroke in the *tra*, if not accidental, may denote a doubling. At least I learn from Prof. Rapson that a (cross) stroke is used in the Stein documents for that purpose.

L. 2, *aggra* with a cross stroke; *ma* in *mahēshi* has the original form with a subscribed angle; *shri* has the otiose *r*-stroke found elsewhere.

L. 3, *te* in *dhite* is quite clear; it must be due to an error, as the regular form of *tra* occurs several times in the inscription.

L. 4. Is the side stroke in the *r* of *kharaōstasa* accidental, or does it possibly represent *h*? See p. 138 above. It occurs in the place, though not with the shape, of aspiration in other consonants.

L. 5. No doubt *naṃdasi* should be read, on the analogy of the other names. But the lower stroke of the *akshara* is curtailed (being at the edge of the stone) in such a way as to produce the appearance of the cursive *da* in Bühler's Table, col. viii. After *sa* nothing can be clearly seen on the stone. The analogy of the other names would lead us to expect *-saā*. On the *ta* in *mātā* see p. 137 above.

L. 8. From what nominative form the instrumental *Hayuarānā* is to be derived is not obvious.

L. 9, *a[m̐]teūrēna* presents a case, rare in these inscriptions, of disappearance of a medial consonant. The only other cases are: (1) *saśpāṣ* for *śaśvatē*, l. 13 (if that is the correct reading); (2) *k* in *nākraraassa* and *māhāsaṃghāna*; and (3) *khārdaassa*. As in general the medial consonants are sharpened rather than weakened, this seems to show a mixture of dialects. On the word *hōrakā* see p. 140 above.

L. 11, *nisime*. Bühler takes this as denoting a *stūpa*, and he quotes Professor Fischel's view that it is a Prākṛit form of *niśama*, used in the sense of 'high', hence = *stūpa*. The word is certainly a substantive and the name of a manufactured object, as appears from the phrase *nisimō kārita niyātītō* in inscription J.; but in point of etymology it may perhaps be related to the *nissimamālaka* of the *Mahāvamsa*, c. xxxii: *raṇṇō sarīraṃ jhāpēsūṃ yasmin nissimamālake*.

L. 13. The last *akshara* is doubtful, and it is indeed possible to question whether any sign is intended after *vi*. Bühler's reading *bhūsati* is out of the question. We must apparently take *bhūsā* as a strange optative form.

L. 12. The sign for *tō* is, owing to misplacement of the vowel stroke, that usually in these inscriptions denoting *tra*. I do not detect a sign for *r*.

L. 6. Whether *mātā* or *mātrā* is inscribed I cannot determine.

L. 7, *tra* is clear in *pitra*, and *sri* in *Pispasri*.

L. 9. The second *akshara* resembles *tra* more than anything else; if it is really *tē* (which in any case must be meant), the sign for *ē* is added to the earlier form of *ta*.

L. 13. Bühler's reading *mukhihitāya*. The first *akshara* is certainly not *mu*, but might be *mra*, unless it is simply *ma*, and the third is far from being an ordinary *hi*; the expression *Buddhasya muktihitāya* does not present an orthodox appearance.

L. 15, *śē* seems clear; compare *iśē* in l. 10.

Grammar and interpretation.—L. 1, *ā* in *Rājūla* is supported by the *Ranjubala*, etc., of the coins.

L. 2. It is doubtful whether *mahēshi Āyasi°* or *mahēshiā:Yasi°* is to be read. In the former case we have an omission (or postponement) of the sign of declension, as in *pitāmahi*, l. 7. It would however not be entirely out of the question to take *pratiḥāvitō* as an active participle with the subject *mātā* in the nominative and a false concord: Bühler observes (p. 535) that '*pratiḥāvitō* is the neuter, as frequently in the Shāhbāzgarhī version of the Rock-Edicts.' We may quote *imaṃ kaṭavō* in Edict XI. Generally however in cases parallel to the present (e.g. in

Back of the capital.



SCALE ABOUT .22

W. GRIGGS, COLLOTYPE.

FROM GENERAL SIR ALEXANDER CUNNINGHAM'S PHOTOGRAPHS.

J. F. FLEET.

the Māpikīāla, Taxila, and Wardak inscriptions) the active construction (*pratiṣṭhāvēti*) is preferred.

B.¹

- 1 Mahachha(chchha?)travasa [mahāchhatravassa]
- 2 vajulasya putra [Rājūlasya putra]
- 3 śudāse chatrave [Śudāsē chhatravō].

TRANSLATION.

Śudāsa, son of the Great Satrap Rāūlja, being Satrap.

NOTES.

L. 1. A cross stroke, apparently intentional, on the *chha* may indicate duplication, as in the cases already noted.

L. 2, *va* (*sic*).

L. 3. As these inscriptions seem to present no other nominatives in *-e*, *Śudāsē* may best be regarded as a locative; in M. it is plainly so.

C.²

- 1 Kalui a [Kālūi a-]
- 2 varajo(jho?) [-varajō].

TRANSLATION.

Kālūi, younger brother.

D.³

Naūludo [Naūlūdō].

E.⁴

- 1 Khara(rha?)osto yuvaraya [Kharaōstō yuvarāyā]
- 2 khalamasa kumara [Khalamasa kumāra]
- 3 maja kaniṭṭha [Maja kaniṭṭha]
- 4 sa(sam?)manamota.

TRANSLATION.

Kharaōsta, Heir Apparent; Khalamasa, *kumāra*; Maja; youngest;

NOTES.

Bühler read *Jalama*^o in l. 2, but the *akshara* seems to be a *kha*. He also regarded *kumārā(t)maja* as a single word. The last line is uncertain; but I may perhaps suggest that the cross stroke in *mō* is accidental, in which case we may understand the words *samānā mātā* as indicating that the three sons named were *uterine* brothers. Bühler's reading *chha* is by no means borne out by inspection.

E'.⁵

Kamuio [Kāmūiō?].

NOTE.

Apparently a proper name, like Kālūi.

E''.⁶

kra ka(rva?)rita (yu?) [-kra kārīta?].

¹ See Plate II.

² In small letters at the place indicated in Plate III.

³ In smaller letters within E.; see Plate II.

⁴ On the right cheek of the right lion; not shown in the photographs.

⁵ See Plate III.

⁶ See Plate II.

NOTE.

The *ta*, if it is so to be read, has the earlier form.

F.¹

- 1 Buddhilasa nakraraasa [Buddhilassa Nâkraraassa]
- 2 bhikhusa sarvastivatasa [bhikkhussa Sarvâstivâtassa].

G.²

- 1 Mahachhatavasya kusulaasa padikasa meva(na)kisa [mahâchhatravasya Kusûlaassa Pâdikassa Mevakissa]
- 2 miyikasa chhatavasa puyae [Miyikassa chhatavassa pûyâê].

J. (3).³

Sarvastivatana padi[ri ?]grahe [Sarvâstivâtâna padi(ri ?)grahê].

TRANSLATION.

F.—Of the Nâgara *bhikkhu* Buddhila, a Sarvâstivâdin.

G.—For the honour of the Great Satrap, the Kusûlaka Pâdika, and the Satrap Mevaki Miyika.

J.—For the acceptance of the Sarvâstivâdins.

NOTES.

These three inscriptions, written in *aksharas* of about the same size, adjoin each other, and may form a single whole.

Readings.—G. 1.—The *va* or *na* of *mêva(na)kisa* is a single straight stroke. *Mêvaki* is however more probable than *mênaki* (*mainâki*); see above.

J. (3).—The *di* in *padigrahê* (= *pratigrahê*) is identical with that in *Pâdika*; nevertheless *parigrahê* is on the whole more probable in view of A. I. 16. The *bhikkhu* Buddhila may be, but need not be, identical with the Buddhadêva of the inscription K. He belongs to Nagara, no doubt the famous city of Nagarahâra (but see Watter's *Yuan Ohwang*, Vol. I. p. 184 ff., 201 and ref.). Concerning the remaining persons see the introductory remarks. There seems to be no ground for joining the inscription J. (3), as Bühler does, to the lines J. (1 and 2), on the opposite face (the front) of the stone.

M.⁴

- 1 Chha(chohha)trave sūdisa [chhatravê Sūdisê]
- 2 imo padhravi [imô padhravî]
- 3 pratešo [pratêšô]

I.⁵

- 1 veyā aṁ (u ?) dirna (dināṁ ?) kadhavaro busapa
- 2 ro kadha
- 3 varo
- 4 viyaa

¹ See Plate II.

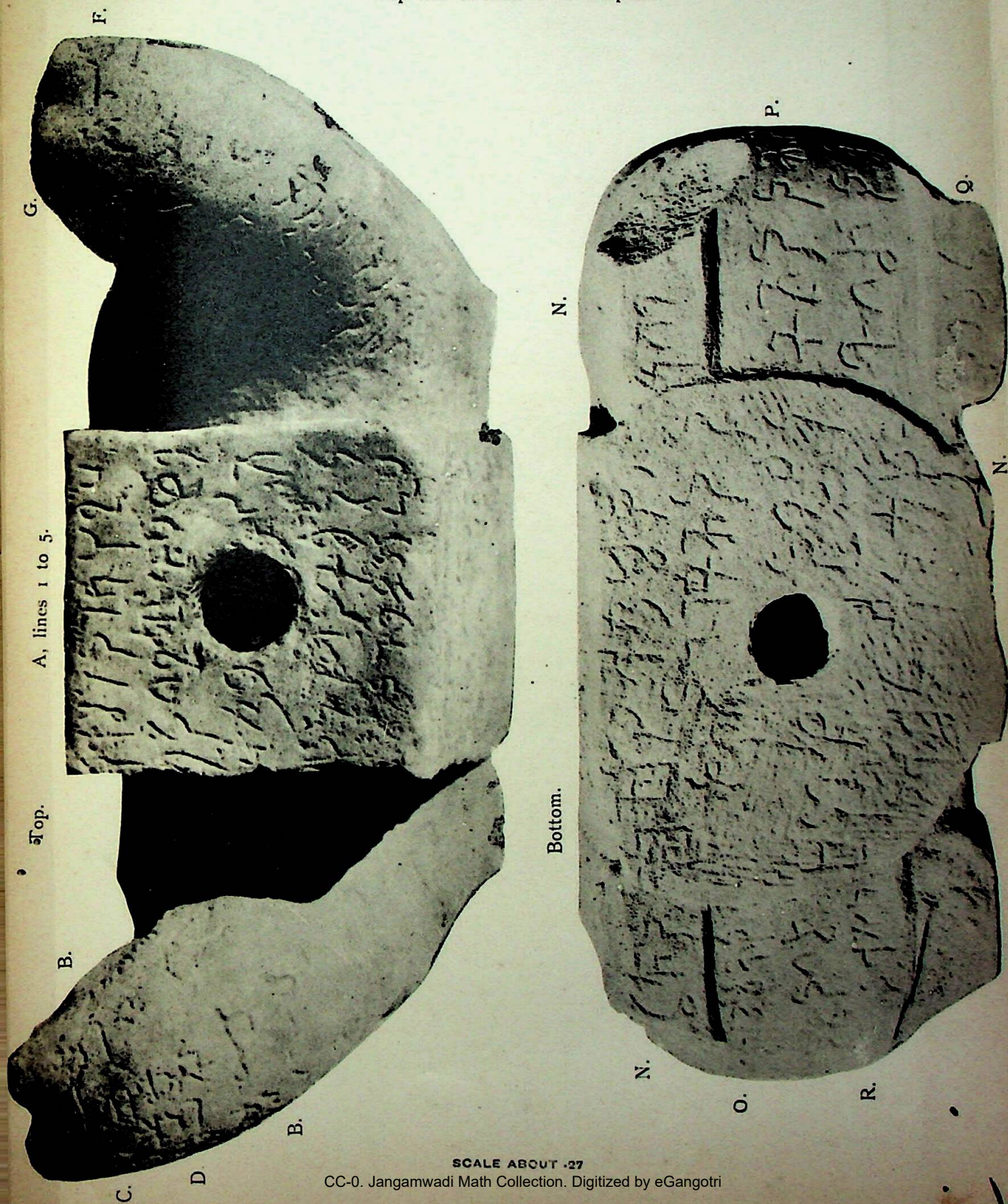
² See Plate I.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

Top and bottom of the capital.



SCALE ABOUT .27

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J. (1 and 2.)¹

- 1 *viya rva* palishte (??) na
 2 *nisimo karita niyatito* [nissîmo kârîta niyyâtîtô].

These three inscriptions present the most difficult problems of all those inscribed on the capital. They are written in *aksharas* of approximately the same size. As M. has no verb (unless we here make use of the *-krakârîta* (?) of E²), we should naturally expect it to be in connection with one of the others. It certainly seems to join the *vêya*³ of I. 1. But here we enter upon a very obscure passage. Bühler with great ingenuity has elicited the reading *vêya-udîno kadhavaro busaparo kadhavaro=vêgôdîrñô skandhâvârô busaparô skandhâvârô*, which he renders 'the army has started in haste, the army is intent on wealth.' But to this there are, apart from the inappropriateness of the sense, the following objections:—(1) *skandhâvâra* does not mean 'an army,' but 'an encampment'; (2) the meaning 'riches' attached to *busa* is attested only by Wilson's Dictionary; (3) it is doubtful whether the third *akshara* is really *u*; it is unlike the other *u*'s of these inscriptions and rather resembles *am*, while the bottom curve may even be a part of the accidental indentation in the stone (see the Plate); (4) a weakening of *g* to *y* in *vêya* is contrary to the tendencies of the languages employed in these inscriptions. On the other hand, the *ro* of l. 2 plainly follows the *pa* of l. 1, and a reading *veyaamîdinâm kadhavaro=vaijayantînâm skandhâvârô* appears but little promising. The *viya* which precedes the large *rva* in J. 1 is in small characters and no doubt an independent addition. Can it possibly be an insertion to show that the large *rva*, which apparently joins on to nothing, is an error for *vya*=*viya*? The sign which Bühler renders by *shîé* (reproduced in his *Indian Palæography*, Plate I. col. xiii.), is quite clearly inscribed; but its meaning is anything but clear. It is more like *rdi*, which seems very unlikely. With the preceding *pali* (Bühler *puli*) it composes no doubt a proper name. What came before *pali*, occupying a space sufficient for 7 or 8 *aksharas*, is quite obscure owing to the stone having peeled away. We seem to have the remains of a *sa*; but what is to be done with the large *rva* commencing the line? Even adopting the suggestion that it is an error for *vya* we have no ground for proceeding further. The words *nissîmô kârîta niyyâtîtô*, 'a *stûpa* was caused to be made and presented,' are quite satisfactory. We have already noted the older form of *ta* in *kârîta*. With these remarks I must be content so far as these inscriptions are concerned.

J'.²

- 1 *Khalaśamu-*
 2 *śo.*

The *aksharas* are perfectly clear, though Bühler read *khalaśâna śo*. We seem to have here a proper name.

K. & L.³

- 1 *Ayariasa* [Âyâriassa]
 2 *budhatevasa* [Buddhatêvassa]
 3 *utaena ayimisa* [utaêna Âyimisa].

TRANSLATION.

Through the elevation of the *âchârya* *Buddhadêva*, *Âyimisa*.

The exact meaning is not clear. We might take *Âyimisa* as a genitive with *dânam* understood. But what then was the *dâna*? The last *akshara* of *Âyimisa*, which lacks the tail of the *sa*, was read by Bühler as *ta*.

¹ See Plate I.

² On the leg of the left lion, under his tail.

³ Not shown in the Plates: incised in very clear characters on the breast of the left lion between J. and F.-G. (see Plate II): plainly a single independent record.

H.¹

Guhavihare [Guhâvihâré].

TRANSLATION.

In the cave-*vihāra*.

Bühler would translate: 'In the Guha-monastery,' and the matter cannot be considered certain, as we have a *Haṃsasaṅghārāma* near Gaya (*Archæological Survey Reports*, Vol. I. p. 18) and a (Jaina) *Mihiravihāra* mentioned in an inscription published by him in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 212.

H'.²

Dhamada(?)na(?) [dhammadānaṃ].

TRANSLATION.

Religious donation.

N.³

- 1 Ayariasa budhilasa nakraraasa bhikhu [āyāriassa Buddhilassa Nākaraassa bhikkhu-]
- 2 sa sarvastivatasa pagra [-ssa Sarvāstivātassa pāgrā-]
- 3 na mahasaghiana pra [-naṃ Māhāsāṅghīānaṃ prā-]
- 4 ma(?)ṇavitave khalulasa [-maṇāvitavē khaḷūlassa].

TRANSLATION.

To the Sarvāstivādin *ācārya* Buddhila, a *bhikkhu* of Nagara, an exercise-ground in the knowledge of the nature of proof to the vanguard of the *Māhāsāṅghikas*.

L. 1. Buddhila is, of course, the *bhikkhu* already mentioned in the inscription F. The rendering 'of Nagara' (Bühler) seems to be the most satisfactory among the meanings of *Nāgaraka*, for which see the St. Petersburg Dictionary. Concerning the place probably denoted see Watter's *Yuan Chwang*, Vol. I. pp. 184 ff., 201 and reff.

Ll. 2-3. Of the *sa* which Bühler inserts after *gra*, in order to get the word *prakāsamā* I can see no trace.

L. 4. The reading seems certain; the only difficulty is the word *khalula*. Halāyudha gives *khaḍūrikā* in the sense of 'a military exercise-ground,' and the Atharva-Vēda has *khaḍūra* with indeterminate sense. If the rendering given above does not seem quite acceptable, we may at least find in *khalula* some form from the root *khaṇḍ*, so common still in titles of controversial works. That the *Māhāsāṅghikas* were opposed to the Sarvāstivādins Bühler has already observed. I conjecture that *pramaṇāvitave*=*pramāṇyavittvē*.

O.³

- 1 Sarvabudhana puya dhamasa [sarvabuddhānaṃ pūyā dhamassa]
- 2 puya saghasa puya [pūyā saṅghassa pūyā].

TRANSLATION.

Honour to all the Buddhas, Honour to the *Dharma*, Honour to the *Saṅgha*.

F.³

- 1 Sarvasa sakrasta [sarvassa Sakrastā-]
- 2 nasa puyae [-nassa pūyāe].

¹ In small characters below the letter H. in Plate I.

² In small characters, as H., below the letter H' in Plate I.

³ See Plate III.

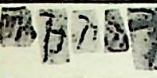
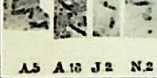
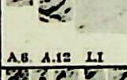
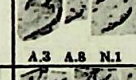
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Kb.	 E.1 J.1		 F.3 N.1	
G.				
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Chh.	 A.1 G.1	 R.1		
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Bh.	 A.13	 R.2 N.1	 A.13	
M	 A.2 E.2 A.13 G.1	 G.2	 A.5 A.12 J.1	A.11

Table of Aksharas.

	a.	i.	u.	e.	o.	ṛi
A.						
K.						
Kh.						
G.						
Gh.						
Ch.						
Chh.						
J.						
N.						
T.						
Th.						
D.						
Dh.						
N.						
P.						
R.						
Bh.						
M.						

	i.	u.	e.	o.
Y.				
R.				
L.				
V.				
S.				
S.				
H.				

Th.	
D.	
Dha? Dhra?	

Sta.	
Sti.	
Sto.	

Shri	
Sri.	
Sya.	
Rda?	
Rva.	
Rna?	
ṬiPṬiP	
Sp.	
Sp.	

Sam?

Tra? Te? Te?

W. GRIGGS

TRANSLATION.

For the honour of all Sakastāna.

The objections raised by Dr. Fleet (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1904, pp. 703-9; 1905, pp. 154-6) to this rendering of Bühler seem to me ineffective. As regards the presence of Sakas at Mathurā, see the introductory remarks, where it is also shown that the form of the word exactly represents the name of Sakastāna. Nor is there any difficulty in the expression of honour to the 'whole realm of the Sakas,' since we find in the Wardak inscription (and elsewhere, e.g. in the inscriptions of Sue Vihār, Anyor, and various Mathurā inscriptions, which have regard to the 'good and happiness of all living creatures,' *sarvasattvānām*) even more comprehensive expressions; nor again is there any difficulty in the use of *sarva* (uncompounded) with the meaning 'whole' (see the St. Petersburg Dictionary). As regards *svaka*, 'one's own,' (a common word), and the Pāli *sakaṭṭhāna*, 'one's own place (home, etc.),' it may be remarked that, while it is natural to say, as in the passages cited by Dr. Fleet, 'he went to his own home,' etc., it seems less natural to inscribe on the stone 'honour to (somebody's) own home,' etc. [This inscription has been recently discussed by M. Barth, *Comptes Rendues de l'Académie*, 1907, pp. 384 ff., with his accustomed perspicacity. I am, however, unable to admit that the name of a donor is required here any more than in the inscriptions G. and O. A *pūjā* addressed to a country is certainly unusual, but inscription G. contains a similar *pūjā* addressed to the chief representatives of the Saka dominion.]

Q.¹

- 1 Khardaasa [Khardaassa]
- 2 chhatravasa [chhatavassa].

TRANSLATION.

Of the Satrap Khardaa.

R.²

- 1 Ra(ta?)chhilasa [Ra(Ta?)chhilassa]
- 2 kroninasa [Kōṇinassa?].

TRANSLATION.

Of Rachhila (Tachhila?) Kaunḍinya (?).

Kaunḍinya is a suggestion of Bühler, who also regards *Tachhilasa* as = *Takshasilasa*.

Additional Notes.

1. A number of questions relating to, or connected with, the inscriptions on the Lion Capital—for instance the forms of the names Moga, Rājūla, and Kharaosta, and the date of Moga—have been discussed by Dr. J. F. Fleet in an article entitled 'Moga, Manes, and Vonones,' published in the *J. B. A. S.* for October 1907, pp. 1013-40.

2. P. 137, l. 9: Insert after 'pp. 526 ff.' the words '(where *sapana* is perhaps = *sappana* = *sattvānām*, see Pischel's *Grammatik der Prakṛt-sprachen* §300).'

3. P. 137, l. 38: Insert after 'detached stroke' the words 'to the left together with the same curve to the right that in *śe* denotes *e*, see below.'

4. P. 139, l. 44: Insert after the words 'defence of sovereignty' the words 'see the Iranian *Grundriss* II. p. 97.'

¹ See Plate III. and Plate I. where R. has been printed in error. The word *chhatavasa* is inverted on the stone.

² See Plate III.

No. 18.— MOUNT ABU VIMALA TEMPLE INSCRIPTION
OF [VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 1378.

By PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

In 1828 H. H. Wilson, in *As. Res.* Vol. XVI. p. 284 ff., published an account of the inscriptions on the mountain Arbuda, the modern Mount Âbû in the Sirohi State of Râjputâna, from copies presented to the Asiatic Society of Bengal by Captain Speirs, Political Agent at Sirohi. In that account Prof. Wilson gave full translations of one of the two large inscriptions at the temple of Nêminâtha, the texts of which were first published in 1883 by Mr. A. V. Kâthavate, and which have now been edited, with facsimiles, by Prof. Lüders, above, Vol. VIII. p. 200 ff.; of the Guhila inscription in the neighbourhood of the temple of Achalêśvara, edited by myself in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI. p. 347 ff.;¹ and of the Achalêśvara temple inscription of which I have treated above, p. 79 ff.² Of other inscriptions only short abstracts of the contents were given, apparently based on an account in Hindi that had been drawn up by a native scholar.

For many years afterwards little³ was done for the study of the Mount Âbû inscriptions. But in the cold season of 1900-01 Mr. Cousens, Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, while staying at Âbû, had impressions (or, in a few cases, eye-copies) prepared of all inscriptions which are now found on the mountain; and by sending them to the Government Epigraphist he for the first time has placed at our disposal trustworthy materials for a critical examination of these records. Most of these inscriptions are very short; none of them go back beyond the middle of the 11th century A.D.; and considering their great number, the *data* furnished by them for the political history of the country are disappointingly few. In other respects, some are of considerable interest and well deserve to be made more generally accessible, while a good many contain some name, or expression, or date, or perhaps only some mark or letter, which, unimportant as it may seem at first sight, may prove of use on a future occasion.

The number of the inscriptions in Mr. Cousens' collection, which has been sent to me by Prof. Hultzsch, is 298, of which 270 are ink-impressions and 28 eye-copies only. Of the total number, 148 are from the temple of Rishabhâ (Âdinâtha) which was founded by Vimala;⁴ 97 from the temple of Nêminâtha, founded by Têjahpâla;⁵ 30 from the temple of Achalêśvara, and 13 from other localities. Of the Vimala temple inscriptions 126 are dated, the earliest date being of the [Vikrama] year 1119 (about A.D. 1062), in a short inscription (No. 1780 of Mr. Cousens' List) of a minister of the Chaulukya Bhîmadêva I., and the latest (in No. 1874) of the [Vikrama] year 1785 (about A.D. 1728); between the two, the years which most

¹ A kind of facsimile of the inscription may be seen in *Bhâvnagar Inscr.* Plate xxxvi.

² Prof. Wilson also gave a translation of the inscription of the Vikrama year 1265, published by Dr. Cartellieri in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 221 ff., the original of which is now at the town of Sirohi; see *Progress Report of the Archaeol. Survey of India, W. Circle*, for 1905-1906, p. 47.

³ For inscriptions that have been edited (in addition to those translated by Prof. Wilson) see my *Northern List*, Nos. 261 and 265.

⁴ In inscriptions the temple is called *Vimala-vasahikâ*, *Vimalasya vasahikâ*, *Vimala-vasahî*, and *Vimala-vasatikâ-tîrtha*, in literary works also *Vimala-vasati*. Above, p. 81, I have already stated that the names 'Vimala Sâh' or 'Vimala Shâh,' recently written 'Vimala Sâ,' in my opinion owe their origin to a misunderstanding of the term *Vimala-vasahikâ*, 'Vimala's temple.' Similarly, *Lâniga-vasahikâ* has given rise to the name (for Têjahpâla's brother) 'Luniga Sahikâ,' in *As. Res.* Vol. XVI. p. 309.

⁵ Above, Vol. VIII. p. 200, Prof. Lüders has shown that the ordinary name of the temple is *Lânasimha* (or *Lânastha*)-*vasahikâ* or *Lânâ-vasahikâ*. In inscriptions I also find *Lâniga-vasahikâ*, *Têjapâla-vasahikâ* and *Têjala-vasahî*, and in literary works *Lâniga-vasati*.

frequently occur are the Vikrama years 1245 (22 times) and 1378 (25 times). Of the inscriptions at Têjahpâla's temple 77 are dated, and here the earliest dates are of the Vikrama year 1257 (about A.D. 1230), the very year in which the temple was founded, while the latest date (in No. 1748) is one of the [Vikrama] year 1911 (about A.D. 1854); no less than 47 inscriptions are dated between the Vikrama years 1287 and 1297, and 9 between 1346 and 1389. Of the 30 inscriptions at the temple of Achalêśvara 22 are dated. Here the earliest inscription appears to be one (No. 1950), unfortunately almost entirely effaced, of the [Vikrama] year 1186 (about A.D. 1129), and another (No. 1941) seems to contain a date in the [Vikrama] year 1191. What I consider to be certain is, that No. 1951 of Mr. Cousens' List is dated in the [Vikrama] year 1207 (about A.D. 1150), in the reign of the [Paramâra] *Mahamundalêśvara Yaśôdhavaladêva* (a feudatory of the Chaulukya Kumârapâla, an inscription of whom is dated in the same year).¹ Two other inscriptions (Nos. 1945 and 1946) are dated in the [Vikrama] years 122[5] and 122[8], the rest in 1377 and later years. Regarding the 13 remaining inscriptions, it will suffice to say that the Guhila inscription mentioned above (No. 1953 of the List) is dated in the [Vikrama] year 1342, and that the dates which occur in others are of later years.

Of the inscriptions at the temple of Nêminâtha, the two largest and most important, together with 30 shorter ones, have been edited from Mr. Cousens' materials by Prof. Lüders, above, Vol. VIII. p. 200 ff. I now give the text of an inscription of the [Vikrama] year 1378, which is at the temple of Rishabhâ, and the chief point of interest in which is the statement that that temple was founded in the Vikrama year 1088 (about A.D. 1031) by a certain Vimala, who had been appointed *danḍapati* at Arbuda by [the Chaulukya] Bhîmadêva [I.].

Before I proceed to describe the inscription, I may state that the date here given for the foundation of the temple is known to us also from other sources. In *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 248, the late Dr. Klatt gave an extract from a *Paṭṭâvali* of the Kharatara-gachchha, according to which 'the minister Vimala, who belonged to the Pôravâḍa (Prâgvâṭa) family, and who broke the parasols of thirteen Sultâns and established the town of Chandrâvatî, caused a temple of Rishabhadêva to be built on the mountain Arbuda — a temple which even now is known by the name *Vimula-vasahî*,' and which, it is added, was consecrated by Vardhamâna-sûri in the year 1088. The same story, with the same date, is more fully given in the extracts in Prof. Weber's *Catalogue of the Berlin MSS.*, Vol. II. pp. 1036 and 1037, where we are moreover told that, to obtain from the Brâhmanas the ground on which he intended to build the temple, Vimala had to cover it with gold coins, and that he expended 18 crores and 53 lacs (185,300,000) in the building of the temple. And the date also occurs in an interesting extract from Jinaprabhasûri's *Tirthakalpa*, in Prof. Peterson's *Fourth Report*, p. 92 f. There, again, the Vikrama year 1088 is given² for the foundation of the *Vimala-vasati*, and 1288 for that of the *Lûniga-vasati*,³ and it is also stated that, when the two temples had been demolished or damaged (*bhagna*) by the Mlêchchhas, they were repaired in the Śaka year 1243 (*i.e.* the Vikrama year 1378), the first by Lalla, the son of Mahanasiṃha, and the other by Pithaḍa, the son of the merchant Chandasiṃha. We shall see below that our inscription actually records the restoration, in 1378, of Vimala's temple by Lalla (Lâlîga), the son of Mahanasiṃha, and

¹ No. 129 of my *Northern List*.

² So far as I can see, there is something wrong in the verses 39 and 40, as given by Prof. Peterson, but regarding the date of the construction of the *Vimala-vasati* there can be no doubt.

³ According to the extracts, the *sûtradhâra*, who built the *Lûniga-vasati*, was Śôbhanadêva, who is mentioned in the same way (as *prâśâdakâraka-sûtradhâra*) in Mêrutuṅga's *Prabandhachintâmaṇi*, p. 259. This builder's name actually occurs in No. 1674 of Mr. Cousens' List, an inscription of the Vikrama year 1288.—Jinaprabhasûri's account of the mountain Arbuda, from which the extracts are taken, seems to be based on inscriptions and to be quite trustworthy.

Vijaḍa, the son of Dhanasimha; and the name of the person who repaired the temple of Tējapāla (the *Lūṇiga-vasati*) is given as Pēthaḍa in an inscription¹ at that temple, the full text of which is:—

L. 1 Ōm² || ³Ā-chaṇḍrārkkam namdatād=ēsha saṁghā-|⁴dhīsaḥ śrīmā-
2 n Pēthaḍaḥ saṁgha-yuktaḥ | jīrṇōddhāram Vastupāla-
3 sya chaityē |⁴ tēnē yēn=ēhāṣrbudādārau sva-sāraiḥ ||

The inscription with which we are more immediately concerned here⁵ is on a black slab, built into the side-wall of a shrine in the corridor of Vimala's temple. It contains 30 lines of writing which cover a space between 1' 7½" and 1' 8" broad by 1' 1½" high, but of which only the first 22 lines extend over the full breadth of this space; lines 23-29 are only 1' 5½" long and line 30 (which contains merely a date) only 3¾". The greater part of the writing is well preserved; but in line 16 about 10 *aksharas* and in line 17 about 4 *aksharas* are effaced, and in some places the writing is difficult to read, mainly, as it seems to me, because the letters have been formed carelessly and are so close to one another that they have not come out clearly in the ink-impression at my disposal.⁶ The size of the letters is between ¼" and ⅜". The characters are Nāgarī. The language is Sanskrit, and, with the exception of the words *ōm* || *śrī-Arbudatīrtha-prasastir=likhyatē* || at the commencement, the words *aṭha rājāvalī* || in line 9, and the date in line 30, the text is in verse, the number of verses being 42. In respect of orthography only few remarks are necessary. There are separate signs for the letters *b* and *v*, and the sign for the former has been wrongly employed also for *v* in *sarvajña-*, l. 16, and *-saṁbhabaḥ*, l. 21. The palatal sibilant is used instead of the dental in *manasvi*, l. 4, *sāmha-* (for *simha-*), l. 6, and *sahaśrē*, l. 8; and the dental instead of the palatal in *nivēsitam*, l. 8, *pēsala-*, l. 18, and *śasi-*,⁷ l. 29. Instead of the vowel *ri* we have the syllable *ri* in *Rishabha*, ll. 26 and 29; and in line 24 the author himself has written *śaḍ=arttavaḥ* instead of *śaḍ=ritavaḥ*, which would not have suited the metre.⁸ What is more interesting is, that in line 4 we find *nripaśa* for *nripasya*, and in line 21 *vadājñā* instead of *vadānyā*. The latter reminds us of the name *Nyānaśakti* (instead of *Jñānaśakti*) in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 93, l. 26, and shows that in Rājputāna as well as in the Kanarese country there could have been hardly any difference in pronunciation between *jña* and *nya*; and *nripaśa* recalls *taśa* and similar genitive cases of far more ancient inscriptions,⁹ without, of course, proving more than that the pronunciation of *ś* must have been similar to that of the conjunct *sy*. In respect of grammar I need draw attention only to the word *vidadhāna*, in line 3, the reading of which is certain, and which the author undoubtedly has used as a 3rd person singular of the Perfect of *vi-dhā* (instead of *vidadhē*), probably misled by the participle *vidadhāna* which was more familiar to him than the proper verbal form.¹⁰ Though the writer or engraver in some places has done his work carelessly, I believe that, with the exception of what has been entirely effaced

¹ No. 1743 of Mr. Cousens' List, "on pilaster near shrine doorway of the principal temple in Vastupāla's temple."

² Denoted by a symbol.

³ Metre: Śālini.

⁴ These signs of punctuation are superfluous.

⁵ No. 1790 of Mr. Cousens' List.

⁶ When my text was finished, I was able to compare impressions kindly sent to me by Mr. Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha and by the Government Epigraphist, which in one or two places where there had been some doubt confirmed the correctness of my readings.

⁷ For curiosity's sake it may be stated that the Sanskrit *śaśa*, German 'hase,' English 'hare,' seems to go back to an original *śasa*; compare Prof. Wackernagel's *Altind. Gramm.* Vol. I. p. 225.

⁸ Compare *śaḍricha* and *śaḍarcha* in the St. Petersburg Dictionary.

⁹ See Prof. Rapson in *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* 1900, p. 104 f., and Prof. Franke's *Pāli and Sanskrit*, p. 97 f., and compare the genitive cases *teraśa*, *sagaśa*, etc., in *Ep. Zeylanica*, Vol. I. p. 18 ff.

¹⁰ Proper Perfect forms which occur in the text are *babhāva*, *babhāvuh*, *chakāra*, *didēsa*, *pra-pēdē* and *kārayām=śatuh*.

and of perhaps the last words of verse 21, the original text may everywhere be restored with confidence.

The object of the inscription is, to record that in the [Vikrama] year 1378 two persons, Lalla (Lāliḡa) and Viḡaḡa, for the spiritual welfare of their parents repaired the temple of Rishabha (Ādinātha) on the mountain Arbuda. And the inscription is divided into three parts. The first part (verses 1-13) is a *praśasti* or eulogy of the sacred Arbuda; but besides glorifying that locality and some mythical or divine beings (Ambikā and Śrīmātā) residing there, it also gives a few historical details connected with it, and especially records the foundation, in the Vikrama year 1088, of the temple of Ādinātha by Vimala. The second part (vv. 14-23) contains a *riḡāvalī* of the chiefs who at the time of the restoration of the temple were in possession of the mountain. And the third part (vv. 24-38) gives an account of the family of the men by whom the temple was repaired. The concluding verses (39-42) record the name and spiritual lineage of the priest or teacher who consecrated the restored building, and the exact date when he did so.

To omit what is of no historical interest, the first part begins with the well-known story how on the mountain Arbuda there sprang from the fire-pit (*anala-kunḡa*, *agni-kunḡa*) of the sage Vasishṡha the hero Paramāra. In his lineage appeared the hero Kānhaḡadēva; and in his family there was a chief named Dhandhu (Dhandhurāja), who was lord of the town of Chandrāvati and who, averse from rendering homage to the [Chaulukya] king Bhīmadēva [I.] and to escape that king's anger, took refuge with king Bhōja, the lord of Dhārā. The author then, rather abruptly, tells us that in the Prāgvāṡa family there was a distinguished personage named Vimala in whom religion, immersed in darkness through the wickedness of the times, suddenly shone forth again in its splendour. He was appointed by king Bhīma *daṡḡapati* (commander of the forces or governor) at Arbuda, and there one night was enjoined by the divine Ambikā to build on the mountain a beautiful dwelling for the Yugāḡibhartṡi (Yugāḡijina, Ādinātha). That Vimala obeyed the request the author intimates in the verse: "I adore the holy Ādinātha who was placed on the top of Arbuda by the glorious Vimala, when one thousand and eighty-eight years had passed since (the time of) the glorious king Vikramāditya."

The chief Dhandhu or Dhandhurāja, spoken of in the preceding paragraph, apparently is the Pramāra (or Paramāra) Dhandhuka mentioned above, p. 11, whose son Pūrṡapāla ruled the Arbuda territory in the Vikrama years 1099 and 1102.¹ He would of course have been a contemporary of both the Chaulukya Bhīmadēva I. and the Paramāra Bhōjadēva of Mālava.—Vimala's name occurs in another inscription at his own temple, dated in the Vikrama year 1201. That inscription,² No. 1767 of Mr. Cousens' List, contains 10 lines of writing which covers a space about 2' 6" long by 5½" high, and contains 17 verses. In the ink-impression the first two lines of it cannot be read with any confidence, but so far as I can see, a man is spoken of in them who belonged to the Śrīmāla *kula* and was an ornament of the Prāgvāṡa *vaṡśa*. His son was Lahadha, who was somehow connected with the king Mūla (*i.e.* the Chaulukya Mūlarāja I.) and was also known by the name Vira-mahattama. Lahadha had two sons. The first of them was the minister Nēḡha, and the second Vimala, who in verse 7 is described thus:—

Dvitiyakō=dvaitamatāvalamvi(bi) daṡḡādhipaḡ śrī-Vimalō va(ba)bhūva |
yēn=ēdam=uchchair=bhavasindhusētukalpaḡ vinirmāpitam=atra vēśma ||

¹ The name Dhandhuka also occurs in the genealogy of the Paramāras of Chandrāvati, above, Vol. VIII, p. 201.

² According to Mr. Cousens the inscription is over the doorway of cell No. 10 in the corridor of Vimala's temple. It is referred to in *As. Res.* Vol. XVI. p. 311, in the words: "One inscription bears date S. 1201, but as nothing else is decipherable, it is of no further value."

Nēḍha's son was Lālīga ; his son was the minister Mahiduka ;¹ and he again had two sons, Hēma and Daśaratha. And the object of the inscription is, to record that Daśaratha at the temple of Rishabhā set up an image of Nēmiḥinēśa (Nēmitīrthakara, *i.e.* Nēminātha), which was installed on Friday, the first *tithi* of Jyēshṭhā of the Vikrama year 1201, corresponding to Friday, the 5th May A.D. 1144. I may add that the genealogy here given is for the greater part corroborated by another inscription at Vimala's temple, No. 1768 of Mr. Cousens' List,² the full text of which is :—

- L. 1 ³Śrī-Śrīmālakulōdbhava-⁴ Vīramahāmāntri-putra-[sa]nmantri- | śrī-
 2 Nēḍha-putra-Lālīga-tatsuta-Mahiduka-⁵sutēn=ēdaṁ || Nijapu-
 3 trakalatra-samanvitēna |⁴ sanmantri-Daśarathēn=ēdaṁ | śrī-Nēmi-
 4 nātha-[b]hīmvaṁ⁶ |⁴ mōkshārtham kārītam ramyaṁ ||

For us the main point of interest is the date which the first of the two inscriptions furnishes for Daśaratha ; for that date, being of the Vikrama year 1201, shows that Vimala, the younger brother of Daśaratha's great-grandfather Nēḍha, may well have lived in the Vikrama year 1088, the traditional date for the foundation of his temple.

The contents of the second part of our inscription (verses 14-23) I have already given above, p. 81 f. This *rājāvalī* in verse 14 commences with Āsarāja, who belonged to the Chāhuvāma (Chāhuvāṇa, Chāhamāna) family and was king of the town of Nadūla (Naddūla). After him came Samarasimha ; and his son was Mahānāsīmhabhāṭa (v. 15). Then came Pratāpamalla ; and to him was born Vijāḍa, the lord of the Marusthali *maṇḍala* (v. 16). He had three sons, the first of whom was the king Lūṇiga (v. 17). Verse 18 then eulogizes Luṇḍha 'who like a god of death devoured the host of adversaries ;' and verse 19 Lumbha, of whom verse 20 records that he conquered the mountain Arbuda, and that, after having ruled the earth, he became the lord of heaven (*i.e.* died). Verse 21 then eulogizes Tējasimha, the son of Lūṇiga ; verse 22 wishes long life to Tihūṇāka ; and the mutilated verse 23 appears to say that Lumbhaka together with Tējasimha and Tihūṇa (*śrīmal-Lumbhaka-nāma samanvitas=Tējasimha-Tihūṇābhyaṁ*) in right manner carried on the government of the mountain Arbuda.

Regarding the first part of this *rājāvalī*, as far as Vijāḍa, there can be no doubt, and I have nothing to add to what I have previously said about it. A difficulty arises concerning the sons of Vijāḍa. According to the inscription of Luṇṭigadēva, above, p. 80, Vijāḍa, who is also called Daśasyandana (Daśaratha), had four sons — Lāvanyakarna, Luṇḍha (Luṇṭiga), Lakshmana, and Lūṇavarman, of whom Lāvanyakarna is distinctly called the eldest (*jyēshṭha*). According to the present inscription Vijāḍa had three sons the first (*ādya*) of whom was Lūṇiga. After Lūṇiga the inscription mentions Luṇḍha and Lumbha, without saying that they were his younger brothers or in any way specifying their relationship. In my account of Luṇṭigadēva's inscription I have identified Lūṇiga with Lāvanyakarna, and have taken Luṇḍha and Lumbha to be the names of his brothers, identifying Luṇḍha with Luṇḍha (Luṇṭiga) and Lumbha with Lūṇavarman. Other inscriptions are sure to be discovered which will show whether I am right or wrong. In the meantime I feel bound to state that my friend Mr. Ojha, than whom nobody is better acquainted with the history of his country, takes the three names Lūṇiga, Luṇḍha and Lumbha (Lumbhaka) to denote one and the same person, and to be all Sanskritized forms of Lumbhā, denoting a chief 'commonly called राव लुम्हा,

¹ The metre shows that the name is correct here.

² The inscription is on the seat of an image in cell No. 10 in the corridor.

³ Metre of the two verses : Āryā.

⁴ These signs of punctuation are superfluous.

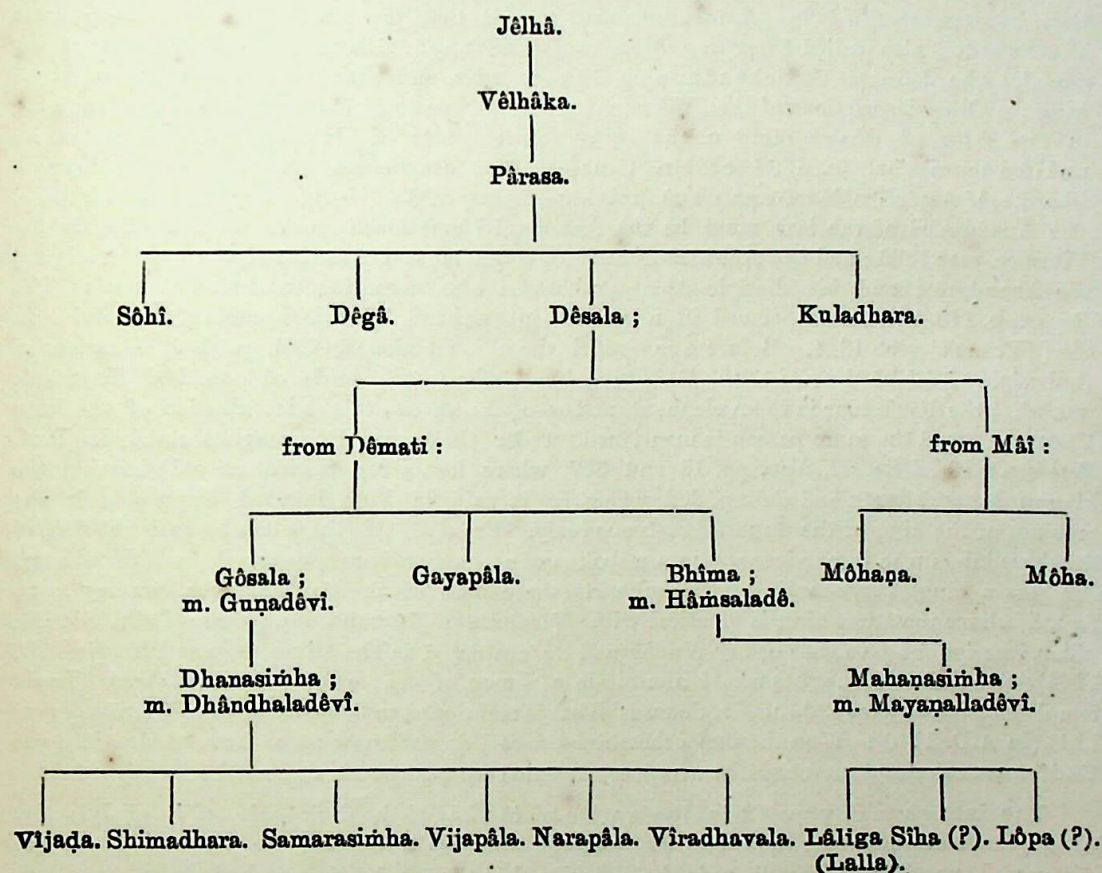
⁵ The metre requires us to read *Mahiduka*.

⁶ Read *-bimbaṁ*.

the famous conqueror of Âbû.' If my learned friend should be right, the last lines of the genealogical Table published above, p. 83, would of course have to be slightly altered. Mr. Ojha agrees with me in considering Tihunâka (Tihuna) to be a younger brother of Têjasimha, but from his point of view places both, together with Têjasimha's son Kânhaçadêva, under Lunçiga (Lunçha, Lûçiga, Lumbha). At the time when our inscription was composed, in the Vikrama year 1378, Lumbha was dead, and the government of Âbû must have been actually carried on by Têjasimha.

The account, which forms the third part of our inscription (verses 24-38), of the family of the two men (Lalla and Viçad) who restored the temple, contains little more than a list of names which may be seen from the following Table:—

Genealogical Table.



The individuals mentioned in this Table were devotedly attached to the Jaina faith. Jêlhâ, the founder of the family, was a merchant, and his *guru* was Dharmasûri.¹ His place of residence was given in the inscription, but the name has been effaced. Of Dêsala it is said that he made fourteen processions to the seven sacred places,² Satrumjaya and the rest. The other members of the family are eulogized in general terms.

¹ See below, p. 154.

² The seven *tîrthas* or *kshêtras* are frequently mentioned, but I have not yet found the names of the seven places.

There are at Vimala's temple several short inscriptions of members of this family, likewise dated in the [Vikrama] year 1378. And there is a longer inscription¹ of the same family, No. 1791 of Mr. Cousens' List, which is dated, in words and figures, in the Vikrama year 1309. This inscription contains 25 lines of writing with 15 verses, and records the installation, by Ānandasūri, of an image of Nēmiṇa (Nēminātha) at Vimala's *vasahikā*. We learn from it that the family belonged to the Ūkê[śa] *vaṃśa*,² and that its founder, Jêlhāka, as he is there called, was an inhabitant of Māṇḍavyapura (Mandor). After Kuladhara it mentions five sons of his, but as the text is partly effaced, I am not at present prepared to give their names from the ink-impression at my disposal.

The remaining verses (39-42) of our inscription record that Rishabha was installed (or rather re-installed) on the mountain Arbuda by the *guru* or *sūri* Jñānachandra, on a date in the [Vikrama] year 1378. Regarding the spiritual lineage of Jñānachandra, we learn that he was preceded by Amaraprabhasūri, and that the founder of the lineage was Dharmasūri, also called Dharmaghōsha-gaṇāryaman, i.e. Dharmaghōsha, 'the sun of the gaṇa,' 'who defeated Vādichandra and Guṇachandra, and caused the awakening of three kings.' Other inscriptions of the [Vikrama] year 1378 speak of Jñānachandra either as being in the *paṭṭa* of Dharmasūri³ or as being in the *paṭṭa* of Dharmaghōshasūri;⁴ and an undated inscription, No. 1796 of Mr. Cousens' List, commences with the words: *Śrīmad-Dharmaghōshasūri-paṭṭe śrī-Āna(na)ndasūri-śrī-Amaraprabhasūri-paṭṭe śrī-Jñānachandra-sūri*. The Ānandasūri of the last must be the Ānandasūri mentioned above with a date in the Vikrama year 1309; and the Ānandasūri and Amaraprabhasūri of the inscription apparently are the Ānandasūri and his disciple Amaraprabhasūri who, according to Prof. Peterson's *Fifth Report*, p. 110, l. 1, are mentioned in a manuscript written by Amaraprabhasūri's advice in the [Vikrama] year 1344. Before Ānandasūri there is mentioned, *ibid.* p. 109, Dharmasūri (a disciple of Śīlabhadrasūri of the Rāja-gachchha), who to the pride of conceited disputants was what the lion's roar is to an elephant, and who put an end to the intoxication of the king Vighraha. And the same person is mentioned, under the name Dharmaghōshasūri, in Prof. Peterson's *Third Report*, App. pp. 15 and 307, where he is represented as enlightening the king of Śākambhari; and *ibid.* p. 262, where he is said to have defeated disputants in the presence of the king of the Sapādalaksha country. From all this there can be no doubt that, of the three kings who in our inscription are spoken of as having been awakened by Dharmasūri, one was a king Vighraharāja of Śākambhari (the capital of the Sapādalaksha country). In fact, I believe that that king is identical with Visaladēva-Vighraharāja, whose Delhi Siwālik pillar inscriptions (No. 144 of my *Northern List*) are dated in the Vikrama year 1220 (in A.D. 1164), and that Dharmaghōshasūri himself is a person of that name who in a short Vimala temple inscription (No. 1906 of Mr. Cousens' List) is mentioned with a date in the [Vikrama] year 1226 (in A.D. 1170). Who the two other kings were I do not know; nor have I identified yet Vādichandra⁵ and Guṇachandra who were defeated by Dharmasūri.

The date given in verse 42 is Monday, the ninth *tithi* of the dark half (*śitī*) of Jyēshṭha in the year made up of the *vasus* (8), the *munis* (7), the *guṇas* (3) and the moon (1), i.e. the [Vikrama] year 1378. Here there is the difficulty that the word *śitī*, which I have translated by 'the dark half,' might equally well denote 'the bright half'; and at first sight the latter interpretation might really seem to be preferable, because in line 30 of our text the date is repeated

¹ This is the inscription referred to in *As. Res.* Vol. XVI. p. 311, in the words: "Another (*viz.* inscription), in like manner, shows a date S. 1309, but nothing else."

² I.e. the Ōsavāla tribe; compare *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 40.

³ Nos. 1759, 1822 and 1852 of Mr. Cousens' List.

⁴ Nos. 1756, 1758A, 1764 and 1793 of Mr. Cousens' List.

⁵ There is a Vādichandra who composed the *Jñānasūryōdaya*; I do not know whether he is the man mentioned in our inscription.

in the words 1379 *Jyēshṭha-sudi 9 Sōmē*. But against this it has to be said that in four independent inscriptions (Nos. 1771, 1821, 1829 and 1904 of Mr. Cousens' List) we have *saṁvat* (or *saṁ*) 1378 *varshē Jyēshṭha-vadi 9 Sōma-dinē* (or *Sōmē*), which evidently is the same date as the one given in our inscription. And besides, for the bright half of *Jyāishṭha* the date would be quite incorrect for 1378 (as a *Chaitrādi* current or expired, or *Kārttikādi* expired year), whereas for the dark half of the *pūrnimānta* *Jyāishṭha* of the expired *Kārttikādi* Vikrama year 1378 it regularly corresponds to Monday, the 10th May A.D. 1322. For these reasons I regard my translation of the date to be correct and take Monday, the 10th May A.D. 1322 to be its proper equivalent; and I consider the way in which the date has been repeated in line 30 (where '1379' under any circumstances would be suspicious) to be due to a mistake.

TEXT.¹

- 1 || Om² || ³Srī-Arbudatīrtha-prasastir-likhyatē || ⁴Amgikrit-āchalapadō vṛishabhāsītō=si || ⁵bhūtīr-gaṇādhipatisēvita-pādapadmaḥ | śāmbhur-yugādipurushō jagad-ēkanāthaḥ pṇyāya pallavayatu⁶ prati-vāsaraṁ sa[h]⁷ || 1
- 2 ⁸Nibaddha-mūlaiḥ phalibhiḥ sapatrai⁹ drumair-narēndrair-iva sēvyamānaḥ | pādāgrajāgrad-bahuvāhinikaḥ śrī-Arbudō namdatu śāila-rājaḥ || 2 Yasmin ¹⁰Vīśiṣṭānalakumḍa-janmā kṣatikṣhati-trāpapaṛaḥ pur-āsīt | pratyashi-¹¹
- 3 rthisārthōnmathanā-kṛitāthi || ¹²kṣhitāv-iha śrī-Paramāra-nāmā || 3 ¹³Tad-anvayē Kānhaḍadēva-vīraḥ pur-āvīr-āsīva¹⁴ prabala-pratāpaḥ | chiram nivāsaṁ vidadhāna¹⁵ yasya karāmbujē sarvajagaj-jayaśrīḥ || 4 ¹⁶Tatkulakamala-
- 4 marālaḥ kāla[h*] pratyarthi-maṇḍalikānā[m*] | Chāmdrāvātipur-iśaḥ samajani vir-āgrāṇi[r*]=Dha[m*]dhuḥ || 5 ¹⁷Srī-Bhīmadēvasya nṛipaśa(sya) sēvām=amānya[m]ānaḥ kila Dhāmdhurājaḥ | narēsa-rōshāch=cha tatō manasvī(svi) Dhārādhipam

¹ From an impression supplied by Mr. Cousens, No. 1790 of his List.

² Denoted by a symbol.

³ Here, as often elsewhere, the vowel of *srī* is left unchanged before the initial vowel of a proper name.

⁴ Metre: Vasantatilakā.

⁵ This sign of punctuation, which is superfluous, may have been struck out in the original.

⁶ Originally °*yaṁtu* was engraved.

⁷ Originally *śa* was engraved, but it seems to have been changed to *saḥ*.—So far as I can see, the verse does not admit of a proper construction. In the three first Pādas the author addresses the Jaina Tīrthāṅkara Rishabha, in terms which would be equally applicable to the god Śiva; and, as the text stands, he then in the fourth Pāda speaks of him in the third person, in words which would literally mean 'may he day by day put forth sprouts for (our) religious merit.' Instead of *pallavayatu* I should have expected *pallavaya*, followed by an accusative case and generally words to some such effect as 'cause our devotion to thee to sprout for our religious merit!' (Compare *Śatruñjaya-māhātmya* XIV. 33: *tādṛiśānām hi sabbhakti-vally-ēvaṁ pallavaty-apī*). In the first Pāda I take *vṛishabhāsītō=si* to be equivalent to both *Vṛishabha, āsītō=si* and *vṛishabhāsītō=si*, so that the Pāda would mean both 'O Vṛishabha (Rishabha)! having chosen this mountain for your residence, you are seated (here),' and 'you (O Śiva!), who have taken the name Achala, are seated on a bull.' I am aware that Rishabha has a bull for his cognizance, and that in representations of him this animal is figured beneath him; but I am not sure that he could be described as 'seated on a bull.'—In the second Pāda *gaṇādhipati* denotes both Puṇḍarika, the leader of Rishabha's *gaṇa*, and Gaṇēśa.

⁸ Metre of verses 2 and 3: Upajāti.

⁹ Read *sapattrair*.—The word *phala* means both 'fruit' and 'the blade (of a sword),' etc.; *pattra* 'leaves' and 'vehicles,' etc.; and *vāhini* 'rivers' and 'armies'.

¹⁰ Read *Vasishṭhā*; the same wrong reading we have below, in line 9.—With *anala-kunḍa* compare *agni-kunḍa* in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 234, v. 5.

¹¹ The *akṣhara śhi* is a mistake for *rīhi*, and should be struck out because *rīhi* has been repeated at the commencement of line 3.

¹² Read -*kṛitārthi*.

¹³ Metre: Upēndravajrā.

¹⁴ Read -*astī*.

¹⁵ Wrong for *vidadhē*, which would not have suited the metre.

¹⁶ Metre: Āryā.

¹⁷ Metre: Upajāti.

- 5 * Bhôjanripam prapêdê || 6 ¹Prâgvâṣṭavamś-âbharanam babbhûva ratnam
pradhânam Thi(vi)mal-âbhidhânaḥ | yas=têṣasâ ²dusamay-âdhakâra-magnô=pi
dharmaḥ sahas=âvir-âsita³ || 7 ⁴Tava(ta)ś=cha Bhimēna narâdhipēna sa
pratâpa-bhûrmi(mi)r=Vima-
- 6 16 mahâmatih | kva(kri)tô=[r*]budê damḍapatih satâm priyaḥ priyamvadô
namdatu Jaina-sâsanê || 8 Asôkapat[t*]rârûṇa-pâpipallavâ samullasatkêsara-
sâm(sim)ha-vâhanâ [i*] śisudvayâlamkṛita-vigrahâ satî⁵ satâm kri-
- 7 yâd=vighna-vinâśam=Âmbikâ || 9 Ath=ânyadâ tam niśi damḍanâyakam samâdidêsa
prayatâ kil=Âmbikâ [i*] ih=âchi(cha)lê tvaṁ kuru sadma sumdaram
Yugâdibharttur=nirapâya-samśrayaḥ || 10 ⁶Śrî-Vikramâdityanripâd=vya-
- 8 titê ṣṣṭâśīti-yâtê śaradâm sahasrê(srê) | śrî-Âdi[nâ]tha[m]⁷ śikharê=rbudasya
nivêsi(si)tam śrî-[V]imalēna vamdê || 11 ⁸Vighnâdhivyâdhi-hamtrî yâ mât=ēva
pranat-âmgishu | Śrîpumjarâja-tanayâ Śrîmâtâ bhavatâm⁹ śrî-
- 9 yê || 12 ¹⁰Achalêsa ¹¹Viśiṣṭânalataṭini-Mamḍâkinîvimalasalila- | punyâni yasya
śrî[m]nê¹² jayamvi(ti) vividhâni tirthâni || 13 Atha râjâvali || ¹³Vairivargga-
dalanê gata-tamdraś=Châhuvâmakulakairava-chamdraḥ¹⁴ | yô Nadûla-na-
- 10 garasya narêsa Âsarâja iti viravarô ṣbhit || 14 ¹⁵Prabalavairidavânala-
vâridaḥ Samarasi[m*]ha iti prathitas=tataḥ | Mahanâsimhabhataḥ subhaṭ-
âgrâṇih prithu-yasâ ajanisṭha tad-amgajah || 15 ¹⁶Pratâpamallas-tad-anu pratâ-
- 11 pi babbhûva bhûpâla-sadassu mânyaḥ [i*] vir-âvatamsô=jani¹⁷ Vijadô=śya
Marusthalimamḍala-bhûmibharttâ || 16 Âsan¹⁸ trayas=tat-tanayâ nay-âdhyâ
mûrttâḥ pum-arthâ iva bhâgabho(bhâ)jah | âdyô dharitripati-rakshapâlah
khyâtah kshitô(tau) Lûpiga-
- 12 nâmadhêyah || 17 ¹⁹Nyâyamârgga-śikharî madhumâsaḥ²⁰ kâlavaksha(t=ka)valayann=
ari-vrajam | mamḍalika-paha(da)vîm=apâlahâ(ya)l=Lumḍha ity=abhidhaya
dhiyam midhiḥ || 18 ²¹Vipakshanârî-nayanâmbupûrais=chakâra yah kîrtti-

¹ Metre: Indravajrâ.

² Read -*astî*.

³ Read *dussamay* (or *duṣṣamay*)-*âmdhakâra*.

⁴ Metre of verses 8-10: Vamśastha.

⁵ Here a sign of punctuation was originally engraved.—Ambikâ is similarly described in the inscription of the Vikrama year 1201, mentioned above, p. 151 f., in a verse the correct reading of which I take to be: *Vikâṭa-kutîladamśtrâ-bhṭṣhaṇḍasyam tathâ cha dhutatabalasaḍdî-bhâsuram tuṅgam=uchchhaiḥ | vahati sutam=udâram y=ânka-samśtham sad=aiva mrigapatim=adhirûdhâ s=Âmbikâ vâ=stu tushtyai* || Compare the representation of Kushmâṇḍinî in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXII. p. 463, Plate iv.

⁶ Metre: Upajâti.

⁷ It is difficult to say whether we should read *Âdinâtham* or *Âdidevam*. The *akshara* which follows upon *Âdi* originally was *dê*, but seems to have been altered; and the next *akshara* looks more like *tha* than *va*, but it might be said that *th* has been wrongly engraved instead of *v* also in *Thimala* for *Vimala*, in line 5. On the whole I think that the reading *Âdinâtham* is preferable.

⁸ Metre: Ślôka (Anushtubh).

⁹ The sign for *d* in this word is clearly struck out in the original, and it seems probable that the engraver intended to alter *bhavatâm* to *bhavatu*.—In the above I have purposely given *Śrîmâtâ*, not *śrî-Mâtâ*, because in other inscriptions *śrî* appears clearly to be part of the name, not an honorific prefix. I may mention that in No. 1774 of Mr. Cousens' List we have *Śrîmâtâdêvî* as one word, not *Śrîmâtîdêvî*, and that in the account given of this mythical being and her father in Mârutuṅga's *Prabandhachintâmani*, p. 282 ff., the base of the word is both *Śrîmâtâ* and *Śrîmâtî*. In the same account the father's name is *Śrîpûṇja*.

¹⁰ Metre: Âryâ.

¹¹ Read *Vasiṣṭhâ*; compare above, line 2.

¹² Read *śringê*.—Since at the commencement of the verse the mountain is addressed in the vocative case, one would have expected *tava śringê*, but this would not have suited the metre.

¹³ Metre: Svâgatâ.

¹⁴ *Châhuvâma*—probably is a mistake for either *Châhuvâna* or *Châhuvâna*.

¹⁵ Metre: Drutavilambita.

¹⁶ Metre: Upajâti.

¹⁷ After the *ô* of *tamsô* another vertical stroke was originally engraved, but has been struck out.

¹⁸ Metre: Indravajrâ.—Read *Âsams-trayas*.

¹⁹ Metre: Rathôddhatâ.

²⁰ Read, probably, *madhusravaḥ*.

²¹ Metre: Upajâti.

- 13 latām sapat[t*]rām | babhūva bhūmīpati-labdhāmānō Lumbh-ābhidhānō jagād-
 ēkavirah || 19 ¹Samhṛitya śatrūn prabalanu² balēna śrī-A[r]budam prāpya
 nagādhirājam | ³[bh]uktva sa [bh]ūma[m*]dana-rā[jyam=uchchahi] | ⁴svarlō-
 14 ka-lōkādhīpatir=babhūva || 20 ⁵Lūnigasya tanujō jaga[j-ja]yī Tējasīmha iti
 tāsām nidhiḥ | yat-pratāpadavapāvakaś-chiram vairivargga-vipadam
 nahatisma⁶ || 21 ⁷Karāgra[jā]gra[t-*]karavā-
 15 ladamda-khamdīkṛit-āsēshavirōdhivarggaḥ | prithyām⁸ prasiddhas=Tihunāka-nāmā
 vīr-āvataṁsaḥ sa chirāyur=astu || 21 (22) ⁹Śrimal-Lumbhaka-nāmā sama[nv]itas=
 Tējasīmha-Tigu(hu)nābhyaṁ | A[r*]buda[g]irīśa-
 16 rājyaṁ nyāyāni[dhi ?]¹⁰ [|| 23*] ¹¹urapura-vāsi
 suguru-śrī-Dharmmasūri-padabhaktah [r*] Sarvajñanāsēna-rataḥ¹² sa jayati
 Jēh-ābhidhah śrēṣṭhī(śhṭhi) || 24 Tat-tanayaḥ su-nayō=bhūt¹³ Vē-
 17 [lā]kha sakala-bhūta¹⁴ [I] tat-putrah su-charitra[h] puṇya-nidhiḥ
 Pārasaḥ sādhuḥ || 25 Sōhi-Dēgā-Dēsala-Kuladhara-nāmnā tad-aṁgajā jātāḥ |
 chatvārah kulamāndira-sudṛiḥastambh-ābhīrāmā [yē ||]
 18 26 ¹⁵Śrī-Dēsalaḥ sukṛi[tapēsa]la-vittakō[tis=¹⁶chamcha]chchaturdaśajagaj-janitā-
 vad[āta]h¹⁷ | Śatruṁjayapramukha-vīrutasaptatī[rtha]-¹⁸yātrās=cha[tu]rdaśa chakāra
 mahāmāhēna || 27 ¹⁹Dē[ma]ti-Māi-
 19 nāmūi sādhu-śrī-Dēsalaḥ bhāryē dvē | nirmalaśilagu-ā[dhy]ē dayā-ksha[mē]
 Jaina-dharmasya || 28 Dēmatikukshi-prabhavā Gōsa[la]-Gayapāla-Bhī[ma]-
 nāmānaḥ | Māi-kukshēr=jātau Mōha-
 20 ṇa-Mōh-ābhidhau putrau || 29 Jinaśāsanakamala-raviḥ sādhuḥ śrī-Gōsalō=
 vi[dat]²⁰ kīrtim | guṇaratnarōhaṇadharā²¹ Guṇadēvī priyatamā tasya || 30
²²Saddharmmakarm-aikaniba-
 21 ddhabuddhis=²³tad-aṁgajāḥ śrī-Dhanasīmha-sādhuḥ | bhāryā tadyā sadayā
 vadājñā(nyā) mānyā satām Dhāmdhaladēvi-samjñā || 31 ²⁴Sādhō[r*]=Bhīmasya
 sūtō Hāmsaladēkukshi-sambhava(va)ḥ śrīmān | ma-²⁵
 22 himā-nidhir=mahaujā mahāmātir=Mahanasīmha-ākhyā[h] || 32 ²⁶Mayaṇalladēvi-
 varakukshisukti-muktās=trayas=tat-tanayā jayānti | jēshṭhō²⁷ jagadvyāpi-
 yaśahprakāśaḥ sādhu-agraṇi[r*]=Lāliga-

¹ Metre: Indravajrā.² Read *prabalan*.³ Up to the end of the line the *aksharas* in brackets are more or less conjectural; they are carelessly written in the original. For *bhūmamādana* read *bhūmamāndala*.⁴ This sign of punctuation is superfluous.⁵ Metre: Rathōddhatā.⁶ The four *aksharas* *nahatisma* are quite clear in the original, but offend against the metre and yield no proper meaning. The only alteration which I could suggest would be *dahatv=iha*.⁷ Metre: Upajāti.⁸ Read *prithvyām*.⁹ Metre of verses 23-26: Āryā.¹⁰ Here about 10 *aksharas* are effaced.¹¹ In No. 1791 of Mr. Cousens' List (see above, p. 154) Jēhāka is described as an inhabitant of Māṇḍavyapura.¹² Read *Sarvajñanāsana-rataḥ*.¹³ Read *=bhūt*.¹⁴ Here about 4 *aksharas* are effaced.¹⁵ Metre: Vasantatilakā.¹⁶ Read *pēsala-vittakōtīś*.¹⁷ Read, perhaps, *dānaḥ*.¹⁸ Originally *°līrīhō*, with a sign of punctuation after it, was engraved.¹⁹ Metre of verses 28-30: Āryā.²⁰ The reading is conjectural. The original has *vi [i ?] dē kīrtim*.²¹ Compare *guṇaratnarōhaṇagiri* in my *Report on the search for Sanskrit MSS.*, Bombay, 1881, p. 43, line 1.²² Metre: Upajāti.²³ After the *akshara* *ddhi* a sign of punctuation was originally engraved, but has been struck out.²⁴ Metre: Āryā.²⁵ Here originally *mē* was engraved, but the sign for *ē* seems to have been struck out; the two *aksharas* *himā* at the commencement of the next line are quite clear. The author has used the feminine *māhimā* instead of the masculine *māhiman*.²⁶ Metre: Indravajrā.—The two *aksharas* *maya* at the commencement of the verse were apparently read as one syllable (*mai*).²⁷ Read *jyēshṭhō*.

- 23 sādthurājah || 33 ¹Āśvinēyā[v]=iva śrēshṭh[au] kanishṭhan guṇa-sālinau [¹]
Siha-Lōp-ābhidhan² dharmadhyāna-pravaṇamānasau || 34 Shaṭ sutā
Dhanasimhasya mūrttā
- 24 iva shaḍ=artavaḥ³ | viśvaviśv-ōpakārāy=āvatirṇā[h] pritha(thi)vi-talē || 35
⁴Tēshām=ādyah sādhu[r*]=Vijaḍa iti vimalama(ta)ra-yaśahprasarah | guṇa-
sāgarah Shimadharah sajjā(jja)na-
- 25 mānyah Samarasi[m]hah || 36 ⁵Rājasamāja-śrēshṭhō vikhyātō(tah) sādhu-
Vijapālāh [¹] nipuṇa-matir-Narapālāh sukṛita-ratō Viradhaval-ākhyah | (||)
37 ⁶Svapitri-śrēyasē
- 26 jirṇōddhāram⁷ Rishabha-maṇdirē | kārayām-āsatur=Llalla-Vijaḍau sādhu-
sattamō(mau) (||) 38 ⁸Vādichandra-Guṇachandra-vijētā bhūpatitraya-vibōdha-
vidhātā | Dharmmasūri-
- 27 r=iti nāma pur=āsita⁹ viśvaviśva-viditō muni-rāja[h*] | (||) 39 ¹⁰Mūlapaṭṭa-
kramē tasya Dharmaghōsha-gaṇāryamā¹¹ [¹] babbūvuh sama-sampūrṇāh¹²
Amaraprabhasūrayah || 40
- 28 ¹³Tatpaṭṭa-bhūṣaṇam=adūṣaṇadharmaśīla-¹⁴sidya(ddhām)tasimdhupariśīlana-Vishṇulīlāh
| śrī-Jñānachandra iti nāmadatu sūri-rājah puṇyōpadēśavidhi-bōdhitasa-
- 29 tsamājah | (||) 41 ¹⁵Vasu-muni-tu(gu)ṇa-śasi(śi)-varsha | Jēshṭhē¹⁶ sitinara(va)mi-
Sōma-yuta-divasē | śrī-Jñānachandra-gurūṇa pra[ti]shṭi(shṭhi)tō=[rbu]da-gi[rau
Ri]sha[bhah]¹⁷ || 42
- 30 1379 Jēṣṭha-sudi¹⁸ 9 Sōmē ||

POSTSCRIPT.

On the Chāhamānas of Naddūla.

As I have referred in the preceding to the Genealogical Table of the Chāhamānas of Naddūla published above, p. 83, I take the opportunity to state that Mr. Gaurishankar Hira-chand Ojha has recently sent me rubbings of four inscriptions, two of which furnish a date in the [Vikrama] year 1147 for the chief Jōjalla (Yōjaka), here called Jōjala, while the two others are of the reign of Rāyapāla of Naddūla, whose name does not occur in the Table, and for whom they furnish dates in the [Vikrama] years 1198 and 1200. The rubbings do not enable me to edit the full texts of these inscriptions, but the initial lines, which contain the dates and the names of the chiefs, may be given with confidence.

1.— This inscription is at Sādri (about 13 miles south of Nadol) in the Gōdwār district of the Jōdhpur State. It contains 11 lines of writing and commences:—

- L. 1 Ōm¹⁹ samvat 1147 Vaiśākha-śudi 2 Budha-vāsarē mahā-
2 rāja-śrī-Jōjaladēvēna śrī-Lakshmanasvāmi-prabhṛiti-
3 samastadēvānām yātrākāla-vyavahārō lēkhitah ||

¹ Metre of verses 34 and 35: Ślōka (Anusṭubh).

² I am doubtful about the correctness of the two names; the four *aksharas* at the beginning of the Pāda might be read also *sthālāpā*.

³ Wrong for *shaḍ=ritavaḥ*, which would not have suited the metre.

⁴ Metre: Āryā.

⁵ Metre: Upagiti.

⁶ Metre: Ślōka (Anusṭubh).

⁷ Read °ram=Rishabha.

⁸ Metre: Svagatā.

⁹ Read =āśtā.

¹⁰ Metre: Ślōka (Anusṭubh).

¹¹ Read -gaṇāryamaḥ.

¹² Read -sāmpūrṇā.

¹³ Metre: Vasantatilakā.— With the commencement of the verse compare e.g. Prof. Peterson's *Fifth Report*, p. 207, v. 5: *tatpaṭṭa-bhūṣaṇamanir-gata-dūṣhaṇō-bhātī*.

¹⁴ Probably the intended reading was °ślāh.

¹⁵ Metre: Āryā.

¹⁶ Read -varshē Jyēshṭhē (or Jyāishṭhē).

¹⁷ Read -girāva=Rishabha.

¹⁸ Read Jyēshṭha (or Jyāishṭha)-sudi; and see above, p. 155.

¹⁹ Denoted by a symbol.

2.—This inscription is at Nadol. It contains 13 lines of writing and commences :—

- L. 1 Ōm¹ samvat 1147 Vaisākha-śudi 2 Vu(bu)dha-vāsa-
 2 rē mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Jōjaladēvaḥ sama-
 3 sta-dēvānām śrī-Lakṣmaṇasvāmi-prabhṛitānām yātrā-vya-
 4 vahāraṁ lēkhayati yathā ||

The date of these two inscriptions regularly corresponds, for the expired *Kārttikādi* Vikrama year 1147, to Wednesday, the 23rd April A.D. 1091, when the 2nd *tithi* of the bright half ended 16 h. 26 m. after mean sunrise.

3.—This also is at Nadol. It contains 39 lines of writing and commences :—

- L. 1 Ōm¹ samvat 1198 Śrāvaṇa-vadi 8 Ravāv=ady=ēha [ma]-
 2 hārājā[dhirāja]-śrī-Rāyapāladēvaḥ² kalyāṇa-vija[ya]-
 3 rājyē ēvaṁ kālē pravarttamānē

The date corresponds either, for the *pūrṇimānta* Śrāvaṇa of the expired *Chaitrādi* Vikrama year 1198, to Sunday, the 29th June A.D. 1141, when the 8th *tithi* of the dark half ended 3 h. 11 m. after mean sunrise; or, for the *amānta* Śrāvaṇa of the expired *Kārttikādi* Vikrama year 1198, to Sunday, the 16th August A.D. 1142, when the 8th *tithi* of the dark half ended 11 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise. As the date of the following inscription is correct only for the *amānta* month, I here, too, take Sunday, the 16th August A.D. 1142, to be the true equivalent of the date.

4.—This also is at Nadol. It contains 8 lines of writing and commences :—

- L. 1 Ōm¹ || Samvat 1200 Bhādrapada-vadi 8 Budha-vārē ady=ēha śrī-
 2 Na[ḍū ?]lē samastarājāvalisamalaṁkṛita-pūjya-mahārājādhi-
 3 rāja-paramēśvara-śrī-Rāyapāladēva-vijayarājyē ē-
 4 vaṁ kālē pravarttamānē

The date, for the *amānta* Bhādrapada of the expired *Kārttikādi* Vikrama year 1200, corresponds to Wednesday, the 23rd August A.D. 1144, when the 8th *tithi* of the dark half ended 16 h. 52 m. after mean sunrise.

In the Table Rāyapāla (A.D. 1142 and 1144) would have to be placed between Jōjalla (A.D. 1091) and Ālhaṇa (A.D. 1153-1161), and it is probable that he was the immediate predecessor of the latter; but how he was related to either of them it is impossible to say at present.

I may add that Mr. Ojha has also been good enough to send me some notes on the identification of Kāsahrada and Naddūlāi, spoken of by me above, pp. 73 and 67. On the former, which I suspected to be somewhere near Nadol, he writes :—

"I would identify Kāsahrada with Kāyadrām (also called Kāsadrām) at the foot of Mount Ābū, about 3 miles from the Bhimānā station of the R. M. Railway. It is a place of considerable antiquity with several old temples. An inscription of the time of the Paramāra prince Dhārāvārsha was discovered there by me some years ago."

And respecting Naddūlāi, which I had taken to be a different place from Naddūla, he says :—

"As you think, it is quite different from Naddūla. It is now called Nārālāi, and is situated in the Gōdwar district of the Jōdhpur State. An inscription from the place is published in *Rhāvnagar Inscr.* p. 140 (where the date given is incorrect³)."

¹ Denoted by a symbol.

² Read *°dēva-kalyāṇa*.

³ See my *Northern List*, No. 306.—On the map of the Rājputāna Agency 'Narlāi' is seven miles south-east of 'Nādol.'

No. 19.—INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE BASTAR STATE.

By HIRA LAL, B.A., M.R.A.S., NAGPUR.

Mr. Cousens in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1903-04 (p. 54) opens his report on the conservation of antiquarian remains in the Central Provinces with the remarks that 'the Central Provinces and Berâr cannot be said to be rich in antiquarian remains,' but 'possibly there exists many an old relic of considerable interest lying hidden away in some of the extensive jungles and little known tracts in the province, that has not come under the notice of any one capable of estimating its value.' Exactly from such a place do I draw the materials for the subject I propose to notice on.

Bastar is a feudatory state in the extreme south of the province situated between 17° 46' and 20° 14' north latitude and 80° 15' and 82° 15' east longitude, touching the Gôdâvarî and comprising an area of 13,000 square miles, all covered with dense forests and populated by the wildest tribes, some of whom did not till very recently know the use of clothes. This extensive jungle has been made to yield no less than 22 inscriptions¹ through the strenuous efforts of my friend Mr. Baijnath, B.A., Superintendent of the Bastar State. Three of these inscriptions were noticed by Colonel Glasfurd, Deputy Commissioner of the then Upper Gôdâvarî District, about the year 1862 A.D.² So far as is known, only one of them has been published, *vis.*, the so-called Nâgpur Museum inscription of Sômêśvara.³ On the authority of the information supplied by the Curator of the Nâgpur Museum it is there stated that the stone was brought from a village, Kowtah, near Sironcha, which is incorrect as will presently be shown. It belonged to Bârsûr, of the Bastar State, and is an important record of the predecessors of the present line of Râjas.

In order that the references to places in the Bastar inscriptions may be easily understood, I append a map of the State showing their positions as also some other places possessing archaeological remains. As most of the latter have never been noticed before, a brief mention of at least some of the important ones may not be out of place here. These places are Bârsûr, Dantêwârâ, Gaḍia, Bhairamgarh, Narâyanpâl, Sunârpâl, Kuruspâl, Tirathgarh, Potinâr, Chapkâ and Dôngar.

Bârsûr is a place of very great interest. It is 55 miles west of Jagdalpur, the present capital of Bastar. It contains ruins of many temples, the most important of which is a Śiva temple with two sanctuaries having a common *maṇḍapa* supported on 32 pillars in four rows. In each of the sanctuaries there is a *liṅga* and a Nandi, and old people remember that an inscription was removed from this place about half a century ago. Another Śiva temple has a *maṇḍapa* with 12 pillars in three rows, and the third is called *Māmā bhāñjâ-kâ mandir* and is distinguished by carvings on the inside walls in the shape of bells suspended from chains. Outside the Gaṇeśa temple there is a huge figure of Gaṇeśa, 17' in circumference and about 7' or 8' high. Numerous images are lying about or collected together under huts, of which the most noticeable is one of Viṣṇu, 4' high, and showing good workmanship. There are also some images of Mahishâsuramardini, one of which is inscribed. All the temples are of mediæval Brâhmaṇic style, most of them built of stone without lime.—Dantêwârâ is about 20 miles south of Bârsûr, and in the intervening villages there are sculptured stones lying about, some of them being five-hooded cobras or intercoiled snakes. Dantêwârâ contains the shrine of Dantêśvarî, the tutelary goddess of the present ruling family. The temple is built at the junction of two rivers

¹ Since I wrote this Mr. Baijnath has made further discoveries which will be described in another paper.

² See *Selections from the Records of the Government of India in the Foreign Department*, No. XXXIX. p. 62 *et seq.*

³ Above, Vol. III. p. 314.

called Saṅkhinī and Daṅkinī, and is notorious as a place where human sacrifices were formerly annually offered. At least a place was pointed out to me in the innermost sanctum, close to the goddess, where they said the victims used to be decapitated. The goddess has eight arms and is represented in the act of killing the buffalo demon. She is in reality Mahishāsūramardinī, locally known as Dantēśvarī. There are various other images such as those of Viṣṇu, Kārttikēya, Gaṇēśa, etc., some of which were brought away from the ruins of Bārsūr. There are five inscriptions here, three inside the Dantēśvarī temple, one just outside it, and another near a mud hut called Bhairamguḍī. There are remains of several other temples buried in ruins. For the support of the Dantēśvarī temple, an estate consisting of several villages is attached.—Bhairamgarh is about 70 miles west of Jagdalpur and has three or four temples, together with remains of a fort and a ditch and several tanks. There is an inscription on a pillar, and at Potinār, a village near Bhairamgarh, there is a slab¹ inscribed on four sides.—Gaḍia is 20 miles west of Jagdalpur and has a stone temple with no idol, but built in the same style as those of Bārsūr. About 400 yards away there is a big inscription, and a *linga* was found buried in a brick mound.—Narāyanpāl and Kuruspāl are quite close to each other, the former being situated on the river Indrāvati. Near these villages are the forts of Rājapur and Bōdrā, and not far away the beautiful falls of the Indrāvati at Chitrakūṭ present a magnificent appearance.—Narāyanpāl is only 6 miles from Gaḍia and has an old temple, an image of Viṣṇu, and an inscription.—Sunārpāl and Chapkā are within 12 miles from Narāyanpāl. Chapkā has a number of *satī* pillars, several of which are inscribed.—Tirathgarh also contains some temples and relics.—Dōṅgar is a place where according to custom the present Rājas go to be crowned. Here one of the queens, whose finger was chopped off by royal order and who ventured to inform her father, writing the letter with the blood so wantonly spilt, was buried alive. The pit, which is still pointed out, was once disturbed by a greedy Rāja of the same family, who also brought down the temple of Narāyanpāl and some others in search of supposed buried treasure.

I now proceed to give a short notice of each inscription of which I possess impressions, with very brief remarks where necessary, reserving a fuller account for other papers. The Bastar inscriptions may be roughly divided into three classes, *viz.*, those of the (1) Nāgavaṃśī kings, (2) the Kākatīyas, and (3) miscellaneous. Of 22 yet discovered, ten belong to the 1st class, five to the 2nd, and the rest to the 3rd.

THE NĀGAVAMŚĪ INSCRIPTIONS.

I.—Narāyanpāl Stone inscription of Queen Guṇḍa-mahādēvi, the mother of Sōmēśvaradēva.

Narāyanpāl is a village 23 miles west of Jagdalpur. The inscription is on a stone slab and is in Nāgarī characters, and the language is Sanskrit. It records the grant of the village Nārāyanapura to the god Nārāyaṇa and some land near the Khajjuri tank to the god Lōkēśvara, and it is dated in the Śaka year 1033 on Wednesday, the full moon-day of the Kārttika month in the Khara saṃvatsara (*Śaka-nṛipa-kālātītē daśa-śata-traya[s*]-triṃś-ādhikē Khara-saṃvatsarē Kārttika-paurṇimāsyāṃ Budhavārē*) corresponding to 18th October 1111 A.D., and issued by Guṇḍa-mahādēvi, the chief queen of Mahārāja Dhāravarsha, the mother of Sōmēśvaradēva and the grandmother of Kanharadēva, who was then ruling on the death of his father (*Mahārāja-Sōmēśvara-dēvasya svar(svar)gatē tēshām putrasya āsām naptuḥ . . . śrīmad-vīra-Kanharadēvasya kalyāṇa-vijaya-rājyē*). The dynasty claims to belong to the Nāgavaṃśa and the Kāśyapa gōtra, to have a tiger with a calf as their crest and to be the lords of Bhōgāvatī the best of the cities (*Nāgavaṃśōdbhava Bhōgāvatī-pura-var-ēśvara savatsa-vyāghra-lāṃchhana Kāś(s)yapa-gōtra*). At the end of the inscription the sun and moon, a cow and a calf, and a

¹ This has now been removed to a roadside place called Jānglā, six miles north of Potinār, for easy access.

dagger and shield with a *linga* in its socket, exactly of the shape in which the *Lingāyats* wear them, are engraved. There is a postscript to this inscription in which it is stated that the land was given by *Dhāraṇa-mahādēvi*, who was probably the widow of *Sōmēśvara*, as will appear further on. There can be no doubt that *Nārāyanpāl* is the *Nārāyanapura* of the inscription. A temple of *Nārāyaṇa* is still standing there. The image of *Vishṇu*, about 2' high, canopied by a hooded snake, is exquisitely executed.

II.—Bārsūr inscription of Gaṅga-mahādēvi, wife of Sōmēśvaradēva.

This inscription is now in the Nāgpur Museum, and, as stated above, it has already been published.¹ It is a slab 9' 2" long, 14" broad and $3\frac{1}{2}$ " thick, broken into two pieces, the bigger one measuring $6\frac{1}{4}$ ' and the smaller one 2' 11". It is inscribed on three sides. The inscribed portion of each flat side is about $4\frac{1}{2}$ ', thus leaving half of the pillar buried underground. As the whole of the inscription could not be completed within the allotted space, the remaining portion has been inscribed on the third side, on which the writing runs to the length of 31'. The stone is stated to have been brought from Kowtah near Sironcha, but the *Tabsildar* of Sironcha informs me that it was never sent from that place.²

The stone is indisputably from Bārsūr. Happily Col. Glasfurd has given a facsimile in his report on the Dependency of Bastar. Speaking of the Bārsūr temples he says³:—"In front of this temple I found a slab with an ancient Sanskrit and Telugu inscription on both sides; part of it had been broken off and was nowhere to be found. After offering a reward and causing search to be made I had the satisfaction of obtaining it. As the Telugu is of an antiquated character, I regret to say I have not succeeded in obtaining an accurate translation of the inscription. A facsimile is appended. From what I can ascertain it would appear that the temple of *Mahādēva* where the slab was found was built by a *Rājā Sōmēśvaradēva*, a *Nāgavaṃśī Kshatriya*, in the year 1130."

The inscription is in the Telugu character, and the language is also Telugu prose, the *birudāvali* or titles of the king being in Sanskrit and corresponding with those in the *Nārāyanpāl* Sanskrit inscription. It records that *Gaṅga-mahādēvi*, the chief queen of *Sōmēśvaradēva* gave a village named *Kēramarūka* or *Kēramarka* to two temples of *Śiva* (both of which she had built) on Sunday, the 12th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of *Phālguna* in the *Śaka* year 1130. The two temples referred to here still exist, having one common *maṇḍapa*, and from local enquiry it appears that it was from this place that Col. Glasfurd removed the slab. Although the names of the temples *Vīrasōmēśvara* and *Gaṅgādhareśvara* given after the royal couple as recorded in the grant, are forgotten, a tank still remains which is called *Gaṅgāsāgar* and retains the memory of the charitable queen *Gaṅga-mahādēvi*. If the *Sōmēśvara* of this inscription is identical with that of *Nārāyanpāl*, there has apparently been a mistake in engraving the date which should be 1030 and not 1130, and that is perhaps the reason why the week day does not correspond with the *tithi* given there, viz., the 12th of the bright fortnight of *Phālguna*, on a Sunday. According to Mr. *Dikshit's* calculations, *Phālguna Śukla 12* of *Śaka-Samvat* 1130 ended on Wednesday. So it was concluded that the year meant was *Śaka* 1131 expired, in which year the *tithi* given in the inscription fell on a Sunday. But on calculating the week day for the same *tithi* in *Śaka* 1030 expired I find that

¹ Above, Vol. III. p. 314.

² A similar error seems to have been committed in relegating the Buddhist stone inscription of *Bhavadēva* (republished in J. R. A. S. 1905, p. 617, by Dr. Kielhorn) to Ratanpur, whereas from my enquiry *in situ* I found that the inscription was really brought from Bhāndaka, and this is confirmed by General Cunningham, *Reports*, Vol. IX, p. 127.

³ *Report on the Dependency of Bastar*, 1862, p. 62.

it also fell on Sunday.¹ In the Narāyanpāl inscription it is stated that the grant of Nārāyanapura was made in Śaka 1033, in the reign of Kanharadēva, who had succeeded his father Sômēśvaradēva on his death. And as there is nothing to show at present that there were two Sômēśvaras,² the date 1030 fits in very well. It, however, seems somewhat extraordinary that such a palpable mistake should have been allowed to remain when it could be corrected by joining together with a curved line the two ends of the Telugu l which is like an egg half-cut (at least it is so in the inscription) thus transforming easily the second l of 1130 into a zero. I am very reluctant to suppose that the engraver committed a mistake, but that he did is patent enough in this case whether we read 1030 or 1130. The village Kêramaṅka may be identified with Kôdmalnâr, which is situated quite close to Bârsûr and is said to have been *mu'afi* or exempt from the payment of taxes for a long time.

III.—Kuruspāl inscription of Dhâraṇa-mahādēvi, second queen(?) of Sômēśvara.

Kuruspāl is a village about a mile off from Narāyanpāl. The inscription was found built upside down into the steps of a small tank, which shows that it did not belong to the tank itself, but was brought away from some ruins, possibly the temple built in the centre of the tank, and was utilised without regard to what was engraved on it. It is in the Nāgarī character, the language being Sanskrit with very bad spellings. The object of the inscription is to record a grant of land situated near Kalamba by Dhâraṇa-mahādēvi, who seems to have been the second queen of Sômēśvaradēva. The inscription belongs to the victorious reign of Mahārājādhirāja Sômēśvaradēva (*Mahārājādhirāja-Śrī-Sômēśvaradēva-pādānu kalyāṇa-vijaya-rājyē . . . śrīmat-sā(mach-chhā)sana-mahādēvi dvitīya Dhâraṇa-mahādēvi tay=āchamya Kalāṁmvasamīpasthā bhūmī dattam(ā)*). The same long *birudas* as in the Narāyanpāl and Bârsûr inscriptions are attached to Sômēśvaradēva's name. The inscription also mentions the name of Nārāyanapura. It is dated in the Saumya saṁvatsara.

IV.—Sunārpāl stone inscription of Mahādēvi, queen of Jayasimhadēva.

Sunārpāl is about 10 miles from Narāyanpāl. The stone is partially broken, and a part of the inscription is gone. It is undated. It records the grant of land, or, more properly, an imprecation against the resumption of granted land, and gives the names of witnesses before whom the gift was made, but it is not stated where. The gift was apparently made by Mahādēvi, the chief queen of Jayasimhadēva of the Nāga race, the supreme lord of Bhôgavatī, having the tiger with a calf as his crest. He is called Rājādhirāja Mahārāja Śrī Jayasimhadēva.

V.—The Dantēśvarī guḍī inscription³ of Narasimhadēva.

This is another stone inscription in Telugu character found in the temple of the goddess Dantēśvarī at Dantēwârâ. It is dated in the dark fortnight of the month Jyēshṭha in the Śaka year 1140 (expired). In this year there was an eclipse of the sun, and the month of Jyēshṭha was intercalary. At that time Mahārāja Narasimhadēva, the ornament of the race of the best of serpents, was ruling (*Śrī-bhujaga-vara-bhūṣaṇa-Mahārājul=aina Śrīman-Narasimhadēva-Mahārājula rājyamu*). The inscription is only a fragment.

¹ Since I wrote the above, Prof. Kielhorn has kindly calculated the date for me and finds that Śaka 1030 Phālguna Sudi 12 Sunday regularly corresponds to Sunday, 14th Feb. A.D. 1109.

² I do not think that much importance can be attached to the different *birudas* used in the Bârsûr and Narāyanpāl inscriptions. The Sômēśvara of the former has the title *jagadēkabhūṣaṇa-mahārāja*, which does not occur in the latter. But then the *birudas* used in the Bastar inscriptions are not always the same.

³ For reading this I am indebted to Mr. Sitaramayya, one of the Superintendents in the Comptroller's office, Central Provinces.

Of the remaining five Nāgavaṃśī inscriptions it has not yet been possible to obtain good impressions. They are all in Telugu. The Potinār slab seems to refer to Narasimhadēva and the Dantēwārā stone lying outside the Dantēśvarī temple to Jayasimhadēva. The Bhairamgarh inscription contains *birudas* similar to those found in the Bārsūr one, and the king is stated in both to be the worshipper of Māṇikyadēvi (*Śrī-Māṇikyadēvi-divya-srīpāda-padm-ārādhaka*), which is an older name of Dantēśvarī, so named by the successors of the Nāgavaṃśīs, the Kākatīyas, although the latter claim that Dantēśvarī came with them from Warangal, where she was called Māṇikyēśvarī.¹ This inscription is incomplete and it appears that it was never completed. The Bhairamguḍi inscription at Dantēwārā appears to be the oldest of all, as its date appears to be Śaka 984.² The Gaḍia inscription, apparently of Somēśvaradēva's time, contains the usual figures of the cow and calf, Sun and Moon, Śiva, etc., the peculiar signs of the Nāgavaṃśī kings, although they do not seem to refer to their family crests. They are all picture imprecations. The sun and moon represent that the grant is to last as long as these luminaries endure. Śiva is the protector against violation of the grant on the spiritual side, and the dagger and shield of the king on the temporal. The cow and calf depict the grave sin which the transgressor would commit, exactly equal to taking away the cow from the calf. This interpretation is supported by the fact that the Kuruspāl inscription has a representation of an ass associating with a pig, the imprecation being explained in the text thus, *Jô (yô) anyathā karôti tasya pitā gardabhaḥ śākari mātā* (he who acts otherwise has for his father an ass and for his mother a pig.)

From these inscriptions it would appear that Bastar, which has been held to have always been the home of wild animals, with almost wilder tribes, was once ruled by a people whose civilization is sufficiently evidenced by the remains of temples, some of which are of great architectural beauty. These inscriptions carry the history of Bastar back to the eleventh century A.D., when at least the central portion of the State was ruled by the Nāgavaṃśī kings. They apparently belonged to the Sinda family of Yelburga, whose titles are strikingly identical with those of the Bastar Nāgavaṃśī kings. Dr. Fleet states³ that there appear to have been more branches than one of this family. One of these was that of Bastar, which has been hitherto unknown. These inscriptions disclose the names of five or six different kings, *viz.*, Dhārāvarsha, his son Sômēśvaradēva, and his grandson Kanharadēva, Jayasimhadēva, Narasimhadēva, and a possible Sômēśvara II. In view of the fact that half the inscriptions relating to these kings have not yet been deciphered owing to their incompleteness or want of proper impressions, I reserve a fuller discussion of the history of these kings for another occasion.

II.—THE KĀKATĪYA INSCRIPTIONS.

All these are modern ones, the oldest being those of the Dantēśvarī temple at Dantēwārā written by the *rājaguru* of the present family, who was a Maithila Paṇḍit. One of these is in Sanskrit and the other is a Maithilī rendering of the same with some additions. Col. Glasford has given a very defective transcript of both in his report. They are dated in the Vikrama Saṃvat 1760, or 1703 A.D. on the 3rd day of Baisākh, dark fortnight. They record the pilgrimage of Rāja Dīkpālādēva to the Dantēśvarī shrine when 'so many thousands of buffaloes and goats were sacrificed that the waters of the Saṅkhinī river became red like *kusuma* flowers and remained so for five days.' The Kākatīyas are stated to be Sōmavaṃśīs,⁴ born of the

¹ Elliot's *Report on the Bastar and Kharonde Dependencies*, 1861, p. 13.

² As read by Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya.

³ *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 572.

⁴ In the Ekāmranātha inscription of Gaṇapati (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXI, p. 200) they are stated to belong to the solar race to which 'Sagara, Bhagiratha, Raghu and Rāma' belonged. This apparent contradiction is, however, capable of being explained. The Kākatīya king Gaṇapati had no male issue. He had a daughter named Rudrāmbā, who succeeded him on the throne. Apparently she also had no male issue and had therefore to adopt her daughter's

Pāṇḍava Arjuna. The genealogy begins with Kākati Pratāparudra, who was king of Warangal. His brother Annamrāja was the first to come to Bastar, and the genealogy is continued to Dikpālādēva, nine successors being mentioned. The present Bastar family is the representative of the old Warangal family, who, having been defeated by Musalmāns, fled to Bastar. Combining the information hitherto available, the following list of Kākatiya kings may be made up.

1.—Predecessors of Annamdēva, from Professor Kielhorn's *Southern List*, above, Vol. VIII, Appendix, p. 18.

- 1 Durjaya.
- 2 Bēta (Betmarāja) Tribhuvanamalla, son of 1.
- 3 Prōla (Prōlērāja, Prōḍarāja) Jagatikēsarin, son of 2; made the Western Chālukya Tailapa-dēva prisoner; defeated Gōvindarāja and Guṇḍa of Mantrakūṭa; conquered but reinstated Chōḍōdaya; put to flight Jagaddēva.
- 4 The *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Rudradēva, son of 3; subdued Ḍomma; conquered Mailigidēva; burnt the city of Chōḍōdaya. A.D. 1163 [and 1186].
- 5 Mahādēva (Mādhava), brother of 4.
- 6 Gaṇapati (Gaṇapa) Chhalamattigaṇḍa, son of 5; defeated the Dēvagiri Yādava Siṅghaṇa, the kings of Chōḷa, etc. A. D. [1199-1200 to 1260-61].
- 7 the *Mahāmaṇḍalachakravartin* Pratāparudra of Ēkaśilānagarī, i.e. Warangal. His general Muppiḍi entered Kāñchī and installed Mānavira as governor. A.D. 1316.

2.—Successors of Annamdēva down to Dikpālādēva according to the Dantēwārā inscriptions.

- 1 Annamrāja, brother of Pratāparudra.
- 2 Hāmīradēva.
- 3 Bhairava (Bhai Rāj) dēva.
- 4 Purushōttamadēva.
- 5 Jayasimhadēva.
- 6 Narasimhadēva; his queen Lachhamī-dēī dug many tanks and planted gardens.
- 7 Jagadīśarāyadēva.
- 8 Viranārāyaṇadēva.
- 9 Virasimhadēva, married Vadanakumārī, a Chandēlla princess.
- 10 Dikpālādēva, married Ajabakumārī, of the Chandēllas, visited the Dantēśvarī temple in Samvat 1760, A.D. 1703.

son Pratāparudra. It is possible that Pratāparudra's father may have belonged to the lunar race, and, while Pratāparudra became by adoption a Kākatiya of the solar race, his brother Annamdēva, the founder of the Bastar family, must have remained what his father was, that is, of the lunar race. Strictly speaking Pratāparudra himself does not seem to have a very strong claim to be a solar Kākatiya. He was adopted by his grandmother, whereby he became a member of her (i.e. of her husband's) race, but it can be urged in his favour that he succeeded to the Kākatiya throne, and that adoption of females was valid in ancient times (see *Dattakamīmāṃsā* VII § 80-88 as quoted by Mayne, *Hindu Law and Usage*, sixth edition, p. 130), whereby Gaṇapati's daughter, whom her father had called his 'son' and had given a male name of 'Rudra' (on which account she was called Rudrāmba; see *Ind. Ant.* XXI. p. 199) became incorporated with her parental race of solar Kākatiyas. The commentator of the *Pratāparudrīya*, who was no less a personage than the great Mallinātha's son, explains the word thus:—*Kākatir nāma Durgā Śaktir Ēkaśilānagar-ēśvarānām kulādēvatā sā Śaktir bhajanty-asy-ēti Kākatiyah*. It is in this sense alone that the Bastar family could be classed as Kākatiya. This would not affect their true lineage, viz., the lunar race. All this however would apply if Annamdēva was a brother of the Pratāparudra of our list I. But list II with 10 kings for a period of about 400 years postulates the existence of another Pratāparudra, who probably ruled a hundred years later and 'lost his kingdom and his life in the battle with Ahmad Shāh Bahmani' in 1424 A.D. This Pratāparudra was also probably engrafted from another family like his predecessor, in all likelihood from the lunar race to which his brother Annamdēva as a matter of natural course continued to belong.

3.—Successors of Dikpāladēva down to the present ruling chief, according to records kept in the Rāja's family.

- 1 Rajpāldēva.
- 2 Dalpatdēva.
- 3 Daryāodēva; his brother Ajmēr Singh rebelled against him in Samvat 1836, A.D. 1779.
- 4 Mahipāladēva.
- 5 Bhūpāladēva.
- 6 Bhairamadēva.
- 7 Rudrapratāpadēva, the present chief.

The family records place another Pratāparājadēva between Narasimhadēva and Jagadīśarāyadēva, Nos. 6 and 7 of List 2. Pratāparudradēva, the brother of Annamrāja, is stated to have had three eyes; his army was composed of nine lac archers,¹ and during his time golden rain fell. Pratāparudra I. was a great patron of learning, and Vidyānātha wrote a work on *Alaṅkāra*, which he called after him *Pratāparudrayasōbhāṣaṇa* or *Pratāparudriya*.²

The other three inscriptions are at Dōṅgar; they are written in Hindī. Two of them are dated in Samvat 1836, or A.D. 1783, and refer to a visit of Rāja Daryāodēva in order to quell a local rebellion. The third is dated in Samvat 1928, or A.D. 1871, and records the *paññā-bhishēka* ceremony of Bhairamadēva, the father of the present ruler.

III.—MISCELLANEOUS INSCRIPTIONS.

All these are unimportant and give no historical data. Six belong to Chapkā and are engraved on *satī* memorial stones and, with one exception, in Nāgarī characters. Most of these have the usual marks of the sun, the moon and the outstretched hand with figures of husband and wife. Some have got temples engraved, with the couple in the act of worshipping the *līṅga* represented there. One is found at Bārsūr on the pedestal of a goddess and is fragmentary.

No. 20.—KANKER COPPER PLATES OF PAMPARAJADEVA

[KALACHURI] SAMVAT 965 AND 966.

By HIRA LAL, B.A., NAGPUR.

These are two copper plates which were found in an old well in the Village Tahankāpār, 18 miles from Kanker, the capital of the state of the same name in the Chhattīsgarh Division of the Central Provinces. They are now in the possession of the chief of that state and were sent to me by his Divān Paṇḍit Durgāprasād. Ink impressions were kindly taken for me at Nāgpur by Mr. T. G. Green, Superintendent of the Government Press, and they are reproduced in the accompanying plate.

There are two different records issued at an interval of a year. Both the plates are $7\frac{1}{2}$ " long, but they differ in height and weight, one measuring $3\frac{1}{2}$ " and the other $3\frac{3}{4}$ ", the bigger one

¹ This may be true in the sense that he ruled over so big a population, who, as subjects, could at any time be called out for military service. In Bastar and adjoining tracts almost every man knows the use of the bow and arrow, with which they even kill tigers. The probability, however, is that 'nine lac' was a conventional term for the highest number. In the Hotṭār inscription (*Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 433) the Chālukya king Satyāśraya is stated to have put to flight a Chōla king who had collected a force numbering nine lacs, indirectly insinuating that he defeated the biggest army that could be brought in the field. Similarly it has become idiomatic to speak of *Bāwangarh* (52 forts), 700 *chēlas* (disciples), 108 *śrīs*, etc.

² *Ind. Ant.* xxi. p. 198, and Duff's *Chronology of India*, p. 213.

weighing 6 oz. and the smaller 6 oz. 10 drs. The former has an oblong hole at the top, measuring $\frac{1}{8}'' \times \frac{1}{16}''$, apparently for stringing it with other plates. It is uniformly and sufficiently thick, and is in a good state of preservation. The smaller one is thick in the middle but very thin at the ends, so thin indeed that the commencement *śm svasti* has cut through the plate leaving holes in the engraved portion, and, similarly, at the diagonally opposite end, a portion is exceedingly worn out leaving irregular holes there. The corners of this plate were rounded off. It has at the end an ornamental figure representing the moon. This was probably the family crest.

The average size of the letters in the bigger plate is $\frac{3}{16}''$ and in the smaller $\frac{1}{8}''$. The former appears to be a palimpsest. Both the sides contain minute scratches of letters of almost double the size, which are altogether illegible.

The characters in both the plates, which were written at an interval of a year only, are Nāgarī, and the language in both is corrupt Sanskrit prose. Both the plates were engraved by Sēṭhi or Sāo Kēśava, who apparently lived at Pāḍi (town).

There is very little to note about orthographical peculiarities. The letters *dha*, *ra*, *na*, *ksha*, *bha*, *jā*, and the figures 9 and 5 appear in a somewhat antiquated form, and the usual indifference to the use of *s* for *ś* is conspicuous. Spelling mistakes there are many; they have been noticed in the footnotes under the text.

The bigger plate, which is the older of the two and was issued from the Kākaira residence, is a state document conferring a village with a fixed revenue on the village priest Lakshmidharaśarman. This refers to Jaiparā village, but Chikhali is also incidentally mentioned. The smaller plate records the gift of two villages, Kōgarā and Āṇḍali, to the same person on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun. These transactions were made by the Mahāmaṇḍalika Pamparājadēva of the Sōmavaṁśa (lunar race) in the presence of his queen Lakshmidēvi, prince Vōpadēva and eight Government officials including the minister. In the village document these officials appear as witnesses. The recipient of the villages was himself one of them.

The village document is business-like and contains abbreviations which were no doubt very well understood at that time, but are now difficult to make out. It does not indulge in genealogies. In the gift, however, we are told that Pamparājadēva meditated on the feet of Sōmarājadēva, who meditated on the feet of Vōpadēva. I take this Vōpadēva to be identical with that of the Kanker stone inscription of the Śaka year 1242 (see above, page 124). I shall discuss this question in another paper on the Sihāwā inscription, which also gives a genealogy of this family.

The bigger plate is dated in Saṁvat 965, in the Bhādrapada month, in the Mṛiga lunar mansion, on Monday, the 10th of the dark fortnight, and the smaller one in the Īśvara-saṁvatsara, in the month of Kārttika, in the Chitrā lunar mansion, on Sunday, at the solar eclipse, the year being given in figures at the end as 966. It is not stated to what era these dates belong, but Professor Kielhorn, who has kindly calculated them for me, has conclusively proved that they refer to the Kalachuri era. The reader is referred to the postscript added by him at the end of my article on the Kanker stone inscription (see above, pp. 128 and ff.), where he has fully discussed the question. The English equivalents of these dates, as calculated by him, are Monday, the 12th August A.D. 1213, and Sunday, the 5th October A.D. 1214, respectively.

The towns and villages mentioned in the plates are Kākaira, Pāḍi, Kōgarā, Āṇḍali, Jaiparā, Chikhali and Vanikōṭṭa. Kākaira is the modern Kanker, where the present chief of the state resides. It is 88 miles from Raipur, the headquarters of the Chhattisgarh Division, in which the Kanker state is included. Kōgarā has now been corrupted into Kōngērā. There are two villages of this name in the state, and for distinction one is called Dēo Kōngērā (8 miles

south-east of Kanker), and the other Hāṭ Kōṅgērā (6 miles north of Kanker). The former is associated with gods, and the latter with a market, which is held there. In the inscription Kōgarā is said to be close to the shrine of Prāṅkēśvara, which has now disappeared, but has apparently left its reminiscence in the suggestive adjunct *Dēo* which Kōṅgērā now bears. I therefore identify our Kōgarā with Dēo Kōṅgērā. Jaiparā is the modern Jēprā (Indian Atlas, quarter sheet 92, N. W., Long. 81° 31', Lat. 20° 28'), a village 15 miles north of Kanker, and Chikhali is about 21 miles in the same direction just on the borders of the state. It is now included in the Dhamtarī tahsil, which formerly formed part of the Kanker state. Āṇḍali is probably represented by the present Āndni (Ānji), 10 miles east of Kanker. Pāḍi cannot be identified. The same is the case with Vanikōṭṭa about which it is doubtful whether it is the name of a village at all.

Plate I.

TEXT.

- 1 Svasti Kākaira-samāvāsē rājādhirāja-paramēśvara-paramamāhēśva(śva)ra-Sō-
- 2 ma-varṇa(s)-ānvaya-prasūta-Kātyā[ya*]ni-vara-lavdha-paṁcha-savd¹-ābhinaṁdita-nija-bhuj-
- 3 opārjita-
- 4 mahāmaṇ[ḍa*]alika-sīmat-²Pamparājadēva-vijaya-rājyē tat-samnihiṭa-rājñi Lakshmi-
- 5 dēvi kumara³ Vōpadēva pradhāna Bhōga rārā | vaipāṭha | asū⁴ ētē nija-
- 6 vyāpāraṁ kurvvaṁ ti-
- 7 shṭhā(a)nti Jaiparā Vanikōṭṭa maryādi-kṛitya grāma-patrō-yaṁ gaitā-
- 8 Lakshmidharāyaṁ(ya) pradattam
- 9 prathama sarāha gaja bhāma āchhu 130 vijaya-rāja⁵ ṭṭamka 140 halav-
- 10 ārdha-paṭṭam-
- 7 tarē | tathā Chikhali-grāma-patrē vijaya-rāj[ya*]a-ṭṭamka 150 pralavā-pau-
- 8 ṇa-paṭṭamtarē | Asmiṁ arthē sākshinaḥ bhāṭṭarā[ṇaka*] (I) Gōvinda gai(n)tā
- 9 Lakshmidhara | gai[tā*] Ma-
- 9 hēśvara⁶ | nā[yaka*] | Chhamṭū | nā[yaka*] | Dāmōdara | sā[o*] | Pālaṭū |
- 10 samvat (I) 965 Bhādrapada vadi 1[0]
- 10 mṛiga-rikshē⁷ sōdama-dinē⁸ | paṁ | Vishṇuśarmmaṇā likhitam sēṭhi Kēśavēna
- 11 utkirṇṇam Pāḍi-
- 11 pattanē [||*] subham⁹ bhavatu ||

TRANSLATION.

Hail! At the Kākaira residence, in the victorious reign of the illustrious *Mahāmaṇḍalika* Pamparājadēva, the king of kings, the supreme lord, the great worshipper of Śiva, (who is) born in the lineage of the family of the Moon, who is hailed as having obtained the 5 sounds as a boon from Kātyāyana, who has acquired (his country) by (the force of) his own arms, with him the queen Lakshmidēvi and Prince Vōpadēva (sitting) by his side, and while the eight¹⁰ officials

¹ Read *labbha-paṁcha-sabd-*.² Read *sīmat-*.³ Read *kumdra*.⁴ Probably *ashṭa*.⁵ Read *rājya*.⁶ Read *Mahēśvara*.⁷ Read *mṛigarkshē*.⁸ Read *sōmadinē*.⁹ Read *subham*.

¹⁰ These eight officials seem to have included the minister, the village priest, who in the present case is a party to the transaction, the Rāj Pandit, who wrote out this document, and five others, whose office is probably expressed by five letters *Rā*, *Rā*, *Vai*, *Pā* and *Tha*, which perhaps stand for *Rājaka* (chief counsellor), *Rājavallabha* (court favourite), *Vētrika* (chamberlain), *Pārsika* (aide-de-camp), and *Thakkura* (lord-in-waiting). See *Jour. As. Soc. Bengal*, 1905, Vol. I. p. 10; Vol. XVII, 1878, pp. 405 and 408; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI, pp. 244 and 337. In the last, which is a Chaulukya grant of A.D. 1207, the following occurs: *ṣṭair= aṣṭābhir gōṣṭhikair ... sārā karaṇtyā*, this place of worship has to be taken care of by the following eight trustees. Our inscription was written only six years after the one referred to above, and it would seem that at that time eight was considered an adequate number of persons as witnesses or trustees, etc., in connection with transactions of at least landed property.

I.

[Kalachuri] Samvat 965.

[illegible]

II.

[Kalachuri] Samvat 966.

१५५ पाठ्यमा वाये संमया वास वली मलली किं ते लोम वीर्यवपुस्तमः ॥
 २ मलली क्रीमद्योपदेव पादात्तमा तप वम रुद्रा उकम रुमलली क्रीमल्लोममा ॥
 ४ जदेव पादात्तमा तप वम तप वम रुद्रा उकम रुमलली क्रीमल्लोममा ॥
 ६ लाली रुद्रा सो तल्लिह त माही लला देव कुम ववोप दे वपुस्तमः ॥
 ८ लाली रुद्रा सो तल्लिह त माही लला देव कुम ववोप दे वपुस्तमः ॥
 १० लाली रुद्रा सो तल्लिह त माही लला देव कुम ववोप दे वपुस्तमः ॥

(headed by) the minister Bhôga (?) are present on duty, this document of the village, making Jaiparâ Vanikôṭṭa the limit,¹ is given to Gaitâ² Lākshmidhara. First³ (the revenue was payable) at 130 (in former coins, now) 140 coins of (our) victorious reign (mint) for half the Halbâ⁴ paṭṭi (share). Similarly in the document of Chikhali village, 150 coins of (our) victorious reign (mint) for the ½ Pralavâ (Halbâ) paṭṭi (share). The witnesses for this purpose (are) Bhattachāraka Gôvinda, Gaitâ Lakshmidhara, Gaitâ Mahēśvara, Nāyaka Chhaṇṭu, Nāyaka Dāmôdara, Śāo Pālaṭu. Saṁvat 985, Bhādrapada (month), in the Mriga lunar mansion (*riksha*), on Monday, the 1[0]th of the dark fortnight. Written by Paṇḍit Vishṇuśarma and engraved by Sēṭhi Kēśava in the Pāḍi town. Let good fortune attend.

Plate II.

TEXT.

- 1 Ōm⁵ Svasti Pāḍi-samāvāśē samasta-rāj-āvali-maṇālaṁkṛita⁶-sōmavam[sānvaya-⁷
prasū]ta-mahā-
2 maṇ[ḍ*]alika-śrīmad-Vôpadēva-pād-ānudhyāta-parama-bhaṭṭāraka-mahamaṇ[ḍ*]alik a⁸ -
[śrī]mat-Sōmarā-

¹ This is another ambiguous phrase capable of various interpretations. It is possible that the executors meant to convey that the boundaries of Jaiparâ Vanikôṭṭa were duly marked out on the spot before the document was given to Lakshmidhara. Vanikôṭṭa is another troublesome word. It may have been the name of a village in the vicinity of Jaiparâ and may have been used as an adjunct to distinguish it from other villages of the same name. Similarly people talk of Dêorî Nāharmau, meaning that Dêorî which is near the village Nāharmau, to distinguish it from another Dêorî. There is a village in Kanker called Pharaskôṭ, which is probably a corruption of Paraśukôṭṭa, and on this analogy, it may fairly be asserted that there is nothing extraordinary in the name Vanikôṭṭa as denoting a village. It is, however, equally probable that it was no village, and that Jaiparâ had this adjunct because there existed in that village a *vanik-kôṭṭa*, or "traders' fortress," that is, a fortified place probably made by Banjārās for storing grain purchased for transport. In olden times the Banjārās are known to have carried even guns for protecting themselves from plunder. Jaiparâ may have been one of their central depôts, which they fortified, and the village therefore came to be called Jaiparâ Vanik[k*]-kôṭṭa. It is not necessary that the Banjārās alone should have done this. There may have been other traders who might have built a fortified place, but as this part of the country has been and is a favourite resort of these wandering traders, it is more likely that they should have built such a depôt. Numerous examples of such adjuncts may be cited. Thus, there is a village *Barâ* in the Saugor district. It has got Hindû tombs called *Surai* and hence people call it Barâ Suraiḡaon. In fact the adjunct has gained such prominence that the real name Barâ is almost elbowed out, and only Suraiḡaon is regularly used. Similarly, Hirdēnagar-Garhākôṭā, well known as Garhākôṭā, derives its name from the construction of a fort and rampart, the original principal village being Hirdēnagar, which a Bundelâ chief Hirdē-Shâh founded in his own name.

² The village priest is still called *Gaitâ* in Kanker and Bastar States.

³ Lines 4 and 5 are so obscure as to make their translation extremely doubtful. There can be little doubt, however, that they relate to the fixation of revenue of the villages mentioned, in the coins of the reigning prince. Whether the old revenue in respect to the village to which the transaction refers, was 130 *ṭaṅkas*, and on revision on the present occasion, was enhanced to 140 *ṭaṅkas*, or the old 130 *ṭaṅkas* were equal to 140 new coins is not clear. While executing the present document opportunity was taken to revise the revenue of another village, Chikhali, for which another *grāmapatra* or document existed, and the revenue was fixed at 150 new *ṭaṅkas*. It appears that the Chikhali document was not near at hand, and that seems to be the reason why blank space enough to fill up 3 figures was left out between the words *Chikhali-grāmapatrē* and *Vijaya-rājyaṭaṅka* to be filled up afterwards. But once omitted nobody cared to fill it in, the matter not being of great importance, as the old rental was superseded by the revised amount which was thenceforth payable to the State. The fact that this record is a palimpsest seems to show that the fresh transaction was a matter on revision under the new régime of Pamparâjadēva, and apparently the old record, which had become useless, was beaten out and the new one was inscribed instead. The words *sardha gaja bhāma dāhhu* appear to be some local technical term, which was used in fiscal matters and was well understood at the time, but so far as my enquiry from local sources goes, it has not survived and it is not now used in State transactions. The matter, however, is not of great importance and does not affect the historical information inferable from the record.

⁴ *Paṭṭis* are plots of land in a village and the Halbâ or Halbâ paṭṭi was apparently one cultivated by the Halbâs, an aboriginal tribe chiefly found in Kanker (see above note 5, page 124).

⁵ Expressed by a symbol. ⁶ Read *maṇy-alaṁkṛita*. ⁷ Read *vamśānvaya*. ⁸ Read *mahāmaṇḍalika*.

- 3 jadēva-pād-ānudyōta¹-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahāmaṇḍalika-śrīmat-Pamparājadēva-madi-²
pravaddhīmāna³-ka-
4 lyāna-vi(vi)jaya-rājyē tat-saṁnihita rājñi Lashmādēvi⁴ kumara⁵ Vōpadēva
pradhāna Vāghu | ṭhāktṛi⁶ aṣṭa Vi[shṇu]-
5 sarmmā⁷ | Nārāyaṇa | bhaṭṭārāṇa[ka*] Gōvinda | gai | Mahēśra⁸ | nā |
Chhāṭū | nā | Dāmōdra⁹ | sâ | Palṭūai¹⁰ | ôtē nija-vyāpa(pā)-
6 raṁ kurvaṁ tishṭhaṁti | Ghṛitakaṣika-gōtr-ānvaya-prasūta sama[sta*]-dvija-varyy-
ô[d*]dyōta-kāraka-gaitta(ā)-Madhavasarmmaḥ¹¹
7 pautrā[ya*] gaittā-Gadādhara-putrāya sakala-guṇ-ālamkṛi[ta*]-gaitā-
Lakshmadharasarmmaṇē¹² yajurvêd-ādhyāyinē Īsvara-¹³
8 saṁvatsarē kār[t*]tika-māsē chitrā-rikshē¹⁴ ravidinē suryāparāgē¹⁵ śrī-
Prāmkēśvara¹⁶-saṁn(sam)nīdhāna-Kōgarā-grāmō-
9 yaṁ chatu-simā-payamtaṁ¹⁷ pāda-prakshālanaṁ kṛitvā asmābhi[h*] pradattaṁ¹⁸ ||
Tat-kāla-samayē visaya¹⁹-madhyē [srī]-kumara²⁰
10 Vōpadēvaṇa pāda-prakshālanaṁ kṛitvā Āṇḍaligrāmō=ya[m*] pradattaṁ²¹ |
saṁvat 966 sāvu Kēsavē-
11 na²² utkinnaṁ[||*] subhaṁ²³ bhavatu ||

TRANSLATION.

Hail ! At the Pādi residence, in the augmenting, prosperous and victorious reign on this earth of the illustrious *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahāmaṇḍalika Pamparājadēva*, who meditated on the feet of the illustrious *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahāmaṇḍalika Sōmarājadēva*, who meditated on the feet of the illustrious *Mahāmaṇḍalika Vōpadēva*, who was born of the family of the moon and who was adorned by the gems of the row of all the kings. In the *Īsvara-saṁvatsara*, in the month of *Kārttika*, in the *Chitrā* lunar mansion (*riksha*), on Sunday, at the solar eclipse, with the queen *Lakshmidēvi* and Prince *Vōpadēva* (sitting by us, and while the eight officers *Vishṇuśarmān*, *Nārāyaṇa*, *Bhaṭṭārāṇa(ka)* *Gōvinda*, *Gai(tā)* *Mahēśvara*, *Nā(yaka)* *Chhāṭū*, *Nā(yaka)* *Dāmōdara*, *Sā(o)* *Palṭū*, (headed by) the minister *Vāghu* are present on duty, the village *Kōgarā* near *Śrī Prāmkēśvara*, to the extent of its four boundaries, has been given by us, after having washed our feet (ceremoniously), to *Gaitā Lakshmidharasarmman*, a student of the *Yajurvêda*, adorned with all virtues, the son of *Gaitā Gadādhara* and the grandson of *Gaitā Mādhasarmman*, who was born in a family (belonging to) the *Ghṛitakaṣika gōtra*, the best of all twiceborn, and the author of the *Uddyōta*. At the same time and in the same country, the *Āṇḍalī* village was given by the illustrious prince *Vōpadēva*, after having washed his feet. *Saṁvat 966*. Engraved by *Sāo Kēsava*. Let good fortune attend.

21.—KHARIAR COPPER PLATES OF MAHA-SUDEVA.

BY STEN KONOW.

These plates were sent to me in March 1907 by the Commissioner of Raipur, who stated that they had been dug up at Khariâr in the Raipur District, Central Provinces. The name of the

¹ Read °ādyāta.⁴ Read Lakshmidēvi.⁷ Read Vishṇuśarmma.¹⁰ Read Palṭū.¹³ Read Īsvara.¹⁶ Perhaps a corruption of *Prāmkēśvara* or *Prānakarēśvara*.¹⁸ Read pradattaḥ.²¹ Read pradattaḥ.² Read -maht-.⁵ Read kumāra.⁸ Read Mahtēvara.¹¹ Read Mādhasarmmanah.¹⁴ Read chitrarkshē.¹⁹ Read vishaya.²² Read Kēsavēna utkinnaṁ.³ Read -pravarddhamāna.⁶ Perhaps ṭhākkura aṣṭa.⁹ Read Dāmōdara.¹² Read Lakshmidharasarmmanē.¹⁵ Read suryōparāgē.¹⁷ Read chatuḥ-simā-paryamtaṁ.²⁰ Read śrī-kumāra.²³ Read subhaṁ.

place occurs as Karial on the Indian Atlas sheet 92 N. E., Lat 82° 50' and 20° 17'. The plates have now been deposited in the Nāgpur Museum.

There are three copper plates, each measuring $5\frac{5}{8}'' \times 3\frac{1}{8}''$. The first is inscribed on one side only. Traces on the other side show that the plate has formerly been used for another inscription. The plates are quite smooth, and their edges have neither been fashioned thicker, nor raised into rims. They are in an excellent state of preservation. About 1" from the middle of the proper right margin, each plate has a hole, about $\frac{7}{16}''$ in diameter, for the ring on which the plates are strung. This ring is oval, $3\frac{3}{8}''$ long and $2\frac{1}{8}''$ broad. It had not been cut when the plates were sent to me.

The ends of the ring are secured in a circular seal, about $3\frac{5}{8}''$ in diameter. It is identical with that described by Dr. Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 196. Its upper part shows a representation of a standing Lakshmī facing full front; on each side of her an elephant is standing on a waterlily, with its trunk raised above her head. In the proper right corner there is an expanded waterlily, in the proper left corner a *śaṅkha*.

The seal has been subjected to fire, and the legend could not be made out when I received the plates. It has, however, proved possible to clean it, so that it can now be read with certainty. It therefore also makes it possible to decide what the legend must have been on the corresponding seal published by Dr. Fleet, which is quite illegible.

The weight of the three plates is 1 lb. $2\frac{2}{3}$ oz.; and of the ring and seal 1 lb. 2 oz., total 2 lb. $4\frac{2}{3}$ oz.

The size of the letters is about $\frac{1}{4}''$. The character is the same box-headed variety of the Central Indian alphabet as in the copper plates of the same king published by Dr. Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, pp. 196 and ff. The long variety of *i* is denoted by a dot in the middle of the base of the circle denoting *i*, and usually not in the centre of it as in the Âraṅ plates of Mahā-Jayarāja,¹ nor in the right side of it as in the Raipur plates of Mahā-Sudêva.² The separate sign of the cerebral *ḍ* occurs in *chūḍāmaṇi*, l. 1, and the final form of *t* in *dadyāt*, l. 18, and *vasēt*, l. 19. Note also the use of one and the same sign to denote a stop in l. 5 and the visarga in l. 4, etc. The compound *ñgh* occurs in *Drôṇasiṅghêṇa*, l. 23, and *ñch* in *kāñchanaṁ*, l. 17; *mahimatāñchchhrêṣṭa*, l. 21, and, falsely, in *dānāñch=chhrêyô*, l. 22.

The numerical symbols for 2, 20, and 9 occur in l. 22.

The language is Sanskrit. The legend on the seal and the usual imprecatory stanzas, here attributed to Vyâsa, are in verse, the remainder of the inscription is in prose.

As regards orthography we have to note the doubling of *k* before *r* in *vikkrama*, l. 1; the similar doubling of *dh* before *y* in *anuddhyātāḥ*, l. 3; the doubling of a consonant after *r* in *svarggê*, l. 18; *visarjjetô*, l. 8; *swarnṇaṁ*, l. 16; *dharmmêṣhu* and *dharmma*, l. 13; *sūryya*, l. 16; *sarvva*, l. 8; *hêtur=vvasu*, l. 3; *bhâr=vvaishṇavi*, l. 16; *bahubhir=vvasudhâ*, l. 19; the form *savvatsara*, i.e. *saṁvatsara*, l. 22; the use of the *jihvāmûliya* in *yah=kāñchanaṁ*, l. 17 (but *-rājah kshiti-*, l. 4); of the *upadhmāniya* in *-pradaḥ parama-*, l. 3; *Śāmbilakayôḥ prativâsi-*, l. 5, etc. The visarga is usually replaced by *s* before hard dentals. Before the stop, however, we find *bhūmih tasya*, l. 20; *-srishṭah té*, l. 10. A superfluous anusvâra has been added in *bhūmipāmn*, l. 12. *Tri* and *tri* have been interchanged in *pitrî-*, l. 3, and *tridaśa-*, l. 6. Note finally the forms *tāmbra-*, ll. 10 and 23; *Drôṇasiṅghêṇa*, l. 23, and the use of the genitive in *Vishṇusvāminas*, l. 10.

The inscription is one of the Rāja Mahā-Sudêva, and it is dated in the second year of his reign on the 29th day of Śrāvaṇa. The engraver was Drôṇasiṅgha, who also occurs in

¹ *Gupta Inscriptions*, pp. 191 and ff.

² *Gupta Inscriptions*, pp. 196 and ff.

Mahâ-Sudêvâ's Raipur plates.¹ Like this latter inscription and the Âraṅg copper plates of Mahâ-Jayarâja,² our inscription was issued from Śarabhapura, and it states that the illustrious Mahâ-Sudêvarâja, whose two feet are washed by the water which is the flowing forth of the lustre of the crest jewels in the tiaras of the *sāmantas* who have been subjugated by his prowess; who is the cause for the removal of the parting of the hair of the women of his enemies; who is the giver of riches, of land, and of cows; who is a devout worshipper of Bhagavat; who meditates on the feet of his mother and father, issues the following order to the householders living in Navannaka and the neighbouring Śāmbilaka, in the Kshitimaṇḍa āhāra: Be it known to you that these two villages, which assure the happiness of the abode of the king of gods, have been bestowed by a copper charter on the Vājisanēyin Viṣṇusvāmin, of the Kauśika gôtra, for as long a time as the world endures, having the terrible darkness dispelled by the rays of sun, moon, and the stars; together with their treasures and deposits, not to be entered by district officers³ and soldiers, free from all taxes; for the purpose of increasing the spiritual merit of our parents and ourselves.

The date of our inscription cannot as yet be settled. Mahâ-Sudêva is the same who has issued the grant published by Rājendralāla Mitra⁴ and Dr. Fleet.⁵ According to the legend of the seal he was the son of a certain Mānamātra, who in his turn had risen from the Prasann-ārṇava, i. e. who was descended from Prasanna, probably his son.

Neither Mānamātra nor Prasanna are elsewhere known. Mānamātra can perhaps be identified with Mānāṅka, "the ornament of the Rashtrakūṭas," who is mentioned in the copper plates of Abhimanyu of Mānapura edited by Professor Hultsch.⁶ This Mānāṅka had a son, Dêvarâja, who might be identical with Sudêvarâja. In support of this hypothesis it may be mentioned that *mātrā* and *anka* are both stated by lexicographers to mean ornament. On the other hand, the alphabets of the two inscriptions differ, and this, in addition to the difference in the names, makes the identification very doubtful.

Of the geographical names occurring in the inscription Śarabhapura also recurs in the two other grants by Mahâ-Sudêva and in the Âraṅg plates of Mahâ-Jayarâja. Navannaka may be the present Nahnâ, the Nainâ⁷ of the maps, three miles south of Khariâr. We do not know anything about the location of the remaining geographical names of our inscription, Kshitimaṇḍa and Śāmbilaka. They should be looked for in the neighbourhood of Khariâr.

TEXT.⁸

First Plate.

- 1 Svasti [*] Śarabhapurād-vikkram-ôpanata-sāmanta-makuta-chûḍāmaṇi-
- 2 prabhâ-prasêk-ambu-dhôtâ⁹-pâda-yugalô ripu-vilâsini-simant-ôddharaṇa-
- 3 hêtur=vvasu-vasudhâ-gô-pradaḥ-paramabhâgavatô mâtâ-pitri¹⁰-pâd-ânuddhyâ-
- 4 taś-śrî-Mahâ-Sudêva-râjaḥ Kshitimaṇḍ-âhâriya-Navannaka-êtat-prâvēśya-
- 5 Śāmbilakayôḥ=pratīvâsi-kuṭumbinas-samâjñâpâtyati || Veditam= astu

¹ *Gupta Inscriptions*, pp. 196 and ff.

² *Ibid.* pp. 191 and ff.

³ For the meaning of *châṭa* compare Dr. Vogel in *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1902-03, p. 247.

⁴ *J. Beng. A. S.*, Vol. xxxv, Part i, 1867, pp. 195 and ff.

⁵ *Gupta Inscriptions*, pp. 196 and ff.

⁶ Above, Vol. viii, p. 163; compare Fleet, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. xxx, p. 509.

⁷ The Commissioner of Raipur now informs me that the plates were actually found in Nahnâ, and that the local authorities are inclined to identify Śāmbilaka with the present San Doil or Sandohal, a village adjoining Nahnâ.

⁸ From the original plates.

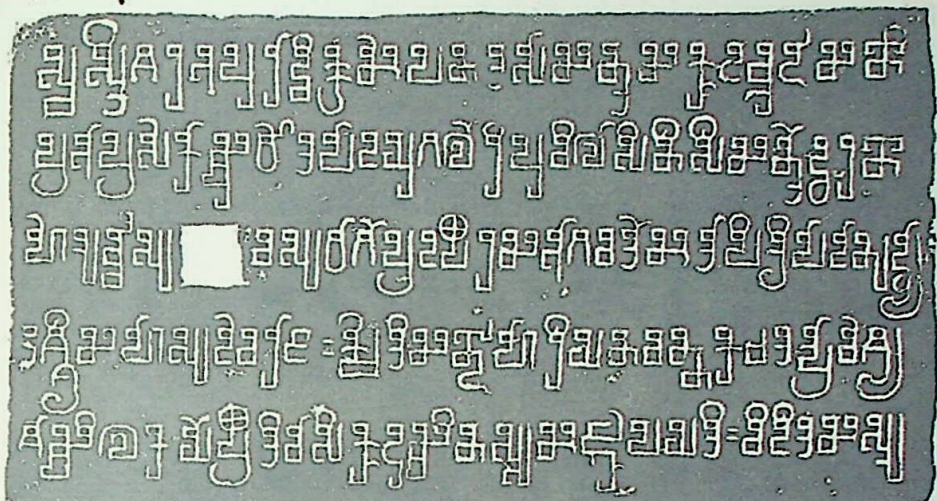
⁹ Read -*dhâuta*-.

¹⁰ Read -*pîtri*-.

i.

2
4

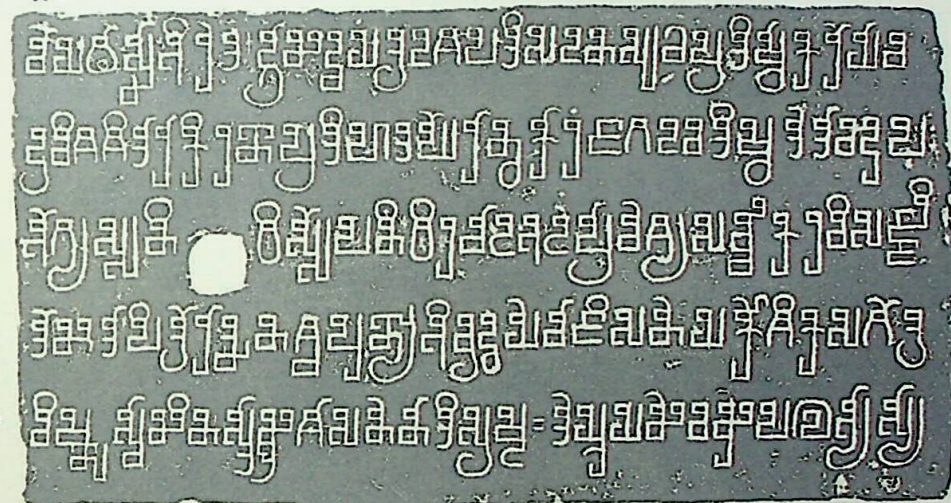
2 4

1. 

ii a.

6
8
10

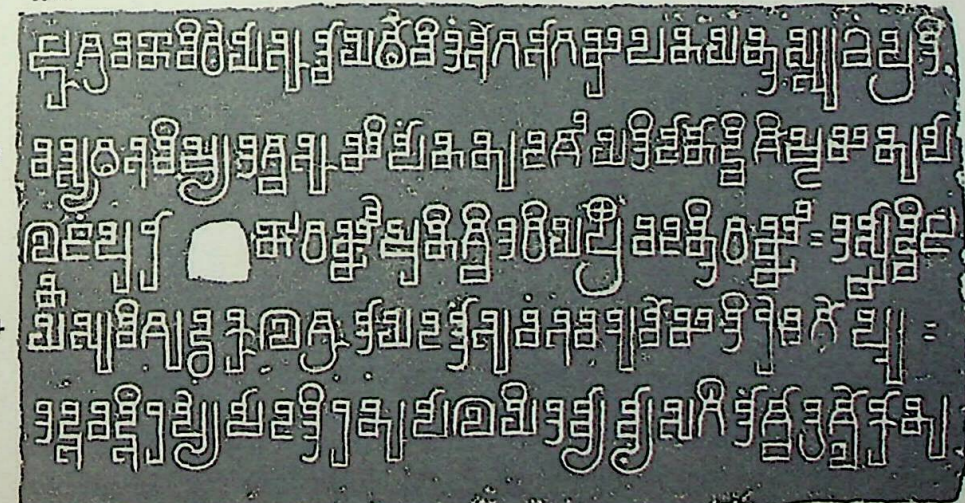
6 8 10

2. 

ii b.

12
14

12 14

3. 

iii a.

16

၁၆ ဟော၍ ချီ၍ ချီ၍ ချီ၍ ချီ၍ ချီ၍ ချီ၍ ချီ၍ ချီ၍ ချီ၍
 ချီ၍ ချီ၍ ချီ၍ ချီ၍ ချီ၍ ချီ၍ ချီ၍ ချီ၍ ချီ၍ ချီ၍
 ၁၈ ချီ၍ ချီ၍ ချီ၍ ချီ၍ ချီ၍ ချီ၍ ချီ၍ ချီ၍ ချီ၍ ချီ၍
 ချီ၍ ချီ၍ ချီ၍ ချီ၍ ချီ၍ ချီ၍ ချီ၍ ချီ၍ ချီ၍ ချီ၍
 ၂၀ ချီ၍ ချီ၍ ချီ၍ ချီ၍ ချီ၍ ချီ၍ ချီ၍ ချီ၍ ချီ၍ ချီ၍

16

18

20

iii b.

22

၂၂ ချီ၍ ချီ၍ ချီ၍ ချီ၍ ချီ၍ ချီ၍ ချီ၍ ချီ၍ ချီ၍ ချီ၍
 ချီ၍ ချီ၍ ချီ၍ ချီ၍ ချီ၍ ချီ၍ ချီ၍ ချီ၍ ချီ၍ ချီ၍
 ၂၄ ချီ၍ ချီ၍ ချီ၍ ချီ၍ ချီ၍ ချီ၍ ချီ၍ ချီ၍ ချီ၍ ချီ၍

22



Second Plate ; First Side.

- 6 vò yath=âsmâbhir=êtad¹=grâma-dvayam tridaśa²-pati-sadana-sukha-pratishṭhâkarô
yâva-
7 d=ravi-śaśi-târâ-kirâṇa-pratihata-ghôr-ândhakâraṁ jagad=avatishṭhatê tâvad=upa-
8 bhôgyas=sanidhis=sôpanidhir=achâṭa-bhaṭa-prâvēśya-sarvva-kara-visarjji-
9 tō mâtâpitrôr=âtmanas=cha puṇy-âbhivṛddhayê Vâjisanēya-Kôśika³-sagôtra-
10 Vishṇusvâminas-tâmbraśâsanân=âtisriṣṭaḥ [*] Tê yûyam=êvam=upalabhy=âsy=â-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 11 jñâ-śravaṇa-vidhēyâ bhûtvâ yathôchitaṁ bhôga-bhâgam=upanayantas=sukhaṁ prati-
12 vatsyatha [*] Bhavishyatas=cha bhûmipân⁴=anudarśayati [||*] dâñâd⁵=
viśiṣṭam=anupâ-
13 lana-jam⁶ purâṇâ dharmmêshu niśchita-dhiyaḥ=pravadanti dharmma[m*]
|| (I) tasmâ[d*] dvijâ-
14 ya suviśuddha-kula-śrutâya dattâṁ bhuvam bhavatu vò matir=êva
gôptu[m*] ||
15 Tad=bhavadbhir=apy=êshâ dattir=anupâlayitavyâ [*] Vyâsa-gîtâñs=ch=âtra
ślôkân=u-

Third Plate ; First Side.

- 16 dâharanti || Agnêr⁷=apatya[m*] prathamam suvarṇam bhûr=vvaishṇavi
sûryya-
17 sutâś=cha gâvaḥ [*] dattâś=trayas=têna bhavanti lôkâ yah=kâñchanam gam
cha mahim cha da-
18 dyât [||*] Shashṭi⁸-varsha-sahasrâṇi svarggê môdati bhûmidah [*] âchchhêtâ
19 ch=ânumantâ cha tâny=êva narakê vasêt [||*] Bahubhir=vvasudhâ dattâ
râjabhi-
20 s=Sagar-âdibhiḥ [*] yasya yasya yadâ bhûmiḥ tasya tasya tadâ phalam ||

Third Plate ; Second Side.

- 21 Svadattâm⁹ paradattâm vâ yatnâd=raksha Yudhishṭhira [*] mahim=mahimatâñ=chchhrêshṭha
22 dâñâ(ñ)ch=chhrêyô=nupâlanam=iti [||*] svamukhâjñayâ savvatsara¹⁰ 2 Śrâvaṇa
di 20 9
23 utkīrṇam tâmbraśâsanam Drôṇasinghêna.

Seal.

Prasann-ârṇava-sambhûta-Mânamâtr-êndu-janmana[h*] Śrîma[t-Sudê]varâjasya sthiram
jagati [śâsanam].

¹ The engraver originally wrote =âsmâbhir=aya-, but corrected it to =âsmâbhir=êta-. The gender in the following is wrong.

² Read tri-.

³ Read -kaufika-.

⁴ Read bhûmipân=.

⁵ The na in anupâlana- has been added below the line.

⁶ Metre: Ślôka.

⁷ Metre: Ślôka.

⁸ Metre: Vasantatilaka.

⁹ Metre: Indravajrâ.

¹⁰ Read saṁvatsara.

No. 22.—NOTE ON BHUJABALA MAHARAYA.

By R. SEWELL, I.C.S. (Retired).

In Vol. VIII. 122 ff. Mr. H. Kṛishṇa Śāstri, B.A., publishes an inscription of the Kaḷaśa chief Bhairava II. at Kārkaḷa in the South Canara district of the Madras Presidency, and in the course of his discussion¹ on the history of the family quotes Mr. Rice's Mūdgere Taluq inscription of A.D. 1516 (Mg. 41). His comment on this is as follows—"This inscription supplies the interesting information that, during the reign of the great Kṛishṇarāya of Vijayanagara, Bhujabala-Mahārāya led a campaign against the Tuḷu-rājya, and was encamped at the *bhuvana-sāle* in Maṅgalūru Bhujabala-Mahārāya, who led the campaign, must be identical with Kṛishṇarāya's elder brother 'Busbalrao' mentioned on p. 110 of Mr. Sewell's *Forgotten Empire*, etc."

There seems to be a mistake here. Firstly, I note that Mr. Rice does not consider the word *Bhujabala* in the passage in question to be a proper name. The passage² runs—*Vijayanagarada bhujabala mahārāyaru Tuḷu rājyada mēle daṇḍu bandu*, and is translated by Mr. Rice—"The mighty (*bhujabala*) Mahārāya of Vijayanagara having come against the Tuḷu kingdom with an army." Here there is no ruler or leader named "Bhujabala Mahārāya." Secondly, the leader of the army could only have been Nuniz's "Busbalrao," elder brother of Kṛishṇadēva Rāya, if the date of this expedition to the Tuḷu country were referred to a period at least seven years earlier than the date of the inscription, because "Busbalrao" had died when Kṛishṇadēva was placed on the throne in A.D. 1509. It is possible that the expedition did take place before Kṛishṇadēva's accession, and it is equally possible that it may allude to Kṛishṇadēva Rāya's own exploit shortly after he came to the throne, when he, or his generals, reduced the Gaṅga Rāja of Ummatūr in Mysore. The mention in "Mg. 41" of Kṛishṇadēva Rāya's supreme sovereignty over the Kaḷaśa country during the chieftainship of Immaḍi-Bhairarsa-Oḍeyar gives us no clue to the date of the Vijayanagara army's march to Mangalore, for this may have taken place at any period before the date of that chief's grant, viz., Sunday, July 13, A.D. 1516. But what is quite certain is that the leader of the army referred to could not have been Kṛishṇadēva Rāya's elder brother, whom Nuniz called "Busbalrao," during, as stated by Mr. Kṛishṇa Śāstri, the reign of Kṛishṇarāya; for it was "Busbalrao's" death, according to Nuniz, that placed Kṛishṇadēva on the throne.

At the date of the grant Kṛishṇadēva was conducting his decisive campaign in the east, and had captured Koṇḍaviḍu three weeks earlier, viz., on June 23rd, A.D. 1516.

No. 23.—RAJAPURA COPPER PLATES OF MADHURANTAKADEVA.

[ŚAKA] SAMVAT 987.

By HIRA LAL, B.A., NAGPUR.

The discovery of this first copper plate inscription in the wild Bastar State of the Central Provinces is the result of the zeal with which Rai Bahadur Baijnath, B.A., the Superintendent

¹ Page 127, note 2. Will some one tell us whether the name should be spelt *Kaḷaśa* or *Kalasa*. It appears to be spelt either way in the original inscriptions. Thus in Mg. 40 (the inscription preceding the one in question), the Kanarese text has *Kaḷaśa* in line 11, and *Kaḷaśa* in line 12. On p. 68 of his translation Mr. Rice gives us three times *Kaḷaśa* and five times *Kalasa*; on p. 69 we have four times *Kalasa* (not *Kaḷaśa*) and three times *Kalasa*. This last form is certainly wrong, for the second akshara is always *ḷa* in the original. The variation is only in the third syllable. Mr. Kṛishṇa Śāstri, in the *Epigraphia* spells the word consistently *Kaḷaśa*.

² See *Ep. Carn.* VI. 155-262, lines 1-2.

of the State, set himself to make a search for the antiquarian remains in that little known and remote quarter, at my request. Mr. Baijnath has been richly rewarded for his efforts, for, in addition to the present copper plates, he has discovered more than twenty new inscriptions in Sanskrit and Telugu characters, of most of which he has sent me ink estampages and tracings. I have deciphered several of them and they will in due course appear in this Journal. I begin with the copper plates, as this is perhaps the most ancient Sanskrit inscription yet found in Bastar. Mr. Baijnath found the plates in the possession of a Brâhman named Gaṅgâdhar Pârhi of Kâwadgaon close to Râjapura. Gaṅgâdhar received them from his sister-in-law, who found them buried in a field at Nâharnî, sixteen miles from Râjapura.

There are three copper plates, held together by a ring, soldered into what was apparently the lower portion of a seal, which had been broken off. Each plate is about $10\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5\frac{1}{4}''$ and they weigh $29\frac{1}{2}$, 30 and 35 *tôlas*, respectively, the weight of the ring being 26 *tôlas*. The plates are smooth, sufficiently thick, and in an excellent state of preservation. They are inscribed on both sides, except the first one, which is inscribed on one side only. Mr. T. G. Green, Superintendent of the Secretariat Press, Nâgpur, kindly took for me impressions, which are reproduced in the accompanying plate. The plates are numbered 1, 2, 3, on the margin, which was apparently left to prevent the ring holes from coming in between the written lines. The word *śrī* has been engraved in the upper margin of the first plate, over the figure 1.

The second side of the third plate is inscribed with benedictive and imprecatory figures, viz., 12 hands in a row at the top, beneath which there is to the proper left a cow with a bell attached to her neck, and a dagger and a shield beside her feet, a florated *liṅga* in the form of a *svastika* in the middle, and a woman pursued by a donkey to the proper right, with the figure of the sun and the moon over it. My interpretation of these figures is as follows:—The hands are uplifted, apparently as an expression of benediction on the donor, and they are twelve, probably because there were 12 *pâtras* or donees referred to in the inscription. The cow is apparently drawn to remind us that whosoever appropriates the gifted land, will have to reap the same consequences which a cow's curse can produce, or will fall into the same calamity as a cow is in when deprived of her calf. Śiva is shown as the protector against aggression on the spiritual side, and the ruling king's dagger and shield on the temporal. The sun and the moon indicate that the grant is to last as long as these luminaries endure. Lastly the obscene figure of an ass associating with a woman is a vulgar imprecation implying that the transgressor of a gift should be so low-born.¹

The inscription is in the Nâgarî character. The average size of the letters is $\frac{5}{16}''$. They are well formed and clearly written.

The language is corrupt Sanskrit, and except the benedictive and imprecatory verses, which are inserted in a somewhat disconnected manner, the remainder of the inscription is prose. In fact, the whole composition is disjointed, and there are several grammatical slips and spelling mistakes.

The most noteworthy orthographical peculiarities are the representation of the initial *i* with two dots and a stroke underneath, resembling the Nâgarî figure 2 (ll. 13, 16, 23 and 30). The anusvâra is put at the side of the letter and is represented by a dot with a *hala* underneath (ll. 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 10, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, 25, 26 and 27), but in several instances it is also represented in the ordinary way by a dot on the top of the letter (ll. 1, 3, 4, 7, 10, 12, 14, 16, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 26, 28, 30, 31 and 32). One top stroke representative of the *mâtṛis*

¹ Compare my remarks, above, p. 164.

of *é*, *ai*, *ô* and *au* is exhibited by a vertical stroke placed before the letter to which it is attached—a practice which is still followed in the Bengālī and Oriyā writing, but exceptions may be found side by side, where it is placed on the top of the letter according to the practice now followed in writing. Thus, in line 12, the *dē* of *Madhurāntakadēva* has a top, while the very next *dē* of *Kanharadēva* has a vertical stroke preceding the letter *da*. The latter form, however, predominates, the exceptions being found as regards *é* in ll. 2, 4, 10, 11, 12, 21, 26, 29 and 31 and of *ô* in ll. 1, 19, 31, and 32. *Ai* has been used only once, in line 8, and *au* twice, in lines 11 and 26, and in each case one of the top *mātrās* has been represented by a vertical stroke preceding the letter to which it is attached. The letters *bha*, *dha*, *ra* and *ksha*, invariably appear in their antiquated forms. The letter *v* is used throughout for *b*, and *s* for *ś*, except in the solitary instances of *daśa* in l. 3 and of *śrī* in ll. 12 and 29. *Ja* is used for *ya* (ll. 20, 24, and 27), *ri* is used for the vowel *ṛi* in l. 8, and *na* for *ṇa* in l. 6. In line 8 *kaṁvala*¹ for *kamala* is a spelling which occurs in other inscriptions. It represents the actual pronunciation of the vernacular word—a pronunciation still kept up in the Chhattisgarh division, of which Bastar forms part.

The object of the inscription is to record the grant of Rājapura village, situated in the Bhramarakōṭṭya *maṇḍala*, to one Mēdipōta or a Chhurikāra Mēdipōta and his descendants, together with 70 *gaḍyāṇaka*² gold. The grant was made by the king Madhurāntakadēva, who belonged to the Chhindaka family of the Nāga (Cobra) race. The inscription is dated in the [Śaka] year 987, in the Parābhava *saṁvatsara*, on Wednesday of the bright fortnight of Kārttika month. Although the *tithi* has not been given, there is a most minute description of the moment of the grant, the *nakshatra* being stated to be Anurādhā, the *yōga* to be Saubhāgya and the *karana* to be Gara. From these data the exact date has been kindly calculated for me by Professor Kielhorn who says:—

“The date for Śaka 987 expired corresponds to Wednesday, the 5th October A.D. 1065. On this day the third *tithi* of the bright half of Kārttika ended 9 hours 17 minutes after mean sunrise, and the *nakshatra* was Anurādhā and the *yōga* Saubhāgya. The second half of the *tithi* was the *karana* Gara. But the Jupiter's year is not quite correct. By the southern system it should have been Viśvāvasu and by the northern luni-solar system Plavaṅga and by the northern mean sign system Kilaka. The mistake is the same as in the first Kanker³ plates.”

The purpose for which the grant was made is somewhat obscure. I take it to be a compensation for supplying a victim for human sacrifice. Before proceeding to show how I arrive at this conclusion, it may be stated that in Bastar and the adjoining tracts human sacrifices were rampant about seventy years ago. It is notorious that human victims were offered to the goddess Dantēśvarī, enshrined at Dantēwārā in the Bastar State. Colonel Macpherson of the Madras Army, who was appointed agent for the suppression of Meriah sacrifices and female infanticide in the hill tracts of Orissa, which Bastar adjoins, says⁴:—“In the worship of Tari Pennu or Earth Goddess the chief rite is human sacrifice. It is celebrated as a public oblation by tribes both at social festivals held periodically and when occasions demand extraordinary propitiation, such as the occurrence of an *extraordinary number of deaths* by disease or by tigers, or should very many die in child-birth, or should the *flocks or herds* suffer largely from disease or from wild beasts, or should the greater crops threaten to fail, or the occurrence of any marked calamity to the families of the tribal chiefs. Victims are called Meriah and are acceptable only when they have been acquired by *purchase* or were born as such, that is, of a victim father. Victims are generally supplied to the Khonds by men of the two races called Panwā and Gahingā, who are attached in small numbers to almost every Khond village for the discharge of this and other peculiar offices. The Panwās purchase the victims without difficulty or kidnap

¹ Compare Dr Grierson in *J. R. A. S.* 1907, p. 1057.

² *Gadyāṇaka* is a weight = 32 *guñja*. See Yājñavalkya iii. 258.

³ Above p. 129.

⁴ *J. R. A. S.* Vol. XIII. (1852), p. 243 *et seq.*

them from the poorer classes of Hindûs, procuring them either to the order of the Khonds or on speculation, and they moreover constantly sell as victims their own children and children of whom as relatives they are the guardians. Khonds when in distress, as in times of famine, also frequently sell their children for victims, considering the beatification of their souls certain and their death for the *benefit of mankind*, the most honourable possible. The Meriah grove, a clump of deep and shadowy forest trees, usually stands at a short distance from the village by a rivulet which is called the Meriah stream. It is kept sacred from the axe and is avoided by the Khonds as *haunted ground*." Bearing these remarks in mind, I now proceed to examine in how far they can throw light on our inscription. The italics in the above extract are mine, and they should be borne especially in mind, while considering what follows. In ll. 26 to 28 it is stated that "no body enters the *chhuriprabandha*. There is no place for the preceptor of *yôginis*. For this purpose this village is *taken* with a view to do good to all living beings." From this it is plain that the grant was not made for any spiritual purpose such as the increasing of the religious merit of the king and his ancestors, but with a practical earthly aim, *viz.*, in order to secure the welfare of the general public including cattle and other animals. The grant was not made to a Brâhmaṇa but to a Mēdipôta (ll. 12 to 14) who is styled "Pâtra 12," and to whom 70 *gaḍyâṇaka* gold were given in addition to the village, with the mutual consent¹ of the king, the queen, the prince and officers of State as stated in the grant, evidently in order to make the transaction an out-and-out purchase. Had the donee been a Brâhmaṇa, we should have expected a mention of his parentage, *gôtra* and caste, but no such information is forthcoming in this grant. In l. 25 Mēdipôta is called *chhurikâra*, which is probably used in a technical sense having reference to the *chhuriprabandha* referred to above, and not in the ordinary sense of a knife-maker (blacksmith). I am unable to say what *chhuriprabandha*² really means, but from the context it appears to stand for something like *narabaliprabandha*, apparently on account of the great importance of the *chhuri* or knife in the sacrifice.

With regard to the epithet "12 pâtra" I am inclined to believe that Mēdipôta, whether this word is a proper name or the name of an office, was the head of the 12 persons employed in the work of procuring victims. So late as 1884 A.D., when an investigation was made in Bastar in connection with kidnapping persons for sacrifice, it was believed that there were 12 villages given rent-free to kidnappers of 12 families, with whom the stipulation was that in case they could not procure victims from elsewhere, they must supply them from their own family in consideration of the free grant they enjoyed. Of course the existence of a grant for such a purpose could not be proved, as the sacrifices had been stopped long before the institution of the investigation. But the tradition of 12 families of *melliahs* or kidnappers of victims is significant and points to a practice which evidently existed in the days of these sacrifices.³ I am further inclined to think that Mēdipôta was an office, *Mēdi* being the same as *Mēli* or *Melli* vulgo *Melliah* or *Malia*,⁴ the word *pôta*, which in Telugu means a sacrificial victim, being dropped for

¹ The *Kālikā Purāṇa* says:—

If a human sacrifice is performed without the consent of the prince, the performer incurs sin (see *Rudhirādhyāya* in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. V. p. 383).

² [The text has *chhuriprabandham*, which might perhaps be translated "killing with a *chhuri*."—S. K.]

³ [The passage in question (l. 14) can also be translated,—“Receivers 12 *Mēdipôtas*, in their hand property was received.” The *Chhurikâra* of l. 25 would then be a special Mēdipôta.—S. K.]

⁴ Capt. MacVicar says:—

“The Meriah offering, whether so called Toki Poojah or Noroboli (Narabali), is essentially the same in object as the *bolî* (bali) of the Doorga Poojah, and to this day the ritual of the Khond is annually celebrated by the Borisoloo or *Maliah Pater* (Pâtra) at Pooramari, the capital of Chinna Kimeri, on the conclusion of the Dasserah festival—a goat now being substituted for the more precious victim.” Mark the italics, which are mine. (See Report by Capt. MacVicar, 1851, in the *History of operations for the suppression of human sacrifice in the hill tracts of Orissa*, 1854). It would appear that Melliah (the procurer) and Meriah (the victim) were identical terms, the procurers being regarded in

the sake of brevity. It will now appear that the grant gives sufficient indications pointing to the procuring of a human victim. The village is secured as the residence of the preceptor of the *jāginīs*, who of course dwell in a haunted place, which is naturally avoided by others. The victim is obtained by purchase, with the mutual consent of the king and his subjects, the grant is made to non-Brāhmanas, the likely persons to take part in such a ceremony, and all this is done for the purpose of *dayā* and *dharma* to all living creatures. Having referred to these main points, I pass over the minor ones which lead to the same conclusion, that this grant was made in favour of procurers of victims for human sacrifices. If therefore the purpose of the grant is really what it appears to be, then I fancy this is a unique record and no similar inscription has hitherto been discovered.

Some remarks about the dynasty of the king mentioned in this grant will be found above on pp. 161 and ff., where I have dealt with the inscriptions of the Nāgavaṃśi kings found in Bastar, most of which are not yet published and which I propose to edit in due course as intimated before. The dynasty is clearly related to the Sinda family of Yelburga. Though styled "Lord of Bhôgavatî, the best of cities," Madhurāntakadêva appears to have been a *Maṇḍalika* (feudatory chief), as the verse in ll. 24-25 shows that his *rāj* was limited to Bhramarakôṭya, which is described as a *maṇḍala* in l. 15. He belonged to the Ohhindaka family, one of the 36 Agnikulas¹ mentioned by Chānd Bardai, the court poet of Prithivîrāja.

With regard to the localities mentioned in the record, Rājapura is identical with the present village of the same name, 22 miles north-west of Jagdalpur (the capital of Bastar), on the bank of the Indrāvati river. There are ruins of a fort there, and it is believed that it was once a royal capital. The present Rāja family also dwelt there for some time. Chakrakôṭya is, I feel little doubt, the town mentioned by the Kashmirian poet Bilhana in his *Vikramāṅkadêvacharita*, in which he records that Vikrama as *yuvarāja* set out on a series of warlike expeditions, with the permission of his father. He repeatedly defeated the Chôlas and plundered Kāñchi. He assisted the king of Mālavā in regaining his kingdom and carried his arms as far north as Gauḍa and Kāmarûpa. He attacked also the king of Sinhala or Ceylon, destroyed the sandal wood forests of Malaya Hills and slew the lord of Kêrala. He finally conquered Gāṅgakuṇḍa (IV. 21) Vēṅgi (IV. 29) and Chakrakôṭa (IV. 30). After having accomplished these brilliant exploits Vikrama turned homewards, and, on coming as far as the Kṛishṇā, he was suddenly disquieted by the news of his father's death. Dr. Bühler² remarks that "Bilhana's rhapsodic treatment of this portion of Vikrama's career makes it impossible to determine the chronological order of these wars. Only so much may be considered certain that his last exploits were performed in the south as he came on his homeward march to the Kṛishṇā." There can be no doubt about these exploits of Vikrama. They were, as related above, the conquest of Gāṅgakuṇḍa, Vēṅgi and Chakrakôṭa, and at least these seem to have been conquered in the order in which they have been mentioned. Gāṅgakuṇḍa was the Chôla capital, situated in the north-east corner of the Trichinopoly district,³ whence Vikrama proceeded north to Vēṅgi, the country between the Kṛishṇā

the same light as the victims, as they had themselves to become victims in the absence of a procured one. The sacrificers paid the Melliahs, who thus became purchased victims, and they did not care whence the victim was procured so long as one was supplied to them when wanted. Thus to the sacrificers, the procurer and the victim would mean the same thing, but the terms came to be differentiated when a class of procurers grew up and the real victim happened to be a substitute for themselves. A parallel instance of such differentiation in the same word may be found in Kôtwāl and Kôtwār in the Saugor district, where in spite of the officials regarding them as identical, a social distinction is made out. The Kôtwāl is generally of a higher caste than the Kôtwār and considers himself the proper village watchman, other menial duties being taken as the proper function of the Kôtwār.

¹ *Prithetrāja Rās*, Canto I, page 54 (Nāgarī Prachārini Granthamālā series).

² *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 319 footnote.

³ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 339.

and the Gôdâvarî. He apparently crossed the latter and raided the country of Chakrakôṭṭa and then wended his way homewards. This occurred just a few years after the present grant was made (1065 A.D.), in as much as Vikrama became king in 1076 A.D. Many a southern king¹ likewise raided this somewhat weak power, which must accordingly have been situated near to their kingdoms. Therefore Chakrakôṭṭa was not near Dhârâ, as some scholars have supposed, but was contiguous to Vêngi, being situated in the present Bastar state. I think the confusion with Dhârâ is due to the fact that Chakrakôṭṭa had a king named Dhârâvarsha (which has been apparently wrongly interpreted to mean 'king of Dhârâ'²). In an unpublished inscription found at Kuruspâl, a place close to Râjapura, there occurs *Chakrakûṭṭâdhisvarânâm kulam=alam karishnuḥ . . . samabhavad Dharâvarshanâmô narêśvaraḥ*. The Nârâyanpâla inscription also mentions Dhârâvarsha, whose widow Guṇḍa-mahâdêvî gave away the Nârâyanapura village in her grandson's reign in the year 1111 A.D.³ The name Chakrakôṭṭa probably survives in the present Chitrakûṭṭa or Chitrakôṭṭa, 8 miles from Râjapura. Bhramarakôṭṭa was possibly an alternative name of Chakrakôṭṭa, which seems to survive in Ghumara, a name given to the fall of the Indrâvatî at Chitrakôṭṭa.

TEXT.

First Plate.

- 1 Ôm⁴ svasti [i*] Sahasra-phaṇāmaṇi-kirāṇa-nikar-âvabhâsura-⁵Nâgavams-ô-
- 2 dbhava-Bhôgâvati-pura-var-êśvara⁶ visada-jaya-paṭu-pataha-gâm-
- 3 bhâ(bhî)rya-dhvani-lamkârîta⁷-(||)daśa-dis-âmtarâldhanu⁸-(||)vyâghra-lâm-
- 4 chhana-(||)Chhimḍaka-kula-tilaka-kamala-bhâskara (||) mahâ-mahô-
- 5 svara(śvara)-charaṇa-kamala-sêvi-kiṃjalka-pumja-pi[m*]jarita-bhra-
- 6 marâyamâna(ṇa) (||) surapati-vinirjita-dumḍubhi-tûrya-rav-ô[t*]trâ-
- 7 sit-âri-chakra chirâ-lavdha-jôyêta⁹ (||) êrâvat-ôpari-lavdha-lamva¹⁰.
- 8 kamvala-kadalâ(ḷi)-dhvaja¹¹saṃkh-aika-savd-âbhinaṃdita | svasti nri-¹²
- 9 pa-kâl-âtita-sa[m*]vat 987 nava-sata-satâsî-sapta-¹³

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 10 varshasa¹⁴ parâbhava-samvatum-abhyamtarah-kârtika-mâsa-sukla-pakshê¹⁵ vudha-
- 11 dinê nakvatra anurâvê¹⁶ saubhâgya-jôgê¹⁷ | karaṇa-gajê¹⁸ | sarvê¹⁹ mahû-

¹ The first raid so far as is known appears to have been made by Vijayâditya III. of the Eastern Châlukya line, who ruled between 844 and 888 A.D. He burnt Chakrakôṭṭa (above, Vol. IV. p. 226). Then the Chôḷa Râjendra-Chôḷa I. (A.D. 1011-33) took Sakkarâ-kôṭṭam (*South. Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 108), while one of his successors, king Virarâjendra I., claims to have crossed the Gôdâvarî, passed through Kalinga, and advanced against Chakrakôṭṭa (*ibid.* Vol. III. p. 70). Next the Chôḷa king Kulôttunga, while yet a youth, won his first laurels in battle by storming Chakrakôṭṭa. This happened prior to 1070 A.D. and is mentioned in the Tamil poem *Kalingattu Parani* (X 24), and also in inscriptions (see e.g. *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXI. p. 286). Vikrama was probably the fifth raider, the sixth being Vishṇuvarḍhana Hoysala in the 12th century (Kielhorn's *Southern List*, No. 396).

² I would therefore, instead of 'Râjakêsarivarman (i.e. Kulôttunga Chôḷa I.) conquered the king of Dhârâ at Chakrakôṭṭa' read 'Râjakêsarivarman conquered king Dhârâ(varsha) at Chakrakôṭṭa' (see Kielhorn's *Southern List*, No. 756).

³ See above, page 161.

⁴ Expressed by a symbol.

⁵ Read -rañs-ôdbhava.

⁶ Read -êśvara visada.

⁷ Read -lamkârîta.

⁸ Read -dis-âmtarâlô dhanur-.

⁹ Read -labdha-jay-ôpêta.

¹⁰ Read airâvat-ôpari-labdha-lamba-kamala.

¹¹ Read saṃkh-aika-savd.

¹² Read śaka-nri-.

¹³ Read -sata-sapt-âstti-.

¹⁴ Read varshasya.

¹⁵ Read samvatsar-âbhyamtarâ-kârttika-mâsa-sukla-pakshê budha-.

¹⁶ Read anurâdhâ-nakshatrê.

¹⁷ Read -yôgê.

¹⁸ Read gara-karaṇê.

¹⁹ Read sarva-muhûrttêshu.

- 12 tram śrī-Madhurāntakadēva || kumara¹ Kanharadēvaḥ rājñī Nāgala-mahā-
 13 dēvi | kumara ²Nāikaḥ nāyaka Sūdrakaḥ³ kumāra Tuṅgarājaḥ srē-⁴
 14 shṭhi Pulīama || śkānumati⁵ -bhūtvā pātra 12 mēdipōta hastē dravyam
 15 grīhitam suvarṇa-gaḍyāpaka 70 Bhramarakōṭya-maṇḍala-madhyē
 16 Rājapura-grāmam pāda prakshāla[y*]itvā hastē dhārām pradatā(ttam) ||
 ā-chāmra-
 17 tāraka-prabhṛiti siva-nirmālyam⁶ vaditam kāla-kāl-āntarē grīhnā-⁷
 18 mam vadati || Vāṇāsyām sahasra-līnga bhagnō | sahasra-taṭāga⁸ bhagnē

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 19 sahasra vrāhmaṇa⁹ | gō-sahasra-ghātam kṛitvā | tasyasyōpi¹⁰ phalam bhavati ||
 sva-
 20 da[t*]t[ā*]m paradat[tā*]m vā jō(yō) harēd(rēta) vasum̄dharām [i*] shashṭir¹¹.
 varishaha-sahasrāṇi
 21 viśṭhāyām jāyatē kṛimi[h*] || sāmānyō=yam dharma-sētum(tur)=nṛipāpām
 kālē kā-
 22 lē (yō) pālaniyam(-yō) bhavadbhiḥ [i*] sarvān=yōpētām¹² bhāginah
 pārthavēndrō bhū-
 23 yō yāchatē Rāmachāmraḥ [i*] Ākās-ōtpati¹³ nidhi gaja da[t*]tam iti
 grāmya
 24 vāhyam rāja-dravyam || ¹⁴jāva chandras=cha sūrjas=cha jāva tiśṭhati mēdini ||
 (l) jāva-
 25 tu Bhramakōṭya rājavanśa tāvatu || chhuri-kāra mēdipōtasya putra-
 26 pautrē sāsanam¹⁵ pālaniyam || grāma-mēdhyē¹⁶ chhuri-pravadham¹⁷ kō=pi na
 pravi-
 27 satī¹⁸ || kulāyanī¹⁹-jōgini-āchāryasya(h) sthalam n=āsti || ōtad=arthē

Third Plate ; First Side.

- 28 grāmam grīhitam dayā-dharma-sarva-jamtu-(l)upakār-ārtha-hētum || Chakrakō-
 29 ṭya-maṇḍala-madhyē sākshi nāyaka śrī-Dhārēsvaraḥ(śvaraḥ) Mudhasēlī Nāga-
 30 hasti | karaṇa Dārīā | Likhitam kāyastha-Dhānūkēna(h) iti
 31 lekha[nī] dhṛitam kumara²⁰ Tuṅgarāja Dhāmadēva Gōvardhanah
 Danārdanaḥ²¹ pātra
 32 Gāgirā sādhu Sāhāraṅga(-su ?) | Maṇavridhi²² svahastō=yam matam=ārōpaya-
 33 ti ||

¹ Read *kumdra*.

² Read *kumāra Nāyakaḥ*.

³ Read *Sūdrakaḥ*.

⁴ Read *śrēshṭhi*.

⁵ Read *śkānumati*; cf. *śkamati* in ll. 29, 30, and 33 of the Siyadoni inscription (above, Vol. I. p. 177).

⁶ Read *siva-nirmālyam=uditam*.

⁷ Read *grīhnām=īmam*.

⁸ Read *-taḍāga*.

⁹ Read *brāhmaṇa*.

¹⁰ Read *tasy=asy=āpi*.

¹¹ Read *shashṭim varsha-sahasrāṇi*.

¹² Read *sarvān=evam bhāvinah pārthivēndrān bhāyō bhū-*

¹³ Read *ākās-ōtpatti*.

¹⁴ Read *yāvach=chandraś=cha sūryas=cha yāvat=tiśṭhati mēdini yāvat=tu Bhramarakōṭyō rāja-vamś=pi tāvatā*.

¹⁵ Read *sāsanam*.

¹⁶ Read *-mēdhē*.

¹⁷ Read *-prabandham*.

¹⁸ Read *satī*.

¹⁹ Read *kulāyini-yōgini*.

²⁰ Read *kumdra*.

²¹ Read *Danārdana*. In Bastar and the adjoining Ōriyā country this name is commonly pronounced *Danārdana*, and I have found a Tahsildār of Kālāhandi who actually writes his name so. All these names should properly be in the instrumental.

²² Read *Maṇivridhi*.

TRANSLATION.

Om ! Hail ! (In the reign of the king) born of the race of the Nāga (Cobra), which is resplendent with the mass of rays (proceeding from) the jewels in (its) thousand hoods ; who is lord of Bhōgāvati, the best of cities ; while the space between the ten quarters is resounding with the deep sound from the shrill drums (proclaiming his) brilliant victories ; whose crest is a bow and a tiger ; who is (as it were) the sun to the lotus (-like) crest jewel of the Chhindaka family ; who resembles a bee which is rendered yellow by the mass of the pollen served to the lotus feet of the great Mahêśvara ; whose circle of enemies is terrified by the sound of the *duṇḍubhi* (drum) and *tūrya* (musical horn) won from Indra ; who is endued with victories gained since a long time ; whose banner is the lotus and plantain (leaf) supported on (the back) of Airāvata (white elephant) ; and who is hailed by the sound of conches only ; in the year of the (Śaka) king 987 expired, in the month of Kārttika, during the currency of the Parābhava-samvatsara, in the bright fortnight, on Wednesday, in the Anurādhā lunar mansion, in the Saubhāgya yōga and Gara karaṇa, in all these auspicious moments, the illustrious Madhurāntakadēva, Prince Kanharadēva, Queen Nāgala Mahādēvi, Prince Nāyaka, Nāyaka Śūdraka, Prince Tuṅgarāja and Śrêsthin Pulīama, having unanimously agreed, the village Rājapura (situated) in the Bhramarakōṭya maṇḍala is granted, after washing the feet and (accompanied) with pouring streams (of water), (and) 70 gaḍyāṇaka gold are received in the hand of (by) Mēḍipōta, (who is the head) of the twelve pātras (persons worthy of receiving gifts). The gift is declared as *Śivanirmālya* (as sacred as a gift offered to Śiva and therefore inviolable), as long as the moon, the stars, etc., endure. If any one from time to time says : "I take it," the result for him also (will be the same as in the case of) breaking a thousand *lingas* in Bāṇāras, breaking a thousand tanks, and killing a thousand Brāhmaṇas and a thousand cows.

"He who resumes land given by himself or given by another becomes a worm in ordure for sixty thousand years."

"Common is this religious bridge to princes, and it should be guarded by you from age to age. Thus does Rāmachandra again and again conjure all future lords of the earth."

The produce from the heavens, deposits (in the earth) and (wild) elephants¹ are given, but other things outside the village are the State property. So long as the sun and the moon and the earth and the royal race of Bhramarakōṭya endure, so long (must this charter be observed). This charter is to be respected in the case of Chhurikāra Mēḍipōta's sons and grandsons.

Nobody enters the *chhuriprabandha* at the village sacrifice. There is no place for the preceptor of the resident (local) *jōginis*. For this purpose this village is taken, for the benefit of all creatures, for the purpose of (showing) kindness and (performing) virtue. In the Chakra-kōṭya maṇḍala the witnesses are :—Nāyaka Śrī Dhārêśvara, Mudhasēli, Nāgahasti, (and) Karaṇa Dārīā. Written by Dhānūka Kāyastha.

The pen (engraving stylus) (was) touched by Kumāra Tuṅgarāja, Dhāmadēva, Gōvardhana, Danārdana, Pātra Gāgirā (and) Sādhu Sāhāraṅga (Sāhārasu ?). This is in Maṇavṛi-dhi's hand(writing) (which) sets up (expresses) the (general) opinion.

¹ In Blochman's *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I. page 122, the following occurs :—

"Elephants are chiefly found in the Sūbah of Agrā, in the forests of Bayāwān and Narwar as far as Berār, in the Sūbah of Allāhābād, in the confines of Pattah and Ghoraghāt and Ratanpur, Nandanpur, Sargachh and Bastar."

No. 24.—SIHAWA STONE INSCRIPTION OF KARNARAJA.

THE ŚAKA YEAR 1114.

BY HIRA LAL, B.A., NAGPUR.

This inscription is on a slab built into the wall of the Karnêśvar, *vulgo* Kanêsar, temple at Sihâwâ, the principal village of the tract of that name in the Dhamtarî taḥṣîl of the Raipur District in the Central Provinces. It was first noticed in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV. p. 505, and it is referred to by General Cunningham in his *Reports*, Vol. VII. p. 145. The place does not seem to have been visited by any archæologist. The inscription was brought to notice by the District officials, who thought it sufficient to ascertain the date, and the full contents of the record have hitherto remained unknown. I therefore edit it from an ink impression supplied by Mr. Gokul Prasâd Îśvardâs, Taḥṣildâr of Dhamtarî, from which a reduced facsimile is reproduced in the accompanying plate.

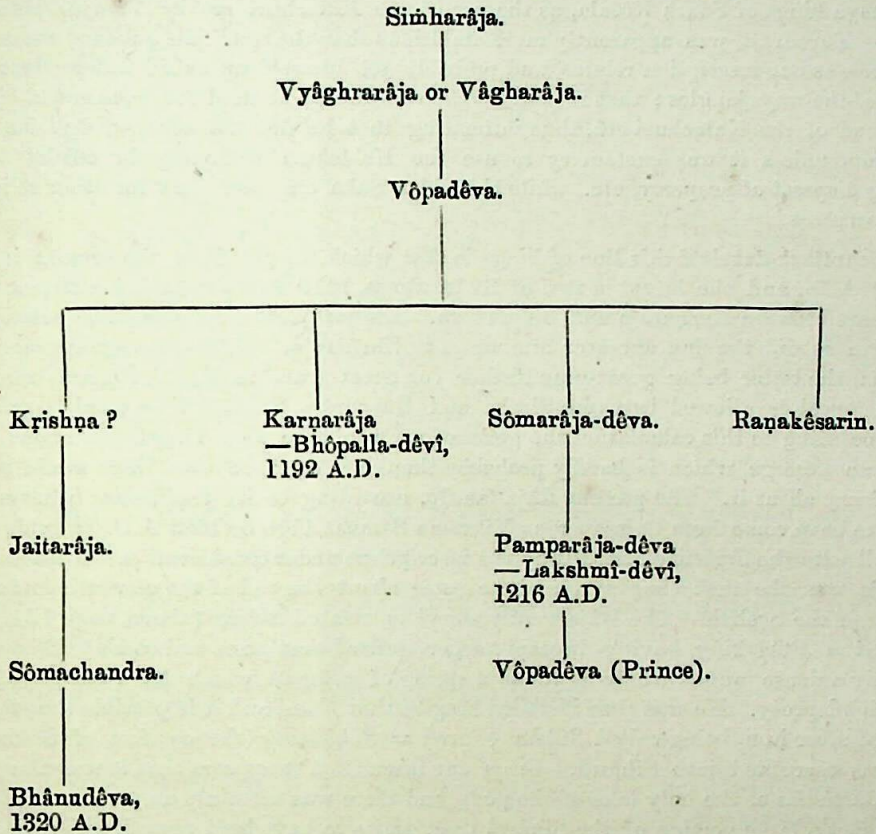
The inscription contains 16 lines covering a space $22'' \times 13\frac{1}{2}''$. The letters are bold and well formed. They are all intact excepting one which is broken off in line 2. Their average size is about $\frac{1}{2}''$. The script is Nâgarî, and the language is Sanskrit. The whole of the inscription is written in verse, except the invocation in the beginning, *Ôm namaḥ Śivâya*, and the name of the *sûtradhâra* at the end. There are altogether 13 verses, 4 in the *Vasantatilaka* metre, 8 in *nushṭubhs* and one *Upajâtî*.

The following are the principal orthographical peculiarities :— *s* is almost invariably used for *ś*. The sign of the *avagraha* is not used at all (see lines 3, 4 and 15). Letters following an *anusvâra* changed from a nasal are doubled (lines 2, 10, and 13). Letters with a *rêpha* are sometimes doubled and sometimes not. Instances of doubling may be seen in lines 1 and 15, and of non-doubling in lines 2, 3, 4, 5 and 11, while lines 8, 9, 10 and 14 afford instances of both. In conjunct letters *n* has been used instead of the proper nasal as in *panchakaṁ* and *punyataḥ* in lines 12 and 15. *Simha* is spelt throughout as *siṁgha*, following the usual vulgar pronunciation, and, finally, in line 1 the vowel *ri* is used instead of the *ri*, *tritaya* being written as *tritaya*.

The object of the inscription is to record the construction of five temples, two in his parents' name, two in his own, and one in his issueless brother's, by king Karnarāja of Kâkaira, and of one by his wife, queen Bhôpalla-dêvî. These were all built at the sacred place Dêvahrada. The date of the inscription is given in the last verse as Śaka 1114, without any other details as to the day or month, etc. The inscription was accordingly written in the year A.D. 1191-92, apparently after the completion of the whole group of temples, and it was put up in one of the king's own temples, in which Śiva was enshrined. The other one of those which he had built for himself was dedicated to Kêśava, who apparently occupied a secondary place in his estimation. The temple in which the slab is found, is still called Kanêsar or Karnêśvara, after the king's own name. The writer was the *sûtradhâra* Sûpâ, and the composer of the *prâśasti* Nṛisimha.

The inscription opens with an invocation of the three-eyed Śiva, and in the second verse the moon, as the progenitor of the dynasty, is praised. Then begins the genealogy of the king, commencing with Simharāja, whose son was Vâgharāja, from whom was born Vôpadêva, the father of Karnarāja, who married Bhôpalla-dêvî, and who, having conquered all the neighbouring

princes, assumed the title of a paramount sovereign. Combining the information from the other two Kākaira inscriptions¹ of these Sōmavamsī kings we get the following genealogical tree :—



It would appear that Vôpadêva had four sons, but the probability is that he had only three, the doubtful Krishna of the Kanker *prasasti* being probably identical with Karṇa of our inscription. Evidently the three brothers were all ruling chiefs, who appear to have divided the state between them and selected their residences in different places, though always keeping in touch with the ancestral capital at Kākaira and recognising one amongst themselves as over-lord. Karṇa seems to have had a predilection for a site near the older capital, *vis.*, Sihâwâ, and was probably living in Dhanôrâ, now in the Bastar State, at a distance of about 28 miles from Sihâwâ. In this village my friend Rai Bahâdur Pandâ Baijnâth, B.A., Administrator of the Bastar State, has recently discovered ancient remains, there being about 20 tanks and 25 mounds, one of which he excavated and found in it a huge Śiva *linga* with beautiful carvings. Dhanôrâ is enclosed by hills on three sides, and is a likely place selected by a Râja for his residence. There is a local tradition that a Râja Karṇa ruled there, although the people of that place do not even now know of the existence of any inscription mentioning his name. Sômarāja and his son Pamparāja favoured Pâḍi-pattana, which I cannot identify. It was possibly somewhere towards Dhamtarî side. Rapakêsarīn was issueless, as our inscription informs us, and he was probably wholly dependent on his brother Karnarāja, as we find the latter building a temple in his name to perpetuate his memory—a thing which he would perhaps have done himself had he been his own master. If he was ruling as a chief subordinate to his brother, we have no information as to

¹ Above, pp. 123 and ff., and 166 and ff.

where he had selected his residence. There can be little doubt that all these branches of the Kākaira family owed allegiance to some other power, which was very probably represented by the Haihaya kings of South Kōśala, as the use of the Kalachuri era by Pamparājadēva would indicate. Karparāja was apparently more ambitious than the rest. He subdued the neighbouring princes, as our inscription relates, and probably set himself up as an independent ruler in the out-of-the-way jungles; that is perhaps the reason why he used the Śaka era in his inscription instead of the Kalachuri era, thus intimating that he did not acknowledge the Haihaya domination, unless it was customary to use the Kalachuri reckoning in official documents involving disposal of property, etc., while the older Śaka era was used for other religious and general purposes.

The earliest date¹ of this line of kings is that which we get from the present inscription, viz., 1192 A.D., and the latest is that of Bhānudēva, 1320 A.D., there being thus a difference of 128 years between Karparāja and Bhānudēva. Karparāja stood in the same relationship to Bhānudēva as did the first ancestor Siṃharāja to Karparāja. Siṃha was great-grandfather of Karparāja, the latter being great-grandfather (or great-granduncle) of Bhānudēva, and if a similar interval is allowed between Siṃha and Karparāja, Siṃha's time would be about 1064 A.D. According to this calculation the generations would be very long-lived, about 42 years each on an average, which is hardly probable, though in sporadic cases there would be nothing extraordinary about it. The present Rāja family, according to its traditions, believes its first ancestor to have come from Orissa about Vikrama Samvat 1150 or 1093 A.D., and this curiously fits in well with the evidence afforded by the inscriptions under consideration. Apparently, then, Siṃharāja was the first emigrant, and he came about the end of the eleventh century or the beginning of the twelfth. The Rāja family story² as related before (above, page 124) is to the effect that a Purī king, having become a leper, quitted that place and came to Sihāwā, which was merely a dense jungle, where he found a spring of water in which he took a bath which removed his leprosy. He was then installed king of that place, and it is possible that the locality was named after him, being called *Siṃha + avah* = *Siṃhāwah* (the comfort of Siṃha) which finally was corrupted into Sihāwā. From our inscription it appears that it was also known as *Dēvahrada tīrtha* or the holy lake of the gods, and there was certainly ample reason³ for calling it so. In fact a large portion of the Sihāwā tract seems to have been regarded as a piece of holy land. Local tradition avers that it was the hermitage of the *rishi* Śringin, who is still worshipped there. Five miles from this place is the village Ratāwā where Aṅgāra (Aṅgiras) *rishi* used to live, and Muchukunda had his *āśrama* in the village Mechakā 22 miles from Sihāwā. About 10 miles west of Sihāwā there is *Dēvakūṭa* (the hillock of the gods), which also

¹ It is perhaps more than a coincidence that a king Vyāghrarāja of Mahākāntāra, who must have held sway in the same neighbourhood, is mentioned as early as the fourth century in the Allahābād pillar inscription of Samudragupta, see *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 6 ff.

² A variant of the same story is that a Purī king having appointed an illegitimate son of his as his successor, the others took offence and quitted the place. They came over to the wilds of Chhatīsgarh and became the leaders of the local tribes, who installed them as their kings. That there is some truth in this story is evident from the fact that the installation of most of these chiefs is considered complete when it is confirmed by a particular tribe, by way of expression of gratitude on the part of the Rāja family. Thus the Kanker family seems indebted to the Halbās, the Kālāhandī family to the Kandhs, the Bairākhōl to the Buṭkā Sudhs, the Bāmra to the Bhuiyās, and so on.

³ Besides the healing power of the spring, which in itself is sufficient to cause the place to become a *tīrtha*, Sihāwā is the source of the Mahānadi or Chitrōtpalā, of which it is said:—

Suvarṇākhya purī punyā punyā Mārjārakṣārī, Kōśalāyām trayāḥ punyāḥ punyā Chitrōtpalā nadī. Suvarṇapuri is the present Sōnpur, capital of the state of the same name, and Mārjārakṣārī is another name of Narasiṃhanāth in Borāsāmbhar Zamindārī of the Sambalpur District. A visit to that place is held to wipe out all sins. *En passant* it may be noted that the apparent mistake of a sculptor in carving out a cat-lion instead of a man-lion has metamorphosed the statue of the latter kept in the Narasiṃhanāth cave, into a new incarnation of the God, to account for which there has been no lack of imagination on the part of the local Brāhmins.

contains ruins of old temples.¹ At Sihāwā there are two old temples close together in a pretty fair state of preservation. One of them, in which our inscription was found, is dedicated to Mahādēva, and it is certainly identical with one of the two mentioned in line 12. The other is dedicated to Rāmachandra, but the people say that it was also formerly a Śiva temple and that the present statues of Rāma and others in it were brought from the ruined temple (about 300 yards away) near the Amṛita Kund, a bath in which is reputed to have cured the leprosy of the first Kanker king. One of these must be the temple dedicated to Kēśava. There are three other temples close by, which may possibly be those constructed by Karṇarāja in his parents' and brother's name. In the village Bhītarās, which means 'the interior' and which probably formed the interior of the Sihāwā town in its days of glory, there is another old temple containing idols not easily distinguishable but stated by the people to represent Rāmachandra, etc., and this may possibly be the temple which Bhōpalla-dēvi built. It cannot, however, be confidently identified, the probability for such a conjecture being based on another supposition, *vis.*, that Bhōpalla-dēvi was a Vaishṇavi, while her lord was a Śaiva. It appears that it was in deference to her that Karṇarāja dedicated one of his temples to Kēśava. And as one temple erected in her name was thus built on the holy spring, it seems reasonable to suppose that she should have selected a site for another which she built independently, in the interior of the town.

TEXT.

- 1 ओं नमः शिवाय ॥ ²तत्पातु ³वस्तुतयमीस्वरलोचनानामग्न्यर्क्षसोममयमूर्ति-
धरं स-
- 2 मन्तात् । ⁴यंल्लोकदुःखदहनप्रतिभासनादि[स्त्रा]प्यायनानि कृपयानुदिनं करोति ॥१॥
⁵कन्दर्पवा-
- 3 णगणसाणसिलामनोज्ञदिक्कामिनीवदनदर्पणमण्डलसीः⁶ । देवः ससी⁷ विजय
तेजि-
- 4 तपः पयोधिमु[क्ताफलं] हरसिरोमुकुटैकरत्नं⁸ ॥२॥ ⁹पुरुवरःप्रभृतिभिः नृपैर्यो-
ववृधन्वयः । त-
- 5 स्य तस्मिन्नभूद्रूपः ¹⁰[सिं]घराजो नृपाग्रणीः ॥३॥ ¹¹तस्मादजायत महीपतिमौ-
लिसंघरर्षघृष्ट-¹²
- 6 चरणः किल वाघराजः । ¹³राजन्यतो समभवज्जगती समन्ताद्येन प्रजासपि-
ढतां भजता नृपेण ॥
- 7 ॥४॥ ¹⁴वोपदेवोभवत्तस्मात्सिंहः¹⁵ सिंघादिवापरः । येन वित्रासिता जग्मु-
द्दिसः¹⁶ सन्नुत्पद्दिपाः ॥५॥

¹ Mr. Gokul Prasād visited these temples lately (November 1907) and has sent me a copy of a small inscription found in one of them, in which I read the name of Śrī Vāgharāja. Thus the Devakūṭa temples appear to be older than those of Sihāwā, having been built in the times of Karṇarāja's grandfather.

² Metre: Vasantatilaka.

³ Read वस्त्रितयमीस्वर°.

⁴ Read यल्लीक°.

⁵ Metre: Vasantatilaka. Read कन्दर्पवाणगणशाणसिलामनोज्ञ°.

⁶ Read °श्रीः.

⁷ Read शशी. I am indebted to Paṇḍit Hirananda Śāstrī, M.A., for pointing out that the moon is Atri's son who comes out of the Ocean in the form of his penance.

⁸ Metre: Anuṣṭubh. Read °मिर्नृपैर्यो ववृधे न्वयः.

⁹ Read शिरो°.

¹⁰ Metre: Vasantatilaka.

¹¹ Read °संघसंघर्ष°.

¹² Read सिंह°.

¹³ Metre: Anuṣṭubh.

¹⁴ Read सिंहः सिंह°.

¹⁵ Read राजन्वती°.

¹⁶ Read °द्दिशः शत्रु°.

- 8 ¹तस्माद्भूतृपतिमण्डलमण्डनस्त्रीः स्त्रीकर्षराजनृपतिर्विदितप्रतापः । ²यन्यायवर्त्त-
नकृपाणभ-
9 याववेष्टुं ³काकैरदेसममलं न कलिः समर्थः ॥६॥ ⁴तस्य भोपल्लदेवीति
महिषी वरवर्षिनी । ⁵वभूवः
10 मेने यांल्लोको लक्ष्मीं क्षितिगतामिव ॥७॥ ⁶स्ववाहुवीर्येण विजित्य सर्वानु-
पान्तदेशाधिपतीन्सम-
11 न्तात् । सेवाकरोपायनदानसीलांश्चकार⁷ साम्राज्यपदं दधानः ॥८॥ ⁸तीर्थे
देवहृदे तेन कृतं प्रासा-
12 दपञ्चकं⁹ । स्त्रीयं तत्र द्वयं जातं यत्र शंकरकेसवी¹⁰ ॥९॥ ¹¹पितृभ्यां प्रददौ
चान्यत्क्वरयित्वा¹² द्वयं नृपः ।
13 सदनं देवदेवस्य मनोहारि त्रिसूदनः(शूलिनः) ॥१०॥ ¹³रणकेसरिणे प्रादानृपायैक¹⁴
सुरालयं । ¹⁵तद्वंसचीण-
14 तां ज्ञात्वा भ्रातृस्नेहेन कर्षराट् ॥११॥ ¹⁶भोपल्लदेव्या तत्रैव प्रासादः कारितः
सुभः¹⁷ । भर्तुः संक्षेप-¹⁸
15 मिहन्त्या देहतः ¹⁹पुन्यतस्तथा ॥१२॥ चतुर्दशीत्तरे²⁰ सेयमेकादसे सते
सके । वर्द्धतां सर्वतो नित्यं
16 नृसिंहे²¹ कृतिना कृता ॥१३॥ सूत्रधा[रः*] सृपा

TRANSLATION.

Om! Salutation to Śiva.

(Verse 1.) Let that triad of eyes of Śiva, consisting of fire, sun and moon, protect you on all sides—(that triad) which out of kindness burns the miseries of this world (and) illuminates and pleases it daily.

(V. 2.) May the god moon be victorious—(the moon) who is a good whetstone for sharpening the arrows of Cupid, who is (the embodiment of) the splendour on the orb of the mirror (-like) faces of the maidens of the (various) quarters of the sky, who is a pearl from the ocean (emanating in the form of) Atri's penance, and (who is) the only jewel on the crest of Śiva's head.

(V. 3.) In that (moon's) family which prospered through Purūravas and other kings there was a king Simharāja who was the leader of (other) kings.

¹ Metre: Vasantatilaka. Read तस्माद् ° स्त्रीः स्त्री°.

² Read °देव°.

³ Metre: Upajāti. Read स्ववाहु°.

⁴ Metre: Anuṣṭubh.

⁵ Metre: Anuṣṭubh.

⁶ Metre: Anuṣṭubh.

⁷ Read प्रादानृ°.

⁸ Read सुभः°.

⁹ Metre: Anuṣṭubh. Read चतुर्दशीत्तरे सेयमेकादसे सते शके.

⁹ Read पञ्चकं.

¹⁰ Read °त्कारयित्वा.

¹¹ Read तद्वंस°.

¹² Read संक्षेप°.

² Read यन्माय°.

³ Read वभूव.

⁴ Read °शीला°.

⁵ Read °केसवी°.

⁶ Metre: Anuṣṭubh.

⁷ Metre: Anuṣṭubh.

⁸ Read पुण्यत°.

⁹ Read नृसिंह°.

[illegible]

(V. 4.) From him was born Vāgharāja, whose feet were indeed scratched by the friction of diadems (adorning the heads) of (other) kings (prostrating themselves before him). By (this) king, who was devoted to his subjects like a father, the world came to be well-ruled on all sides.

(V. 5.) From this lion as it were was born Vōpadēva, another lion, frightened by whom the elephant like hostile kings went (i.e. retired) to the (various) cardinal points (of the compass).

(V. 6.) From him was born the illustrious Karṇadēva (who was) the splendour (adorning) the assembly of kings, whose glory was (well) known, and through fear of whose sword in the form of dispensation of justice the Kali (age) was unable to enter the spotless Kākaira country.

(V. 7.) His queen was the beautiful Bhōpalladēvi, whom the people considered as if she were Lakshmi (goddess of wealth) come to this earth.

(V. 8.) Having completely conquered the lords of all the neighbouring countries by the force of his arm and having secured paramount sovereignty (over them), (he) caused them to become devoted to his service, to pay tribute and presents and to become charitable.

(V. 9.) In the holy place Dēvahrada five edifices were built by him. Two of them were his own, where Śaṅkara and Kēśava (are enshrined).

(V. 10.) The king, having caused two other temples of the god of gods, the holder of the trident,¹ to be built bestowed them on (i.e. dedicated them in the name of) his parents.

(V. 11.) One temple Karṇarāja gave to (i.e. dedicated in the name of) king Raṇakēśarin, through fraternal affection, knowing that his lineage was to become extinct.

(V. 12.) There, an auspicious temple was also caused to be built by Bhōpalla-dēvi, who wished for the union with her husband (both) in body as well as in meritorious acts.

(V. 13.) This (was done) in the Śaka year eleven hundred increased by fourteen. Let prosperity daily attend. Composed by the clever Nṛsiṃha.

The Sūtradhāra (architect) was Sūpā (?).

No. 25.—VASANTGADH INSCRIPTION OF VARMA LATA;

[VIKRAMA] SAMVAT 682.

By D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A.; POONA.

Last year a summary of this inscription was published by Prof. Kielhorn,² with a promise to publish the full text on some future occasion. The impressions sent by Paṇḍit Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha of Udaipur were not sufficiently clear for that purpose. During the touring season ending March 1906, my work chiefly lay in the Sirohi State. I was thus able to inspect the original stone in person and take the best possible impressions. When the summary was afterwards published on my return to head-quarters, I sent my impressions to Prof. Kielhorn. But, as circumstances arose which prevented him from publishing them, the impressions were

¹ In the original the word is *tristanaḥ* which I originally read as *tristādanaḥ*. Dr. Konow has suggested the correction adopted in the text.

² *Göttinger Nachrichten*, 1906, H. 2.

returned to me. This is, indeed, to be regretted, as no other scholar could have done better justice to this important inscription.

The inscription was originally discovered at Vasantgaḍh, about five miles to the south of Piṇḍwārā, which is the principal town of the district of the same name, Sirohi State, and which is also a station on the Rājputānā-Mālwa Railway running from Ahmedābād to Ajmer. The stone was lying utterly neglected outside the shrine of Khimel *mātā* recently repaired, of which, I was told, it originally formed part. Vasantgaḍh itself is now desolated, but many people of the Sirohi State come there to pay their homage to the goddess. The shrine is looked after by the Bhīls of the adjoining hamlets, and they had for a long time utilised the stone for sharpening their implements. As soon as the news of the find of this ancient inscription stone reached the ears of Paṇḍit Sukhānandī, an antiquary of Sirohi, he hastened to the spot, took it into his possession, and brought it to Sirohi. It is now lying in safe custody in his house.

The inscription contains 17 lines of writing, which covers a space about 1' 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ " broad by 1' $\frac{1}{2}$ " high. The writing is, on the whole, well-preserved, but the proper right portion of it is a little worn, which is doubtless due to its having been used for whetting weapons. Again, there are two or three cracks running horizontally across the inscription and injuring a few of the letters in lines 1, 2, 10 and 11, but, with care, nearly the whole of the inscription can be made out with certainty on the original stone.

The size of the letters varies from $\frac{3}{4}$ " to $\frac{3}{8}$ ". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, which was prevalent during the 7th and 8th centuries. The chief peculiarity of this type is the representation of the medial vowels *ā*, *i*, *ē* and the four diphthongs far more frequently by superscript signs placed above the letters than by vertical strokes attached to the sides of the letters to which they belong. This is clearly noticeable e.g. in the Udaipur inscription of the Guhila prince Aparājita, the Jhālrapāṭaṇ inscription of Durgagaṇa, and the Kaṇṣuvāṃ inscription of Dhavala; and this characteristic is exhibited by our inscription also. The characters of our record are, as pointed out by Professor Kielhorn, almost identical with those of the Udaipur inscription. As in the latter, we have the tridented form of the letter *y* and a distinct separate sign for *b*. The letter *y* occurs in the present record no less than thirty times, and, in all these cases except one, the tridented form alone is employed. In this exceptional case (in *yōganīdrā*, l. 1) like that in the Udaipur inscription, the letter is indicated by the old sign occurring, e.g. in the Maukhari inscriptions. We also have special forms for final *k*, *t*, and *n*. In the Udaipur epigraph, final *t* and *m* are represented by ordinary signs for those letters with a small horizontal stroke placed above each. Here, on the other hand, final *k*, *t*, and *n* are denoted by their usual signs, but with the tops a little curved towards their proper right (e.g. in *vaṇik*, l. 10, °*sakṛit*, l. 3, and *guṇān*, l. 6). The sign for the *upadhānīya* occurs three times in °*nṛipatiḥ-pati*°, l. 4, and *priyaḥ=priyaiḥ=praśray-ādi*°, l. 7. The *jihvāmūliya* occurs only once, in *vachana-yutaiḥ=kā[ryya]*°, l. 4. Again, our inscription shows a tendency to use some signs with a little ornamentation. Thus, the *anusvāra* is often represented, not by a simple dot but by something like an asterisk (e.g. in *satatam*, l. 3). The superscript signs of medial vowels are also sometimes ornamentally engraved (e.g. *au* in °*rasy-ājau*, l. 3.) We further find the somewhat rare signs for *ñ*, *ḍh*, *ṭh* and *ph*. With regard to *ṭh*, it deserves to be noted that it is exactly like *dh* (e.g. in *brāhmaṇ-ātithi*°, l. 8), and can only be distinguished by having regard to the sense of the word wherein it occurs.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, and, excepting the words *ōm namaḥ* at the commencement and the list of the names of the *gōshṭhikas* contained in lines 13-17, the text is in verse. Solecisms are not infrequent. I need only point out the verse (11) which specifies the date, the language of which is anything but grammatical. In respect of orthography, the following points may be noticed. Consonants are, as a rule, doubled after *r*; *visarga* followed by *s* is changed to that letter; *ri* has once been substituted for *ṛi*, in °*śringa*°, l. 1; on the other hand,

ri stands for *ri* in °*kriyā*, l. 3; lastly, *t* has at least twice been doubled in conjunction with a following *r*, in °*rāttri*, l. 2, and °*māttrai*, l. 4.

The inscription opens with two verses, the first invoking the blessings of Durgā and the second of Kshēmāryā,¹ who is ordinarily supposed to be a form of Durgā, and who here, in particular, is to be identified with Khimel *mātā*, outside whose temple the inscription stone was lying before it was removed to Sirohi, and of which it originally formed part. Verse 3 speaks of a king named Varmalāta, on whom the next verse bestows nothing but conventional praise, comparing him to a sorcerer, as pointed out by Prof. Kielhorn. Verse 5 informs us that Varmalāta had a feudatory of the name of Vajrabhaṭa-Satyāśraya, who was devoted to the worship of *mātā*, i.e. doubtless Kshēmāryā, and able to guard 'the son of Himavat,'² i.e. Mount Ābū. His son was Rājīla (v. 6), who behaved like Vaiśravaṇa, i.e. Kubēra, the god of riches, in Vāṭa, by lavishing wealth on Brāhmaṇas, personages deserving hospitality, subordinates, and men skilled in arts (v. 7). While this chief (*rājan*) was governing, the temple of the goddess (Kshēmāryā) was caused to be made by the *gōshthī*³ at Vāṭākarasthāna (v. 8). The *kārāpaka*⁴ selected by the *gōshthī* to see this work through was Satyadēva, the son of Pitāmaha, who was a merchant by birth (v. 9). Then follows a verse expressing a wish for the endurance of the temple as long as the mountain Mēru, the rivers, the sun and the moon last. Then follows the verse which contains the date. The language of it, however, to quote Prof. Kielhorn, is 'curiously ungrammatical.' Making allowance for the solecisms, the year intended appears to be 682. As almost all the dates of the inscriptions found in Mālwa and Rājputānā, the era of which is not specified and which are capable of being verified, have been shown to belong to the Vikrama era, our date may be taken to be a Vikrama year, and may, therefore, be supposed to be equivalent to A.D. 625. It was in this year, as verse 11 informs us, that the temple of *mātā* was erected. The *prasaṣti* was composed by the Brāhmaṇa Dhūtarāśi, the son of Divākara, and incised by Nāgamuṇḍin (v. 12). Then follows a list of the individual members of the *gōshthī* who built the temple, their names occupying lines 13-17. Of these, three deserve some notice. The first is that of the only woman who was a member of the *gōshthī*. Her name is Būṭā, and she is spoken of as a courtesan (attached to the temple) of *Śrī-mātā*,⁵ i.e. undoubtedly the

¹ In the verse the words *Kshēmāryā* *Kshēmākari* occur, of which the latter is taken by Prof. Kielhorn to be the name of the goddess. And this appears no doubt to be supported by the fact that *Kshēmākari* or *Kshēmāṅkari* is actually the name of a goddess. But then the remaining word *Kshēmāryā*, which cannot be an adjective, remains unexplained. The final *āryā*, which is the Sanskrit equivalent of *āt*, mother, frequently applied to goddesses, shows that *Kshēmāryā* is the name intended. Moreover, *Kshēmā* is as much a name for Durgā as *Kshēmākari*.

² In addition to the verse referred to (viz., above Vol. I. p. 234, verse 5) by Prof. Kielhorn in support of Mount Ābū (Arbuda) being called "son of Himavat," it may be mentioned that, in the *Arbuda-māhātmya* also, a copy of which exists in the *Pustakaprakāśa* at Jōdhpur, Arbuda has been spoken of as a son of Himālaya and as being put by the latter at the service of the sage Vasishṭha to fill up a deep wide chasm, into which his cow had fallen.

³ The word *gōshthī* no doubt signifies, by itself, a *pañch* or committee entrusted with the management of the religious endowments, as was first pointed out by Prof. Bühler (above, Vol. I. p. 190, n. 50), though in compound words, such as *paṇḍita-gōshthī*, *pāna-gōshthī*, and so forth, it has the general sense of "an assembly."

⁴ The proper sense of this word was first shown by Prof. Kielhorn (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 62, n. 53). This meaning was not known to me when I edited the Ēklingī inscription, where I have wrongly translated the word by "those who caused the temple to be constructed" (*Jour. Bo. As. Soc.* Vol. XXII. pp. 152-3) instead of "persons appointed to look after the construction of the temple."

⁵ The inscription says that the temple of Kshēmāryā was built by the *gōshthī* of Vāṭa or Vāṭākara, i.e. Vasantgaḍh, and that Būṭā was one of the members of this *gōshthī*. Būṭā, as we have seen, was a courtesan of the temple of Kshēmāryā, and she could only acquire this position *after*, and not before, the erection of the temple. Nobody would appoint a courtesan to a temple to do the duties of dancing and singing before the deity, before it was constructed, and much less would she be raised to such a dignified position as the membership of the *gōshthī* prior to the actual building of the temple itself. I am, therefore, somewhat inclined to think that the temple was not built, but *rebuilt*, by the *gōshthī*, and that the word *kārīta* in verse 8 has to be taken in the latter sense. Instances of a similar use are not wanting.

mâtā to whom the temple was dedicated. The second name is Pratīhāra Bōṭaka, the first of which words I think signifies the race. Bōṭaka was thus a Pratīhāra, i.e. Paṭiār, and this is the earliest instance of the denomination Pratīhāra occurring in an inscription. The third name is *rājasthānīya Ādityabhāṭa*, the first part of which is unquestionably an official designation, meaning the foreign secretary.¹

Prof. Kielhorn thinks that the name of Varmalāta spoken of in our inscription as paramount sovereign settles the date of the poet Māgha. It would be impossible not to agree with him when he says, that, out of the numerous forms found in the manuscripts of the *Śiśupālavadha*, of the name of the king at whose court Māgha's grandfather Suprabhadēva is stated to have held the office of prime-minister, the variant Varmalāta is to be selected as the most likely one. But to the identification of this prince with the Varmalāta of our inscription, supposing the date V.E. 682 to be correct, it is possible to raise an objection. As every student who has read the *Śiśupālavadha* knows, Māgha in his work distinctly alludes to the two grammatical treatises, the *Kāśikāvṛitti* and its commentary called *Nyāsa*. The former is the joint production of Jayāditya and Vāmana, and, with regard to the former author, the Chinese traveller I-tsing informs us in unmistakeable terms that he died about A.D. 661-662. It should, moreover, be borne in mind that the author of the *Nyāsa* was Jinēndrabuddhi, who like Jayāditya was a follower of the Buddha.² And it is inconceivable that I-tsing, one of whose principal objects in coming to India was to collect information about Buddhist authors, could have passed him over in silence, if the latter had flourished before A.D. 695 when the Chinese traveller's departure from India took place. The conclusion is, therefore, irresistible that the author of the *Nyāsa* could not have lived before the first half of the 8th century. Māgha, therefore, has to be assigned to the latter part of the 8th century. This line of argument adduced by Prof. Pathak³ appears to me to be worth considering. Dr. Konow, however, informs me that he does not think it convincing. He says, "the *argumentum ex silentio* is always unsafe, and, even if we admit that Jinēndrabuddhi cannot have written before A.D. 695, that does not disprove Professor Kielhorn's identification of our Varmalāta with the king whose minister Māgha's grandfather was. Our inscription may very well date from a time previous to his appointment as minister, and it does not, at any rate, make it impossible to bring Māgha down to the first twenty years of the 8th century. There is nothing to hinder us from supposing that Jinēndrabuddhi flourished about A.D. 700. The alleged reference to his work in the *Śiśupālavadha* would, I think, be more intelligible if we suppose it to have been a new work at the time when Māgha wrote his poem."

I quite accept Dr. Konow's main conclusions. But I agree with Professor Pathak that the *argumentum ex silentio* carries some weight in this particular instance. One of the chief objects I-tsing had in view was to gather all available information about Buddhist authors in India. And, when we consider that he has even mentioned his own contemporaries, it is very unlikely that he should have failed to notice Jinēndrabuddhi, if the latter had actually achieved fame in his time. As pointed out by Dr. Konow, there is, however, nothing to prevent us from considering Māgha and Jinēndrabuddhi as contemporaries. The mere fact that one author quotes another one, only shows that he knows him, and not necessarily that he belongs to a later time. Māgha and Jinēndrabuddhi can, therefore, very well both have lived at the beginning of the eighth century, and Professor Kielhorn's identification of the two Varmalātas remains unaffected by Professor Pathak's argument.

¹ *History of Gujarat in the Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I. Pt. I. p. 82.

² It might perhaps be doubted whether Jinēndrabuddhi was a Buddhist. But there are no reasonable grounds for this doubt. A Deccan College manuscript (No. 33 of 1881-82, leaf 90b) has the following: *Iti bōdhisattvādītyāchārya-Dviṣṭa (Jinē)ndrabuddhi (dāhi)-virachitāyām Kāśikā-vivaraṇa-pañchikāyām dvitīyādhyaṇyasya chaturthaḥ pādah*. I am indebted to Prof. Pathak for this reference. See also *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 57.

³ *Jour. Bo. As. Soc.* Vol. XX, pp. 305-6.

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The place *Vaṭa*, where the feudatory prince *Rājīla* was reigning, is doubtless *Vasantgaḍh* itself. This will be seen from the fact that the temple to *Kshēmāryā*, said in the inscription to have been built by the *gōshāhī* of *Vaṭa*, is no other than the temple of *Khimel mātā* in *Vasantgaḍh* of which the inscription stone originally formed part. This conclusion is confirmed by the fact that the temples dedicated to the Sun and *Brahmā* mentioned as existing in *Vaṭapura* in the inscription of *Pūrnapāla* dated V.E. 1099, are still existing at *Vasantgaḍh*. A slightly different name for the place, *viz.* *Vaṭākara*, occurs in l. 9. We have a similar instance of a certain old place called both *Ārāsapa* and *Ārāsapākara*. The remains at *Vasantgaḍh* have been fully described and the question regarding the name *Vaṭa* and *Vaṭākara* is fully discussed in the *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle*, for the months July 1905 to March 1906, inclusive, pp. 49 ff.¹

TEXT.²

- 1 श्री³ नमः ॥ धातुर्या योगनिद्रा [जलन] — ॐ ॐ [नस्या]कृतिर्विश्व
योनेः ⁴कैलासोच्चाङ्गश्चिह्नप्रतिनियतमुदावासिनोर्वाङ्गसक्ता [1*] या
- 2 रात्रिस्सर्वलोके स्मृतिरपि च सतां या श्रुतिर्ब्रह्मगीता सा देवी दुर्गमेषु
प्रदिशतु जगते मङ्गलानीह दुर्गाः⁵ ॥ [१*] नियतमतिप्रणतिप-
- 3 रस्याजौ यागे ⁶क्षयाफलैस्सक्तत् [1*] क्षेमार्था क्षेमकरी विदधातु शिवानि
नस्तत⁷ ॥ [२*] जयति जयलक्ष्मलक्षितवचस्त्रयलसंश्रितश्रियाधारः⁸ [1*] श्री-
- 4 वर्मलातनृपतिः पतिरवनेरधिकबलवीर्यः ॥ [३*] केचित्सन्देशमाक्षैरतिविशदपद⁹
सुद्रया पारगर्चा¹⁰ केचिच्चान्ये प्रकामं प्रतिवचनयुतैर्ह[रि]
- 5 [र्य]जापैरजस्रं [1*] अन्ये वै मण्डलान्ते कृतबलिक्कुहकैर्भूतिदानेन चान्ये
तेनेत्यं सन्नरेन्द्रव्रतमनुचरता शासिता भूमिपालाः¹¹ ॥ [४*] वस्याशेषविशे-
- 6 [ष]दोषरहितान्पुष्पाति भक्त्या गुणान् (i) नाम्ना वज्रभटेति भृत्यपदवी-
माश्रित्य सत्याश्रयः [1*] ख्यातः कीर्त्तिमतामलघ्यचरितः¹² ¹³श्रीमातु-
रप्यर्जने¹⁴ किञ्च
- 7 [ज्ञा]तगुणः प्रभुर्हिमवतस्सूनीश्च संरक्षणे¹⁵ i(॥) [५*] तस्य सनुरधिकं प्रियः
प्रियैः प्रश्रयादिसकलैर्भद्रागुणै¹⁶ [1*] राजिलोभवदशेषराजकव्यासकी-

¹ In l. 9 of the *Vasantgaḍh* inscription of *Pūrnapāla*, *Vaṭa* is also spoken of as the name of a country. In verse 17 of the *mātā-ki-sāl* inscription found at *Ghaṭiyālā* (*Jour. R. As. Soc.* 1895, p. 518), the expression *Vaṭa-nāpaya-maṇḍala* occurs. This is doubtless identical with *Vaṭa-Nāpaka-maṇḍala*. Here the country or district is not called simply after *Vaṭa* (*Vasantgaḍh*) but also after *Nāpaka* which evidently is the present *Nāpā*, about thirteen miles north-east of it.

² From the original stone.

³ Read कैलासोच्चाङ्गश्च³.

⁴ Read क्रिया⁴.

⁵ Wrong for 'अश्रयाधारः' which would not have suited the metre.

⁶ Read 'पदेन्द्रया'.

⁷ Metre : *Sragdharā*.

⁸ The letter य is not in the same line with र and र्ज, but is engraved exactly below between these two letters, and two vertical strokes are added one above and one below between them to draw attention to the omission.

⁹ Read, probably 'र्च' instead of 'र्ज'.

¹⁰ Read 'गुणैः'.

³ Expressed by a symbol.

⁵ Read दुर्गा ; metre : *Sragdharā*.

⁷ Metre : *Āryā*; and also of the verse following.

¹⁰ Read 'गन्ध्या'.

¹² Read 'मलङ्घ्य'.

¹⁵ Metre : *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

- 8 त्तिरमले कुले नृपः¹ [॥*] [६*] ब्राह्मणातिथिभृत्यादिकलावत्सु विशेषतः² [॥*]
 सोधिकं³ द्रविणै⁴ शश्वटे वैश्वणायते⁵ ॥ [७*] तस्मिन्नाजनि
 देव्याशासति राज्यं
- 9 वटाकरस्थाने[॥*] गोष्ठ्या कारितमेतद्भवनं भुवनस्य चिह्नमिव⁶ ॥ [८*]
 कारापकस्तु स्रुतः पितामहाख्यस्य सत्यदेवाख्यः [॥*] गोष्ठ्या प्रसादपरया
 निरूपितो ज-
- 10 [न्म]ना स वणिक् ।(॥) [९*] यावन्मेरोस्तटानि प्रचुरहिमकणोत्तुङ्गशैलाधिपश्च
 स्यन्दि[न्यो] यावदु[च्चा] अपगतक[लु]षा — — — — — [॥*]
 यावच्चन्द्रार्कभास-
- 11 [सु]तरलजलधे[रु]र्मयो यावदुच्चैस्ताव[हे]वालयं [निस्थि]तमिह भवतु 'श्रेयस
 'पौरजानां⁹ ॥ [१०*] द्विरशीत्यधिके काले षण्णां वर्षशतोत्तरे [॥*]
 जगन्मातु-
- 12 ¹⁰[रिदं] स[थ]ानं स्था[पि]तं [गो]ष्ठिपुङ्गवैः¹¹ ॥ [११*] दिवाकरसुतस्येयं
 धूर्तराशेद्विजन्मनः¹² [॥*] पूर्वातिमृदुभिर्वर्णैः प्रोत्कीर्णा नागमुण्डिना
 [॥] [१२*] ॥ ∴ ॥
- 13 [गो]ष्ठिकाक्ष¹³ [॥] राजिल । बकट । चन्द्रक । प्रतीहारबोटक ।
 राजस्थानीयादित्यभट । जा(?)ब(?)र्ण । मातुदासबङ्गदेव । कुलवर्धन ।
 धनदत्त[ब]सु [॥]
- 14 घुघक । धोन्धकपुत्रसत्यदेव । ककिलक । धनदत्त । गोमिक । हरि-
 गुप्त । [ब]पक । पपोट । सत्यदेव । रेभिलाक । रतिदास ।
 तरण । — — — — दत्त
- 15 दृढगुर । धनगर । बपाणन्दि । — — — । राजक । भद्रदेव ।
 रुद्रक । दत्तभिल्लमालकुय । खिलकु । आर्यदिण्ड । णणु ।
 णण्णरटनाग — —
- 16 तता । भिल्लमालकु । सत्तमदेव । बङ्गदास — — । श्रीमातागणिका
 बूटानान्नी ॥ * ॥ एवमेषां गोष्ठिकाराणां ¹⁴ना-
- 17 ¹⁵

¹ Metre: Rathôddhatâ.² Read विशेषतः.³ Read द्रविणैः⁰⁴ Read शश्वटे.⁵ Metre: Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh).⁶ Metre: Āryā; and also of the verse following.⁷ The letter य is engraved below the line.⁸ The word *pauraja* is curious, but it probably means "descendants of the citizens (of Vata)."⁹ Metre: Sragdharā.¹⁰ The *akṣaras* 'रिदं' are very indistinct.¹¹ Metre: Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh).¹² Read 'राशिदि'.¹³ Read गोष्ठिका अत्र.¹⁴ Read नामानि.¹⁵ About five letters have been incised in cursive form, but I am unable to read them.

No. 26. — DAULATABAD PLATES OF THE RASHTRAKUTA SANKARAGANA;
SAKA-SAMVAT 715.

By D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A., POONA.

These plates were in the possession of a Tongawalla, named Bhan Devram Bhat, a Brahmakshatri by caste, and residing at Daulatābād, in the Nizam's territory. They seem to have been preserved as heirloom in his family, and, according to the account given by him, it appears that they were given to his great-grandfather as a *sanad*. The plates were obtained on loan by me from the owner through Maulvi Syed Mohammad Bilgrami, First Tālukdār, Aurangābād district, who was kind enough to accede to my request promptly.

There are three plates, each of which measures about 7½" long by about 5" broad. The first plate is inscribed on one side only, and the remaining ones on both sides. The edges of the inner sides of them are fashioned slightly thicker so as to protect the writing, and the inscription is, on the whole, in a state of almost perfect preservation. The plates are strung on a circular ring, the ends of which are joined together by means of a knob bearing a roughly round seal, containing, in relief on a countersunk surface, a representation of Garuḍa, squatting and facing full-front; his hands are joined, palm to palm, on the chest, and are turned upwards; his legs rest one upon the other, and two projections at the sides denote his wings.

The characters of the original inscription belong to the northern class of alphabets prevailing in the 8th century. With regard to the forms of individual letters, attention may be drawn to *ā*, e.g. in *Asī*°, 1. 2; to *n*, which looks almost exactly like *m*, e.g. in *°pulina*°, 1. 12; to *ūga* in *ūhaṅga*, 1. 14; to *ñka* in *Śrī-Saṅkaragaṇarāja*, 1. 27; to *rya* in *vīryō*, 1. 20; and to *ñcha* in *°pañchabhī*°, 1. 35. The alphabet also includes signs for the numerals 7, 1, and 5 in line 41. The last sign is almost exactly like that for 5 given in the Sāmāṅgaḍh grant of Dantidurga, where the date is also expressed in words. No reasonable doubt can, therefore, be entertained as to the correct reading of the date of our inscription. The language is Sanskrit. Up to almost the close of line 24 the inscription is in verse, and two benedictive and imprecatory verses occur in lines 38-40; the rest is in prose. The number of verses at the beginning is 12. Of these, verses 1-9 also occur in other early Rāshtrakūṭa records. The remaining three verses are peculiar to this inscription, and are historically important. The whole of line 31 after the word *vra(bra)hmachāri* and a part of the line following have unquestionably been tampered with. They contained names of the donee and the village granted, which have been cancelled and replaced by new ones by heating the plates and beating in the letters originally engraved. The boundaries of this new village are specified after about the middle of line 42, where the original inscription really ends, down to line 55. The letters of these lines are as carelessly written and are of exactly the same type as those incised in lines 31-32 just referred to. Lines 42-55 are thus a continuation of the forgery commenced in lines 31-32. In respect of orthography, the letter *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*; there is an indifference about the doubling of consonants after *r*; the *visarga* is often wrongly omitted; the vowel *ri* is employed instead of *ri* in *bhūpas=trivishṭapa*, 1. 5, *Kanakādrir=iv=Ēndrarājah*, 1. 8, and *priy-ā[tmā*]jah*, 1. 24; the letter *gh* is employed instead of *h* once in *rāja-siṅghah*, 1. 4; and an *anusvāra* in conjunction with a following *n* is changed to that letter once in *dhvastin=naya*°, 1. 2.

The inscription records a grant by Samarāvalōka-śrī-Saṅkaragaṇa-rāja of the Rāshtrakūṭa family. In the introductory metrical portion, his genealogy is given, beginning with Gōvinda-rāja I. The genealogy set forth as far as Kṛishṇarāja I. is in verses 1-9 which, as already said, are to be met with in many other grants of this dynasty, and which consequently teach us nothing new. It then describes Gōvinda II. in the following words in verse 10, occupying ll. 19-21 and bearing a *double entendre*: "His son was king Gōvindarāja who was like Hari (Kṛishṇa) inasmuch as both were fond of battles, inasmuch as the former was celebrated for

having snatched away the glory of śrī-Pārijāta just as the latter was for having carried off the greatness of the auspicious *pārijāta* (tree), and inasmuch as the prowess of his arms was shown by the former by supporting Gōvardhana just as it was shown by the latter by uplifting the Gōvardhana (mountain)." The mythological sense is clear enough, and, besides, the verse seems to show that Gōvinda II. defeated a king of the name of Pārijāta, and made alliance with, and espoused the cause of, another prince called Gōvardhana.¹ The names Pārijāta and Gōvardhana are new, and have not so far been met with in epigraphic records. Then follows a verse (11) which is as important as it is unfortunately corrupt. But if the emendations proposed by me are accepted, the following appears to be its sense: "His younger brother was Nirupama, who, on perceiving him self-conceited, abandoned by (feudatory) princes, and even deprived of policy, assumed the royal authority placed (in the hands of a person) other than one possessed of devotion for the elders, in order that the sovereignty might not deviate from the family." What the verse means is that Gōvinda II. was a self-conceited ruler and resorted to bad policy, which resulted in the regal authority being held by a person who had no respect for the Rāshtrakūṭa sovereigns that preceded him, and consequently created disaffection amongst his feudatory chieftains, who deserted him, and that Dhruva-Nirupama fearing that the sovereignty would pass away to another dynasty, was compelled to take the reins of the government into his hands and thus rule over his brother's dominions. The Dēoli and Karhād grants of Kṛishṇa III., however, give a slightly different account. They record that "sensual pleasures made Gōvindarāja careless of the kingdom, and that, entrusting fully the universal sovereignty to his younger brother, Nirupama, he allowed his position as sovereign to become loose." The discrepancy in the two accounts is with regard to whether Dhruva-Nirupama was actually entrusted by Gōvinda II. with the management of the kingdom, the Dēoli and Karhād grants saying that it was so, but our inscription implying that it was not so, as it was left to the care of one who was anything but attached to the Rāshtrakūṭa family.² But the facts, the actual occurrences, mentioned in our charter, which is the earlier of the two and consequently more reliable, could not have been distorted, though the motives might have been coloured and differently expressed; and hence what most probably happened was that Gōvinda II. gave himself up to sensual pleasures and allowed the government of his kingdom to slip into the hands of a person other than Dhruva, and not of Dhruva himself, as the Dēoli and Karhād grants claim, and whether it was to remove the danger thereby caused to the stability of the Rāshtrakūṭa supremacy, as the motive is stated in our inscription, or, what is more likely, his mind lusted after sovereignty, for securing which a splendid opportunity had presented itself when Gōvinda II. gave himself up to vicious courses, Dhruva-Nirupama was successful in making himself ruler of his brother's dominions.

Verse 12 informs us that the paternal uncle of (Dhruva-)Nirupama was Śrī-Nanna, brother of Śrī-Kṛishṇarāja and son of Śrī-Kakkarāja. Then follows the preamble of the prose passage which usually precedes the formal part of a copper-plate inscription, and therein the

¹ I have taken the word *uddharana* in the sense of "uplifting, upholding," but it also signifies "eradication, extermination." In that case it would mean that Gōvinda II. slew a prince of the name of Gōvardhana. Or if Gōvardhana is here supposed to denote a province, it would mean that he devastated the province of Gōvardhana. A province and a place of that name have been mentioned in the Nāsik cave inscriptions, and have also been spoken of in the Purāṇas. But whether the name was extant so late as the 8th century is doubtful. A similar play upon the word *Gōvardhana* occurs in the Bagumrā grants of Indrarāja III. (above, Vol. IX. pp. 32 and 36).

² This discrepancy may perhaps be removed by putting a different interpretation on the words: *guru-bhakti-matō-nyasaṁsthām*. It might be said that the person who had no respect for the elders, i.e. the Rāshtrakūṭa sovereigns who were dead, and in whose hands the sovereignty lay, was no other than Gōvinda II. himself. It might be argued that the management of the kingdom had actually been entrusted to Dhruva by him on account of his sensual courses, as the Dēoli and Karhād plates claim, and that the motive put forth by Dhruva and his party for ousting Gōvinda II. and completely severing his connection with the Rāshtrakūṭa kingdom was that he had shown himself unworthy of his elders, i.e. the sovereigns who preceded him, by abandoning himself to sensual pleasures and not himself carrying on the administration of his kingdom. In my opinion, this interpretation would be far-fetched and fantastic.

name of the grantor Samarāvalōka-Śrī-Śaṅkaragana-rāja is specified, and he is mentioned as son of Śrī-Nanna just referred to. It is worthy of note that no titles have been coupled with his name. He was thus not even a feudatory chieftain. It is, therefore, no wonder that he is spoken of as issuing the charter with the express consent of Śrī-Kalivallabha Narēndradēva. The latter was doubtless an epithet of (Dhruva-)Nirupama, who was then the paramount sovereign and whose cousin Śaṅkaragana was. The proper object of the inscription is stated in ll. 28-33, but, as said above, the names of the original donee and the village granted to him which were engraved in ll. 31-32, have been erased, and new ones incised in characters which, though old, are not quite legible. The only particular which has survived of the original grantee is that he had emigrated from Tēnvi, and the expression *tat-pāda-pūjārtham guru-dakṣiṇā*, which occurs in l. 33, shows that he was the preceptor of Śaṅkaragana. Lines 34-36 contain a request to future rulers to respect the donation, and threaten with spiritual punishment those who might rescind it. Lines 37-40 quote two of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses. And the original inscription then concludes thus: "And this charter was written by Chandayika by order of the supreme ruler, when 715 years had elapsed in accordance with the era of the Śaka Kings." The supreme ruler here alluded to is (Druva-)Nirupama, and the Śaka year 715 must consequently refer to his reign. The earliest record—the Paiḥaṇ grant—of his son and successor Gōvinda III. is dated in Śaka 716. It is thus plain that (Dhruva-)Nirupama could not have lived long after Śaka 715 when our grant was made.

After this commences the second part of the forged record. It has been mentioned above that the names of the grantee and the village granted engraved in the original inscription in lines 31-32 have been erased, and new ones substituted for them by beating in the previous letters. The name of the new grantee cannot be made out, but his *gōtra* specified is Bhāradvāja. Secondly, the name of the new village incised appears to be something like Sāmira. And it is the boundaries of this village that are now specified in lines 42-53 after the completion of the old genuine inscription. The names are written so carelessly and the composition is so full of grammatical inaccuracies that it is not possible to be here definite about anything. In line 52 is given the expression *vala(lla)bha-narēndra* which is an epithet generally borne by the Rāshtrakūṭa rulers. The connection of this expression, however, with what precedes and follows is not clear. The forged document ends with *Śrī-Bhaṭaḥ(tā)rka-mataḥ || 800*. The name *Bhaṭārka* reminds one of the inscriptions of the Valabhi princes, and if the numerals taken for 800 are correctly read and represent a date, as is highly probable, it must be referred to the Valabhi era, and it thus becomes equivalent to A.D. 1119 which may be taken to be the date of the fabrication of the forged record. Our copper-plate charter, as has been said at the outset, was in the possession of a person from Daulatābād, a Brahmakshatri by caste, and has been preserved in his family as heirloom. As Brahmakshatri in the Dekkan are known originally to have come from Kāṭhiāwār, it is not unlikely that somebody in his family, after securing these plates, tampered with them in order to use them as documentary evidence to strengthen his otherwise disputable claim to the village therein mentioned, and it is but natural that he should engrave the name Bhaṭārka after the manner of the Valabhi plates which he must have either seen himself in Kāṭhiāwār or known about from his forefathers.

TEXT.¹

First Plate.

1 ओ² स्वस्ति [॥*] स वोव्यादेधसो³ धाम यन्नाभिक्रमलं कृतं [।*] हरश्च
यस्य कांतेन्दु-

¹ From the original plates.² Expressed by a symbol.³ Read ^०देधसा.

- 2 कलया कमलंकृतं ॥ [१*] ¹आसीद्वपत्तिमिरमुद्यतमण्डलाग्रो ध्वस्तिन्नयं-²
 3 नभिसुखो रणशर्व्वरीषु [१*] भूपः शुचिः पृथुरिवाप्तदिगन्तकीर्त्ति ³गोविन्द-
 4 राज इति राजसु राजसिंहः⁴ । (॥) [२*] तस्यात्मजो जगति विश्रुतदीर्घकीर्त्ति-
 5 रात्तार्त्तिहारिहरिविक्रमधामधारी । ⁵भूपस्तुविष्टपट्टपानुकृतिः
 6 कृतज्ञः श्रीककराज इति गोत्रमणिवर्ष्वभूव⁶ । (॥) [३*] तस्य प्रभिन्न-
 7 करटच्युतदानदन्तिदन्तिप्रहारविषमोस्त्रिखितांसुपीठः⁷ ।
 8 क्ष्मापः क्षितौ क्षपितशत्रुरभूतनूजः सद्राद्रकूटकनकादृरिवेन्द्र-⁸
 9 राजः । (॥) [४*] तस्योपार्जिततपसस्तनयश्चतुर्दधिवलयमालिन्या⁹ ।
 10 भोक्ता भुवि¹⁰ शतक्रतुसदृशः श्रीदन्तिदुर्गराजोभूत् । (॥) [५*] आसेतोव्विपुलो-¹¹
 11 पलावलिललल्लोलोर्म्मिवेलाजलादाप्राण्यकलांकितोमल-¹²
 12 शिलाजालात्तुषाराचलात् । आपूर्व्वपरवारिराशिपुलिनप्रान्त-

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 13 ¹³प्रसिद्धावधियेनेयं जगती ¹⁴स्वविक्रमवलेनैकातपचीकृता । (॥) [६*] अभूवृ-
 14 भङ्गमगृहीतनिशातशस्त्रमज्ञातमप्रतिहताज्ञमपेतयत्नं [१*] यो व-
 15 ल्लभं सपदि दण्डवलेन¹⁵ जित्वा राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरतामवाप । (॥) [७*]
 काञ्ची-
 16 ¹⁶सकेरलनराधिपचोलपाण्ड्यश्रीहर्षवज्रटविभेदविधानदत्तं [१*] कर्णार्णटकं
 17 ¹⁷वलमचिन्त्यमजोयमन्यैः भृत्यै¹⁸ कियद्भिरपि यः सहसा विजिग्ये । (॥) [८*]
 तस्मिन्¹⁹ दि-
 18 वं प्रयाति वल्लभराजे कृतप्रजापालः [१*] श्रीककराजसूनुर्मही-
 19 पति²⁰ कृष्णराज[१]भूत् ॥ [९*] त[त्सू]नुराहवरुचिः प्रथितो वभूव²¹ श्रीपा-
 20 रिजातविभवाहर[ण]प्रतीत²² [१*] गोवर्धनोद्धरणलक्षितवाहुवीर्यो²³
 21 गोविन्दराजनृपति ²⁴हरिणा समानः । (॥) [१०*] तस्यानुजो निरुपमस्त-
 सुदीर्घर्णमी-

¹ Read °आसीद्वपत्ति°.

² Read °न्नय°.

³ Read °कीर्त्तिर्गो°.

⁴ Read °सिंहः°.

⁵ Read °भूपस्त्रिविष्टप°.

⁶ Read °वर्ष्वभूव°.

⁷ Read °दन्तिदन्त° and °स्त्रिखितांस°.

⁸ Read कनकाद्रि°.

⁹ Read मालिन्या°.

¹⁰ Read भुवः°.

¹¹ Read °सेतोव्वि°.

¹² Read °कलंकितामल°.

¹³ Read °प्रसिद्धावधे°.

¹⁴ Read °वले°.

¹⁵ Read °वलेन°.

¹⁶ Read °काञ्ची°; the letter 'ल' in °केरलनराधिप° was first inadvertently omitted, but was afterwards engraved below between र and न, and the omission indicated by a horizontal stroke above.

¹⁷ Read °वल° and °भजेय°.

¹⁸ Read °मन्यैर्भृत्यैः°.

¹⁹ Read तस्मिन्°.

²⁰ Read °पतिः°.

²¹ Read वभूव°.

²² Read °प्रतीतः°.

²³ Read बाहु°.

²⁴ Read °नृपतिर्हरिणा°.

1. 2. 3. 4. 6. 8. 10. 12.

14
16
18
20
22
24

26
 28
 30
 32
 34
 36

[illegible]

- 22 च¹ त्यक्तं नृपैरपि नयेन विलुप्यमानं । र[1*]ज्यं चभार² गुरुभक्तिव-
तोन्त्यसंस्थं³
23 मा भूत्किलान्वयपरिच्युतिरत्र लक्ष्माः⁴ [11*] [11*] पितृव्यस्तस्य गुणवां
श्रीनत्र इति
24 विश्रुतः [1*] श्रीकृष्णराजभ्राता हि श्रीकृष्णराजपुत्राजः⁵ [11*] [11*] तत्पुत्रः

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 25 प्रकटपराक्रमाक्रान्तदिक्चक्रो 'पात्तानुरागः परच्छिद्रापवादरह-⁶
26 स्वेवन्धमूकवधिरो⁷ विरुद्धकामसेवी विमलागाधसलिल¹⁰ कान्तारभू-
27 मौ जलाशय इव प्रणयिनां ¹¹तृच्छोता समरावलोकश्रीशङ्करगणराजः
28 श्रीकलिवल्लभनरेन्द्रदेवानुमत्या¹² सर्वानेवागामिनृपतिग्रामकूट-
29 ¹³महत्तराधिकारिदीप्तिमनुवोधयत्यस्तु वः संविदितं यथास्माभि-
30 र्मातापित्रोरात्मनश्चानल्पपुन्ययशोभिद्वये¹⁴ (1) तेन्वीविनि-
31 ¹⁵गर्तव्रह्मचारी भारद्वाजगोत्राय वासुदे — — — नेयप-
32 ण्डि — — — भुक्त्या सामिराभिधानग्रामः साभ्यन्तरसिद्धिसर्व-
33 देयप्रहीणश्चतुराघाटविशुद्धस्तत्पादपूजार्थ¹⁶ गुरुदक्षिणा दत्ता ।
34 यतोस्मद्वंशैरन्यैर्वा पालनीयो रक्षणीयश्च । यो वाज्ञानतिमि-
35 रावृतमतिः¹⁷ ¹⁸आच्छिद्यादाच्छिद्यमानं चानुमोदितः¹⁹ स पञ्चभिर्म[हा]-
36 ²⁰पातकै चोपपातकैः संयुक्त²¹ स्यादित्युक्तं च भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्या-
37 सेन ।

Third Plate; First Side.

- 38 षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति²² भूमिदः [1*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च
39 तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥ [11*] विन्ध्याटवीष्वतोयांशु²³ शुष्ककोटरवासिनः [1*]

¹ दृश्य seems to have been intended, but is, of course, an ungrammatical form.

² Read चभार ; व and not च must have been in the original draft, and, being similar in formation, च was engraved instead of व.

³ Read °भक्तिमती°.

⁴ Read लक्ष्माः.

⁵ Read गुणवाञ्छी°.

⁶ Read °प्रियात्मजः ; त्म is omitted in the text. The श्री° of श्रीकृष्ण° or, what is more probable, the हि preceding it, is superfluous.

⁷ Read दिक्चक्रः and पात्तानुरागः.

⁸ हि was first incised, and then it was corrected into ह by erasure

⁹ Read °वधिरो.

¹⁰ Read °सलिलः.

¹¹ Read तृच्छाता.

¹² Read °देवानुमत्या.

¹³ Read °कार्यादीन्समनुवोध°.

¹⁴ Read °पुण्य°.

¹⁵ Read °व्रह्मचारि° ; all letters of l. 31 after °व्रह्मचारौ° and the first eight letters of the line following are forged ones, put in after effacing the original letters of the charter, which must have contained the name of the grantee and of the village granted.

¹⁶ Read °पूजार्थ°.

¹⁷ Here and in the following the rules of *sandhi* have not been followed.

¹⁸ Read आच्छिद्या°.

¹⁹ Read °मोदित°.

²⁰ Read °पातकैश्चोप°.

²¹ Read संयुक्तः.

²² This ought to be मोदते according to the rules of grammar ; but this will not suit the metre.

²³ Read °तीयाशु.

- 40 कृष्णाहयो हि जायन्ते भूमिदायं हरन्ति ये ।(॥) [१४*] लिखितं
चैतत्सासनं¹
41 शकनृपकालातीतसंवत्सरशतेषु ७१५ परमेश्वराज्ञया पर-
42 मेश्वराज्ञया² चन्दयिकेन ॥ ³पुनरपि ⁴सिम [१*] पूर्वत[:*]⁵ चिच-
43 ग्रामः [द]क्षिणतः निवग्रामः पश्चिमतः दधि[वाह]-
44 ल ॥ उत्तरतः⁶ पडलावदपटन एवं चतु[र]— —⁷
45 सिम⁸ पूर्वत⁹ टंकं । खेतसिमा¹⁰ पूर्वदरिदरिगहो (?) [पुनः]
46 टोणस्य टोणस्य मस्तुके शिलतलं । तीयनरज । नि-
47 वुतटाकं [१*] दक्षिणतः जंबुग्र(?)हरकः [१] दक्षिणतः¹¹ नीवग्राम
48 सती (?)ताविह—रेलाद्रिसंबकः हस्तिनिकगोग्रहदरीद-
49 धिवाहलतटा[कं] सिलाद्वयं सिबकपलासचिचाव-
50 दरितटाकं ॥ उत्तरतः¹² खाटके हटो क — — —

Third Plate ; Second Side.

- 51 यु[न]म(?)णिः । पूर्वदरीर(?)[ल]—वससिमापर्यंत¹³ व-
52 ली—[निव]ह । वलभनरेद्रेण हिरमाल—गांडुड-
53 क उत्तरतः¹⁴ देसिलस्यद्र ॥ ग्रामे भूमी ॥ इयञ्चोना-
54 क्षरमधिकाक्षरं वा सर्वं प्रमाणमिति ॥
55 ¹⁵श्रीभटःकर्मतः ॥ ८००

No. 27.—BUCHKALA INSCRIPTION OF NAGABHATTA ;
SAMVAT 872.

By D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A. ; POONA.

This inscription was first discovered by a *Brahmabhatta* of Jôdhpur named Nannurâma whose zeal for antiquarian matters is as unflagging as it is disinterested. It was found at Buchkalâ in the Bilâdâ district, Jôdhpur State. It is incised on a pilaster on the proper right forming part of the shrine wall jutting out into the *sabhâmanḍapa* of what is popularly known there as the temple of Pârvatî. The inscription contains twenty lines of, on the whole, well-

¹ Read चैतत्सासनं.

² This word is repeated unnecessarily.

³ The original inscription ends at चन्दयिकेन ; and after that begins again the forged part which goes on till l. 55 at the close. It is engraved so carelessly that I am by no means certain of my reading of it. It is, moreover, so full of grammatical inaccuracies, which, in many cases, are due to local pronunciation, that it is not desirable to correct them all.

⁴ Read सीमाः.

⁵ Read पूर्वतः.

⁶ Read उत्तरतः.

⁷ Probably चतुराष्टाटं.

⁸ Read सीमा.

⁹ Read पूर्वतः.

¹⁰ Read सीमा.

¹¹ This दक्षिणतः is probably a mistake for पश्चिमतः.

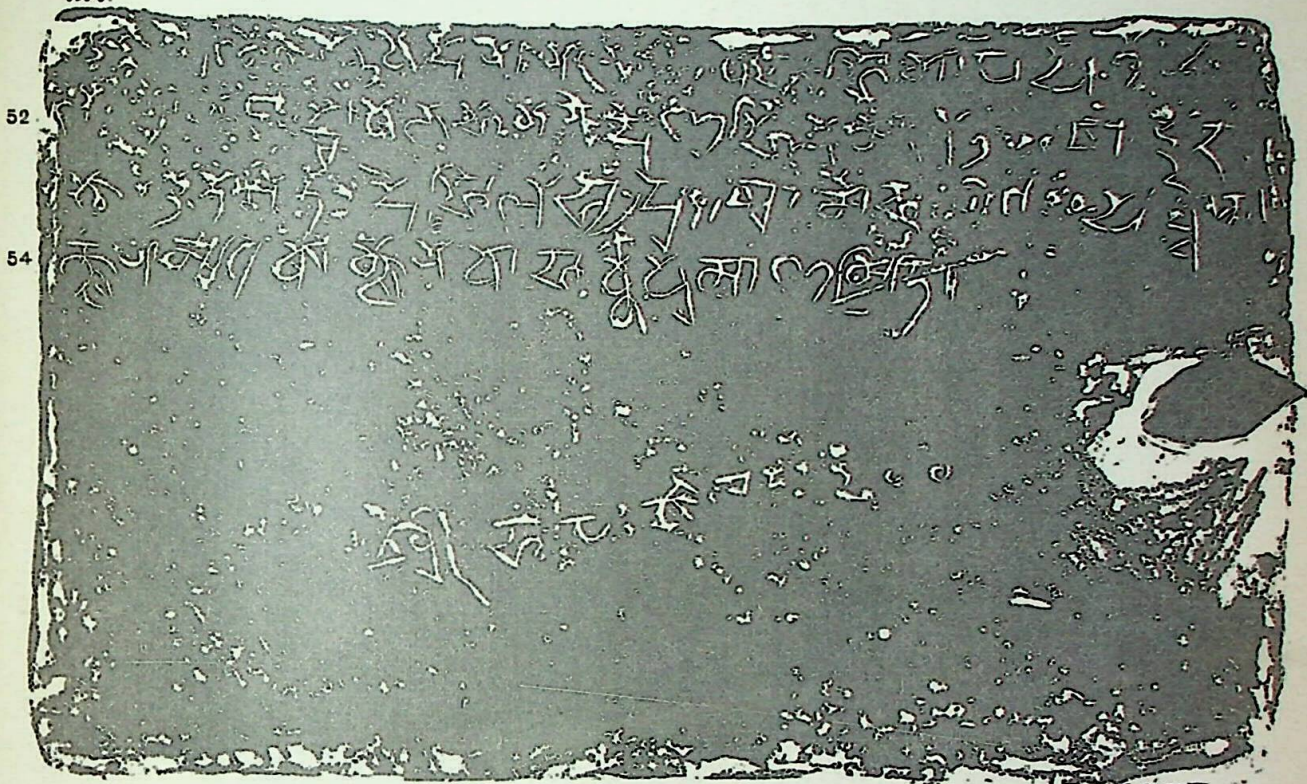
¹² Read उत्तरतः.

¹³ The reading चुली is also possible.

¹⁴ Read उत्तरतः.

¹⁵ Read श्रीभटःकर्मतः.

iii b.



preserved writing which covers a space of about 2' 4½" high by 11½" broad. The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets. They include the somewhat rare forms of *gh* and *ni* and the numeral figures 8, 7, and 2. Attention may also be drawn to the way in which the letters *s* and *n* are engraved. With regard to the latter there is no difference between it and *m*, except that the upper vertical strokes in the case of the former are much nearer to each other than in the case of the latter. The language is Sanskrit, but is anything but grammatical, and the whole is in prose. In respect of orthography, *t* is doubled in conjunction with a following *r*; *dhi* is written *ddhi* twice in the word *mahārājāddhīrāja*, and there is a tendency to use the dental sibilant instead of the palatal, though in one case the latter is substituted for the former, viz. in *sūtradhāra*, l. 20.

The inscription is dated Samvat 872¹ the fifth of the bright fortnight of Chaitra, and refers itself to the reign of the *P. M. P. Nāgabhaṭṭa-dēva* meditating on the feet of the *M. P. Vatsarāja-dēva*. It is thus clear that Nāgabhaṭṭa is no other person than Nāgabhaṭṭa, son of Vatsarāja, of the imperial Pratihāra dynasty wielding sway over the larger portion of North India. Of the princes of this royal family we have had but few dates earlier than the time of Bhōjadēva I. In fact, we had only one date, viz. Śaka 705 = A.D. 783-84, for Vatsarāja furnished by the Jaina work *Harivaṃśa-Purāṇa*. And our inscription now supplies the second date, V. S. 872 = A.D. 815 for his son Nāgabhaṭṭa.²

The purport of the inscription, however, is not quite clear. Something is said therein to have been set up (*nivēśitā*), but what that 'something' was is far from evident. This something, we are told, was set up, after building the temple (*dēvagrīha*) and worshipping the feet of *Paramēśvara*, in the village of Rājyaghaṅgakam, by the queen Jāyāvalī, the daughter of Jajjaka, who himself was a son of the Pratihāra Bapuka, and wife of Bhumbhuvaka, the son of Haragupta of the family called Avāṅgānaka. As Jāyāvalī has been spoken of as queen (*rājñī*), her husband must have been some kind of ruler, most probably a chieftain, feudatory to Nāgabhaṭṭa, and reigning at, or, at any rate, holding, Rājyaghaṅgakam, which must be supposed to be the old name of Buchkalā. The name of the *sūtradhāra* or mason is Pañchahari, the son of Dēiā.

The temple is, as we have seen, said to have been dedicated to *Paramēśvara*, which is usually taken to be a name of Śiva. This, however, does not agree with the sculptural details of the temple. Although it is now-a-days called a temple of Pārvatī, there is, truly speaking, no image in the sanctum. But on the dedicatory block on the shrine door and in the principal niche at the back, the images in which enable one to determine to what god the temple is dedicated, is a figure with four hands, doubtlessly representing some form of Viṣṇu, as the mace, discus, and conch-shell can be distinctly seen in its hands. Other images, also carved on the inner and outer walls of the temple, show that it was a Vaiṣṇava structure. The word *paramēśvara* must, therefore, be taken in its ordinary sense and as referring to Viṣṇu.

TEXT.³

- 1 श्रीं [1] संवत्सरश्चते ८७२
- 2 चैत्रस्य सितपक्षस्य पंचम्यां
- 3 निवेसिता⁴ ॥ महाराजाधिराज-⁵

¹ It is worthy of note that, in the copper-plate charters issued by Bhōjadēva I., Mahēndrapāla and Mahipāla alias Vināyaka-pāla, letter-numerals are used to express figures, whereas, in the present as well as other stone-inscriptions belonging to the time of these princes, decimal notation is employed. It will thus be seen that both systems were current in North India about this time. [In the facsimile 892 is a misprint for 872.—S. K.]

² The date has already been given by Prof. Kielhorn in his *Synchronistic Table for Northern India*, col. 9, from information furnished by Mr. Ojha.

³ From the original stone.

⁴ Read निवेसिता.

⁵ Read °राजाधिराज°.

- 4 परमेश्वरश्रीवत्सराजदेवपा-
- 5 दानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहारा-
- 6 ¹जाद्विराजपरमेश्वरश्रीनाग-
- 7 भट्टदेवस्वविषये प्रवर्द्धमान-
- 8 राज्ये राज्यघङ्ककङ्कामे
- 9 राज्ञी जायावली प्रतीहार-
- 10 ²स्वगोत्रश्रीबपुकपुत्रश्रीज-
- 11 ज्जकदुहिता ताकुङ्गवोत्पनावा-³
- 12 ज्ञानकस्वगोत्रश्रीहरगुप्त-⁴
- 13 पुत्रभुंभुवकपत्नी ⁵अन्न च पर-
- 14 मेस्वरो निर्वी³ क्त्वा अनेकजन्मा-
- 15 ⁷तरस्वसिर्वर्तसंसारदुःखाव-⁸
- 16 हरस्य परमेश्वरस्य⁹ पादा¹⁰
- 17 पुजयित्वा¹¹ देवगृहं करा-
- 18 प्य¹² [।*] पुन ¹³तस्य उपलिपन¹⁴
- 19 देहमासुतप[च्च]हरि¹⁵
- 20 शुचधारः¹⁶ ॥

No. 28.—KENDUR PLATES OF KIRTIVARMAN II.

SAKA SAMVAT 672.

By K. B. PATHAK, PROFESSOR OF SANSKRIT, DECCAN COLLEGE, POONA.

This inscription was first brought to my notice in May 1902 by Bhṛīṅgārkar bāvā, a well-known reciter of *kīrtans* at Poona. He was then engaged in a literary controversy about the identity of Jñānēśvara, the well-known saint of Alandi, with Jñānēśvara, the author of the Jñānēśvarī, a famous Marāṭhī commentary on the Bhagavadgītā, and asked me whether the inscription threw any light on the point he was discussing. When I told him that the grant was issued in Śaka 672, and had nothing to do with the author of the Jñānēśvarī, who was contemporary with Rāmadēva, the last of the Yādava kings of Dēvagiri, Bhṛīṅgārkar bāvā was kind enough to lend me the plates for the purpose of editing the inscription.

¹ Read °राजाधिरज°.

² Read °सगीत्र°.

³ Read °वीर्यना°.

⁴ Read °सगीत्र°.

⁵ Here and in the following the rules of *saṁdhi* have not been observed.

⁶ The words परमेश्वरो and निर्वी³ as they stand, make no sense, and I can suggest no correction.

⁷ Some such reading as °जन्मान्तरेष्वनिवर्ति° might be expected.

⁸ Read °दुःखा°.

⁹ Read परमेश्वरस्य.

¹⁰ Read पादौ.

¹¹ Read पूजयित्वा.

¹² Read कारयित्वा.

¹³ Read पुनस्तस्य.

¹⁴ Read उपलिपने. This word seems to have been here used in the sense of "engraving."

¹⁵ Read °हरिः°.

¹⁶ Read शुचधारः.

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
 २ श्रीगुरुभ्यो नमः ॥ १ ॥ २
 ४ श्रीगुरुभ्यो नमः ॥ २ ॥ ४
 ६ श्रीगुरुभ्यो नमः ॥ ३ ॥ ६
 ८ श्रीगुरुभ्यो नमः ॥ ४ ॥ ८
 १० श्रीगुरुभ्यो नमः ॥ ५ ॥ १०
 १२ श्रीगुरुभ्यो नमः ॥ ६ ॥ १२
 १४ श्रीगुरुभ्यो नमः ॥ ७ ॥ १४
 १६ श्रीगुरुभ्यो नमः ॥ ८ ॥ १६
 १८ श्रीगुरुभ्यो नमः ॥ ९ ॥ १८
 २० श्रीगुरुभ्यो नमः ॥ १० ॥ २०

The plates were found at Kêndûr, a village in the Khêḍ tâluka of the Poona district. They belong to Mr. Purushôttama Râjapâthak, now residing at Kêndûr. There are five plates, the first and the last of which are inscribed on one side only. The plates are equal in size, measuring $9\frac{1}{2}$ " long by $4\frac{1}{2}$ " broad. Their edges are raised into rims to protect the writing. The ring on which the plates are strung is about half an inch thick and $5\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter. The seal on the ring is oval, measuring 2" by $1\frac{1}{2}$ ". It has, in relief, on a countersunk surface, a standing boar facing to the proper left. The weight of the plates, together with the ring and seal, is 225 tolas. The inscription is in a state of excellent preservation. The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets. The language is Sanskrit throughout, and with the exception of the invocatory verse at the beginning and the benedictive and imprecatory verses at the end, the whole is in prose.

The grant is one of the Western Chalukya king Kirtivarman II., and is issued from the city of Raktapura, which is probably to be identified with Lakshmêśvara, in the Dharwar district. It records that on the full moon day of the month Vaisâkha, during a lunar eclipse, in Śaka 672 expired, in the sixth year of his reign, when his victorious camp was at Raktapura, Kirtivarman II., at the request of his great queen, granted to a Brâhmaṇa named Râmaśarman, the village of Beppaṭṭi in the centre of the villages of Penbasaaru, Kisumaṅgalam, Suḷḷam and Perbballi, in the district of Veḷvola. The five villages can be easily identified with Behaṭṭi, Hebsur, Kusugalla, Suḷḷa and Hebballi, in the Dharwar district. Veḷvola is a Sanskritized form of Beḷvola or Beḷvala, a name which is applied even at the present day to a portion of the southern Marâṭhâ country.

Before the discovery of the present grant, only three records of Kirtivarman II.'s time were known to scholars. Of these the most important is the Vakkalêri grant, which has been published by Mr. Rice¹ and re-edited by Dr. Kielhorn.² As interpreted by these scholars, the date of that grant is Śaka 679 expired, which is spoken of as the eleventh year of Kirtivarman's reign, while, according to the present grant, Śaka 672 expired was the sixth year of his reign. These two statements cannot be reconciled. It is, however, important to note that the present grant was issued five years earlier, and is perfectly legible throughout. It also mentions the occurrence of a lunar eclipse. Therefore the date in this grant, which admits of verification, is correct. But in the Vakkalêri grant, the first word describing the Śaka year is not legible. Both Mr. Rice and Dr. Kielhorn have proposed to read it as *nava*, nine, and this view has been endorsed by Dr. Fleet. But the proposed emendation does not agree with the present inscription, according to which Śaka 677 expired was really the eleventh year of the king's reign.

The historical information in the present grant may be briefly summarised thus. The first king of the Chalukya line was Polekêśin who performed horse sacrifices. Then came his son Kirtivarman I., who defeated the kings of Vanavâsi and other countries. His brother Maṅgalîśa being passed over, we are next introduced to Satyâśraya, better known as Polekêśin II., who defeated the famous Buddhist king Harshavardhana, the patron of the illustrious Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsiang and the hero of Bâṇa's immortal work, the *Harshacharita*. Polekêśin II.'s son, Vikramâditya I., was the next king, who recovered, by means of his horse Chitrakanṭha, part of the Chalukya dominions, which had been overrun by the Pallavas, and had obeisance done to him by the lord of Kâñchi, who had bowed down to none other. Vikramâditya I.'s son and successor was Vinayâditya, who broke the confederacy of the Chôlas, Kêraḷas, Pândyas and Pallavas, and defeated the paramount sovereign of Northern India. Vinayâditya's son Vijayâditya, the next king, had greatly assisted his father and grandfather in their wars. Though suddenly taken prisoner by the enemy, whom he had put

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. p. 23 ff.

² Above, Vol. V. p. 200 and ff.

to flight, he skilfully effected his escape and restored the splendour of the Chalukya empire. He was succeeded by his son Vikramāditya II., who led an excursion into the Tundāka country, defeated his natural foe the Pallava king Nandipōtavarman, and entered the Pallava capital Kāñchi, but did not destroy it. He restored to the Rājasimhēśvara and other temples, which had been caused to be built there by Narasimhapōtavarman, heaps of gold and rubies, which had been taken away from them. Vikramāditya II. was succeeded by his son Kirtivarman II., who issued the present grant.

TEXT.¹

First Plate.

- 1 Svasti [*] Jayaty=āvishkṛita[m] Vishṇōr=vvārāhaṁ kshōbbhit-ārpavām [*]
dakṣiṇ-ōnnata-daṁshṭr-āgra-viśrānta-bhuvanaṁ
- 2 vapuḥ [*] Śrīmatām sakala-bhuvana-saṁstūyamāna-Mānavya-sagōtrāpām Hār[i]ti-
putrāpām sa-
- 3 pta-lōkamāṭṛibhis=saptamāṭṛibhir=abhivardhitānām Kārttikēya-parirakṣaṇa-prāsta(pta)-
kalyāṇa-
- 4 paramparāpām bhagavan-Nārāyaṇa-prasāda-samāsādita-varāha-lāñchhan-ēkṣaṇa-
kṣaṇa-
- 5 vaśi-kṛit-āśēsha-mahābhṛitān-Chalukyānām kulam=alāṁkarishṇōr=aśvamēdh-āva-
- 6 bhṛithasāna-pavitri-kṛita-gātrasya śrī-Pōlekēśi-vallabha-mahārājasya sū-
- 7 nuḥ parākram-ākṛānta-Vanavāsy-ādi-paranṛpati-maṇḍala-prapibaddha-viśuddha-kirtti-
śrī-
- 8 Kirttivarmma-prithu(thi)vīvallabha-mahārājas=tasy-ātmajas=samara-saṁsakta-sakalōttarā-
- 9 pathēśvara-śrī-Harshavardhana-parājay-ōpātta-paramēśvara-śabdas=tasya Sa-

Second Plate; First Side.

- 10 tyāśraya-śrī-prithu(thi)vīvallabha-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvarasya priyatanayasya
- 11 prajāta-nayasya khatga(ḍga)-mātra-sahāyasya Chitrakaṇṭhākhyā-pravara-turaṁgamēṇ=
aikē-
- 12 n=aiv=ōtsādīt-āśēsha-vijigīṣhōr=avanipati-tritay-āntarītām svagurō śriyam=
ātmasā-
- 13 t-kṛitya prabhāva-kulīsa-dalita-Pāṁḍya-Chōḷa-Kēraḷa-Kalabhra-prabhṛiti-bhūbhṛid-a-
- 14 dabhra-vibhramasy=ānanyāvanata-Kāṁchīpati-makuṭa-chumbita-pādāmbujasya
- 15 Vikramāditya-Satyāśraya-śrī-prithu(thi)vīvallabha-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśva-
- 16 ra-bhaṭṭārakasya priyasūnōḥ pitur=ājūyā Bālēndugē(śē)kharasya Tārakārāti-
- 17 r=iva daityabalam=atīsamuddhataṁ trairājya-Kāṁchīpati-balam=avashṭabhya kara-

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 18 dikṛita-Kavēra-Pārasika-Simhaḷ-ādi-dvīp-ādhipasya sakal-ōttarāpatha²-nātha-māthan-
ōpārjit-ō-
- 19 rjita-pālīdhvaj-ādi-samasta-pāramaiśvaryya-chinha(hna)sya Vinayāditya-Satyāśraya-
śrīprithu(thi)vīvalla-
- 20 bha-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-bhaṭṭārakasya priy-ātmajaś=śai[śa*]va ēv=ādhiगत-
āśēsh-āstra-
- 21 śāstrō dakṣiṇāśā-vijayini pitāmahē samunmūlita-nikhila-kaṇṭaka-saṁhatir=
uttarāpatha-
- 22 vijigīṣhōr=gurōr=agrata ēv=āhava-vyāpāram=ācharann=arāti-gaja-ghaṭā-pāṭa-

¹ From the original plates.² The engraver has originally written *pathē, but corrected it.

[illegible]

ii a.

[illegible]

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

CC-0. Jangamwadi Math Collection. Digitized by eGangotri

ii b.

8
20
22
24
26

iii a.

28
30
2
4

- 23 na-viśīryamāṇa-kṛipāṇa-dhāras=samagra-vigrah-āgrēsara[h*] san=sāhasa-rasikaḥ
 24 parām(ū)mukhikṛita-śatrumaṇḍalō Gaṁgā-Yamunā-pālidhvaja-paḍaḍhakkā-mahāśabda-
 mā-
 25 pikya-mataṁgaj-ādin=pitṛisāt=kurvvan=paraiḥ palāyamānair=āsāḍya katham=api
 vidhivaśā-
 26 d=apanitō=pi pratāpād=ēva vishaya-prakōpam=arājakam=utsārayan=Vatsarāja i-

Third Plate; First Side.

- 27 v=ānapēkshit-āpara-sāhāyakas=tad-avagrahān=nirggatya svabhuj-āvasṭambha-prasādhit-
 āśēsha-viśva-
 28 mbharah prabhur=akhamḍita-śaktitrayatvāt(ch)=chhatru-mada-bhamjanatvād=
 udāratvān=niravadyatvād=yas=sa-
 29 masta-bhuvan-āśrayas=sakala-pāramaiśvaryya-vyakti-hētu-pālidhvaj-ādy-u[j*]jvala-prājya-
 30 rājyō Vijayāditya-Satyāśraya-śrīprithu(thi)vīvalabha-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśva-
 31 ra-bhaṭṭārakasya priyaputras=sakala-bhuvana-sāmrajya-lakshmi-svayamvar-ā-
 32 bhishēka-samay-ānantara-samupajāta-mahōtsāhaḥ ātmavaśśaja-pū-
 33 rvva-nṛpati-chchhāy-āpahāriṇaḥ prakṛity-amitrasya Pallavasya samūl-
 ōnmūlanāya
 34 kṛita-matir=atitvarayā Turṇḍāka-vishayam prāpy=ābhimukh-āgatan=
 Nandipōtavarmma-ā-
 35 bhidhānam Pallavam rana-mukhē samprahṛitya prapalāyya
 kaṭumukha-vāditra-sa-

Third Plate; Second Side.

- 36 mudraghōsh-ābhidhāna-vāḍya-viśēshān(shau)=khaṭvāṁga-dhvaja-pramatta-prabhūta-
 prakhyāta-hasti-varā-
 37 n=sva-kirāṇa-nikara-vikāsa-nirākṛita-timiram-māṇikya-rāsiñ=cha hastēkṛitya
 Kalaśabhava-nila-
 38 ya-harid-aṁgan-ānchita-kānchīyamānām Kānchim=avināśya praviśya satata-
 pravṛitta-dā-
 39 n-ānā(na)ndita-dvija-dīn-ānātha-janaḥ Narasimhapōtavarmma-nirmmāpita-śilāmaya-
 40 Rājasimhēśvar-ādi-dēvakula-suvarṇarāsi-pratyarpṇa-ōpārjit-ōrjita-pu-
 41 nyah anivārita-pratāpa-prasara-pratāpita-Pāṇḍya-Chōḷa-Kēraḷa-Kaḷabhra-
 42 prabhṛiti-rājanyakaḥ kshubhita-kari-makara-kara-hata-dalita-śukti-mukta-muktāphala-
 43 prakara-marīchi-jāla-vilasita-vēl-ākulē ghūrṇamān-ārṇō-nidhānē dakṣiṇā-
 44 rṇavō śarad-amala-śāsadhara-viśada-yaśō-rāsi-mayam jayastambham=atisht[h*]ipat

Fourth Plate; First Side.

- 45 Vikramāditya-Satyāśraya-śrīprithu(thi)vīvalabha-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-bha-
 46 ṭṭārakasya sūnuḥ(r) bālyē susikshita-śāstra-śāstra[h*] sva-guṇa-kalāp-ānandita-
 hṛi-
 47 dayēna pitṛā samārōpita-yauvarājya[h*] svakula-vairiṇaḥ Kānchīpatēr-
 nnigrahā-
 48 ya mām prēshaya ity=ādēsam prārthya labdhvā tad-anantaram=ēva kṛita-
 prayāṇas=sann=a-
 49 bhimukham=āgatya prakāsa-yuddham kartum=asamarttham praviśta-durggam
 Palla-
 50 vam samantatō=bhibhūya bhagnasaktim kṛitvā prabhūta-matta-mataṁgaja-su-
 51 varṇa-māṇikya-kōṭīr=ādāya pitṛē samarpṇītvān=ēvam kramēṇa prāpta-sā-

- 52 rvvabhauma-padaḥ pratāp-ānurāg-āvanata-samasta-sāmanta-makuṭa-mā-
 53 lā-rajah-pumja-pimjarita-charaṇa-sarasirhaḥ(ruhaḥ) Kirtivarman-Satyā-

Fourth Plate; Second Side.

- 54 śraya-śrīprithivīvallabha-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-bhaṭṭārakas=sarvān-ēva-
 55 m=ājñāpayati [I*] Veditam=astu vō=smābhir=dvisaptaty-uttara-shaṭchhatēshu
 Śakavarshēshv-atitēshu
 56 pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājya-samvatsarē shashṭhē varttamānē Raktapuram-
 adhivasa-
 57 ti vijaya-skandhāvārē Vaisākha-paurṇamāsyām sōmagrahaṇē Kāśyapa-gō-
 58 trāya Vājappasarmmaṇaḥ¹=pauṭrāya Mākaya-Vājapē[ya*]-yājinaḥ
 59 putrāya vēda-vēdāṅga-pāragāya Rāmasarmmaṇē Vēlvola-visha-
 60 yē Penbasaaru-Kisumāṅgalaṁ-Suḷḷaṁ-Perbaḷli-nāma-grāmāpām=ma-
 61 dhyē Beppaṭṭi-nāma-grāmō śrī-mahādēvi-vijñāpanayā dattaḥ

Fifth Plate.

- 62 Tad=āgāmibhir=asmad-vamśyair=anyaiś=cha rājabhir=āyur-aiśvaryy-ādinām vilasitam=
 achi-
 63 r-āmsu-chañchalam=avagachchhadbhir=āchandr-ārka-dhar-ārṇava-sthiti-samakālaṁ yaśaś=
 chiki-
 64 rshubhis=sva-datti-nirvviśēshaṁ paripālaniyam=Uktañ=cha bhagavatā vēda-
 vyāsēna
 65 Vyāsēna [I*] Bahubhir=vvasudhā bhuktā rājabhis=Sagar-ādibhiḥ [I*] yasya
 yasya
 66 yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ [II*] Svan-dātum sumahach=
 chhakyam
 67 duḥkham=anyasya pālanaṁ [I*] dānam vā pālanaṁ v=ētti(v=ēti) dānāch=chhrēyō=
 nupālanaṁ [II*]
 68 Svadattām paradattām vā yō harēta vasundharām [I*] shashṭh(ṭ)im
 varsha-saha-
 69 srāpi viśṭhāyām jāyatē kri(kṛi)mīr=itī [II*] Dhanamjaya-Puṇyavallabhēna
 likhita-
 70 m=idam.

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1.) Hail! victorious is the body of Vishṇu, manifested in the form of a boar on whose uplifted right tusk rests the world, and who has agitated the ocean.

(Lines 2 to 6.) The great king, the prosperous Polekēsi-vallabha, whose body was purified by the *avabhṛitha* bath terminating a horse-sacrifice, and who adorned the family of the prosperous Chalukyas, who belonged to the family of Mānavya praised by the whole world, who were the sons of Hārītī, who were reared by seven mothers, the mothers of the seven worlds, who had acquired a series of benefits through the protection of Kārttikēya, and who had subdued in an instant all kings at the sight of the sign of the boar acquired through the favour of the revered Nārāyaṇa.

(Ll. 6 to 8.) His son was the prosperous Kirtivarman, the great king, and the lord of the earth, who had achieved spotless fame by the conquest of Vanavāsi² and other countries of hostile kings.

¹ [Looks like *Vājaparmmaṇaḥ*.—S. K.]

² Also called Banavāsi or Banavase.

iii b.

36 36
38 38
40 40
42 42
44 44

iv a.

46 46
48 48
50 50
52 52

STEN KONOW.

SCALE 0·7

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

FROM INK-IMPRESSIONS SUPPLIED BY D. R. BHANDARKAR.

20 b.

... 54
... 56
... 58
... 60

20.

... 62
... 64
... 66
... 68
... 70

(Ll. 8 to 9.) His son was he who had acquired the title of *Paramēśvara* by defeating the prosperous *Harṣhavardhana*, the lord of all the north, and addicted to war.

(Ll. 10 to 16.) The dear son of that¹ asylum of truth, the prosperous lord of the earth, the great king of kings, the great lord, was *Vikramāditya*, well versed in politics, whose companion was his sword alone, who had destroyed all rivals only with his excellent horse called *Chitrakaṇṭha*, who retrieving the fortune of his father, which had been interrupted by the confederacy of the three² kings, had destroyed the great splendour of the mountain-like kings of the *Pāṇḍyas*, *Chōlas*, *Kēraḷas*, *Kaḷabhras* and others with his prowess resembling a thunderbolt,³ whose lotus-like feet were kissed by the crest of the lord of *Kāñchi* who had not bowed down to others, and who was the asylum of truth, the prosperous lord of the earth, the great king of kings, the venerable emperor.

(Ll. 16 to 20.) His dear son, who reduced to the condition of tributaries the kings of *Kavēra*, *Pārasika*, *Simhala* and other countries after vanquishing the proud army of the confederacy of the three⁴ kings and the lord of *Kāñchi* at the command of his father, just as *Kārtikēya*, at the command of *Śiva* defeated the very insolent host of demons, who had acquired all the symbols of sovereignty such as a lofty *pāḷidhvaja*⁵ and others by subjugating the king of all the north, was *Vinayāditya*, the asylum of truth, the prosperous lord of the earth, the great king of kings, and the venerable lord.

(Ll. 20 to 30.) His dear son, who while still a child, had mastered all the sciences and the use of arms, who when his grandfather conquered the southern region had uprooted the multitude of all his foes resembling thorns, conducting warlike operations in the very presence of his father who was desirous of conquering the north, who had the edge of his sword blunted by destroying the group of hostile elephants, who took the lead in all fighting, fond of meeting danger, who caused the multitude of his enemies to turn their backs, delivering to his father the variegated *pāḷi*-banner,⁶ the *ghaṅṅkā*, the great musical instruments,⁶ rubies and intoxicated elephants, who, though taken captive through the force of circumstances by the flying foe approaching with some difficulty, put an end to anarchy and popular commotion by his prowess alone, and like *Vatsarāja*, expecting no help from others, escaped from the peril and conquered the whole earth by dint of his arm, who was an emperor, the asylum of truth, through his three powers being uninterrupted, through his breaking the pride of his enemies, through his liberality and blamelessness, whose vast empire was resplendent with a *pāḷidhvaja* which was a symbol of universal sovereignty, was *Vijayāditya*, the asylum of truth, the prosperous lord of the earth, the great king of kings and the venerable lord.

(Ll. 31 to 45.) His dear son, who had enjoyed great pleasure immediately after the time of his anointment at the self-choice by the goddess of universal sovereignty, who resolved to uproot the *Pallava* king, his natural foe, who had robbed of splendour the former kings of his line, who on coming to the *Tuṇḍāka*⁷ district in great haste, beat and put to flight, at the opening of the campaign, the opposing *Pallava* king named *Nandipōtavarmān*,

¹ *Tasya* means "of one who is well-known or referred to above."

² Compare the expression *avanipatitritaya* with *trairājya* in line 17. *Ātmasāt-kṛitya* should be **kṛitā*.

³ *Vikramāditya* is compared to *Indra*.

⁴ *Trairājya* is used by *Jinasēna* in the following verse (*Ādipurāṇa*, XXX. 35), and is explained by the commentator to mean *Chōla*, *Kēraḷa* and *Pāṇḍya* :—

prasādhya dakṣhiṇām=āśām vibhūṣ trairājyapālakān |
samam praṇamayām=āśa vijitya jayasādhanaś |

⁵ For the explanation of *pāḷidhvaja*, see my paper in the *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV. p. 104.

⁶ The expression *mahāśabda* is frequently used in this sense in *Pampa Bhārata*, p. 211.

⁷ *Tuṇḍāknishaya* or *Tuṇḍai* is a name of the *Draviḍa* country. *Kāñchi* or *Conjeeverum* was the capital of it.

took¹ possession of particular musical instruments, called *kaṭumukhavādita* and *samudraghōsha*, the *khaṭvāṅga-dhvaja*, many excellent and well-known intoxicated elephants and a heap of rubies, which dispelled darkness by the brilliancy of the multitude of their rays, who entered, without destroying it, the city of *Kāñchī*, which was, as it were, a girdle adorning yonder lady, the region of the south, who had rejoiced *Brāhmaṇas*, and poor and helpless people by his uninterrupted liberality, who acquired high merit by restoring heaps of gold to the stone temples of *Rājasimbhēśvara* and other gods, which had been caused to be built by *Narasimhapōtavarman*, who distressed *Pāṇḍya*, *Chōḷa*, *Kēraḷa*, *Kaḷabhra* and other kings by the extent of his valour which could not be withstood, and who erected a pillar of victory² in the form of his great fame, as bright as the cloudless autumnal moon in the southern ocean, full of rolling waves, the shores of which were shining with the multitude of rays of numerous pearls dropped from shells struck and broken by the trunks of excited elephants resembling whales, was *Vikramāditya*, the asylum of truth, the prosperous lord of the earth, the great king of kings, and the venerable lord.

(Ll. 46 to 54.) His dear son, who was trained in science and the use of arms in his childhood, was appointed heir-apparent by his father whose heart was delighted with a multitude of his virtues; who having asked for and obtained an order to put down the lord of *Kāñchī*, the enemy of his family, led an expedition, defeated the *Pallava* king in every quarter, who, unable to meet him in an open field had taken refuge in a fort, made him powerless, took possession of many ruttish elephants, gold and crores of rubies, and delivered them to his father; who thus gradually attained to the position of an emperor, and whose lotus-like feet were rendered yellowish by the mass of pollen on the numerous crests of all feudatory kings, who bowed to him through love of his heroism, *Kirtivarman*, the asylum of truth, the prosperous lord of the earth, the great king of kings, and the venerable lord, thus commands all;

(Ll. 55 to 61.) Be it known to you, when six hundred and seventy-two years of the *Śaka* era had passed away, and the sixth year of [our] increasing prosperous reign was current, when our victorious camp was located at *Raktapura*, on the full moon of *Vaiśākha* during a lunar eclipse, the village named *Beppaṭṭi* surrounded by the villages named *Peṇbasaaru*, *Kisumaṅgalam*, *Suḷḷam* and *Perbbalḷi*, in the district of *Veḷvola*, was granted by us at the request of the prosperous great queen to *Rāmaśarman*, well versed in the *Vēdas* and *Vēdāṅgas*, who was the son of *Mākaya*, a performer of the *Vājapēya* sacrifice, and the grandson of *Vājappaśarman* of the *Kāśyapa* gōtra.

(Ll. 62 to 64.) This should be preserved, as though it were their own gift, by future kings of our own family or others, knowing the flash of life and other things to be as changeful as lightning, and desirous of achieving a fame lasting as long as the moon, the sun, earth, and ocean will endure.

(Ll. 65 to 70.) And it is said by the venerable *Vyāsa*, the arranger of the *Vēdas*. The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, including *Sagara*. Whoever is the owner of the earth, reaps its fruit. It is very easy to give what is one's own; it is difficult to preserve what is given by others. Of the two things—a gift and preservation—preservation is the better. He who takes away land, whether given by himself or others, is born as a worm in ordure for sixty thousand years. This is written by *Dhanañjaya*³ *Puṇyavallabha*.

¹ The expression *hastē-kṛitya* is not wrong; compare *Dhanañjaya*, *Dvīsandhānakāvya* XIII. 36, and *Bhaṭṭōji Dikshita's* remark on *Pāṇini* I. 4, 77: *svikāramātram=ity=anyē*; *hastē-kṛitya mahāstrānti*. See *Padamañjarī*, p. 224 (Benares edition).

² *Vikramāditya* II. did not set up a pillar of victory; only his fame, which spread to the shores of the southern ocean, is compared to such a pillar.

³ This must be the same person who composed the *Vakkalēri* grant five years later. A relative of his, perhaps his father, was *Anivāritapuṇyavallabha*, who wrote the *Kāñchī* inscription of *Vikramāditya* II. (above, Vol. III. p. 359 f.).

No. 29.— DATES OF CHOLA KINGS.

BY THE LATE PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

(Continued from Vol. VIII, page 274.)

From the materials supplied to me by Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya I publish here, with the results of my calculations, twenty-two more dates of Chôla kings (Nos. 137-158), and two dates (Nos. 159 and 160) of the king Peruñjiṅgādēva, "who claims to be a Pallava and who subverted the Chôla sovereignty about A.D. 1231-32."¹ Five of these dates (Nos. 145-149) belong to the king Rājādhirāja [II.] Rājākēsarivarman, of whom no dates have yet been published, and whose reign these dates with great probability show to have commenced between (approximately) the 28th February and the 30th March A.D. 1163. The other dates in general merely confirm the correctness of the results previously found for the commencement of the reigns of the kings to whom they belong; but No. 142 reduces the period, during which Rājārāja II. must have commenced to reign, to the time from (approximately) the 6th April to the 11th July A.D. 1146.²

I am still keeping back a number of dates of Kulōttuṅga-Chôla II. Rājākēsarivarman in the hope that more dates of this king may be discovered before long.

At the end of this article I give a list of all published dates of Chôla kings that have been examined by me, with approximate statements of the time when each king commenced to reign.

A.— RAJARAJA I.

137.— In the Śivayōganāthasvāmin temple at Tiruviśālūr.³

- 1 Svasti śrī [|| —] Kō-Rājārājākēsarivarmmakku yāṇḍu 5 āvadu ivv-āṭṭ[ai]
[Dha]nu-[n]āyaru Nāyaru-kk[i]lamaiyum Mūlamum pakka-
2 m ⁴prathipadamum kūḍiṇa vara-yōgatt[i]ṇ pōdu.

"In the 5th year (of the reign) of king Rājārājākēsarivarman,— on the day of the auspicious *yōga* which was combined with the first *tithi* of a fortnight,⁵ (the *nakshatra*) Mūla and a Sunday in the month of Dhanus of this year."

I have previously found⁶ that Rājārāja I. commenced to reign between (approximately) the 25th June and the 25th July A.D. 985. This date of the 5th year of his reign corresponds to Sunday, the 1st December A.D. 989, which was the 8th day of the month of Dhanus, and on which the first *tithi* (of the bright half of Pausa) commenced 5 h. 6 m., while the *nakshatra* was Mūla, by the equal space system for 16 h. 25 m., and according to Garga for 3 h. 56 m., after mean sunrise.

For dates with the auspicious *yōga*— also called *amṛita-yōga*⁷— of a Sunday with the *nakshatra* Mūla, see above, Vol. VI. p. 21, No. 33, and note. Compare also Hēmachandra's *Śabdīnaśāsana-vṛitti*, end of Adhyāya II. Pāda 2: *Mūlārkaḥ*⁸ *śrūyatē śāstrē sarvakalyāṇa-kāraṇam* | *adhunā Mūlārājas=tv chitraṁ lōkēshu gīyatē* ||.

¹ See Mr. Venkayya's *Annual Report* for 1906-07, p. 89.

² Compare above, Vol. VIII. p. 264.

³ No. 19 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1907.

⁴ Read *pratipada*°.

⁵ It is not stated whether it was the bright or the dark fortnight.

⁶ See above, Vol. VII. p. 6.

⁷ See *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. p. 114, No. 10.

⁸ I.e. *Mūla-nakshatrēṇa yuktō'rkaḥ sūryaḥ*.

138 and 139.—In the Amṛitaghaṭeśvara temple at Tirūkkaḍaiyūr.¹

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] [Tiru-ma]gaḷ
 2 śrī-kōv-Irājarājakēsaripanmaṛku yāpḍ[u]
 16 vadu āgum yāṇḍu Pi-
 3 [ra]ṭṭādi=tti[ṅga]ḷ piṇ=pakkattu=[p]pakkam [8 eṭṭu]=kki[la]mai² Tiṅgaḷ nāḷ
 Pu[ṇa]rpūsam
 9 i[r*]v-[āṇḍēy] Tulā-nāyaṛu pū[r]vva-bha]kshat[tu]
 dvā[da]śiyum Nāya[r]u-kilā[m]ai[yum] peṇṇa Iraivadi . . .³

"In the year which was the 16th year (of the reign) of the glorious king Rājarājakēsarivarman,—on the day of Punarvasu, the week-day (being) Monday, (and) the day of the fortnight being [8—eight—] of the second half of the month Purattādi on [the day of] Rēvati which corresponded to a Sunday and to the twelfth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Tulā in this year."

The first of these two dates regularly corresponds to Monday, the 23rd September A.D. 1000, which was the 29th day of the month Purattādi (i.e. the month of Kanyā), and on which the 8th *tithi* of the dark half (of Āśvina) commenced 0 h. 55 m., while the *nakshatra* was Punarvasu, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 22 h. 20 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 21 h. 40 m., after mean sunrise.

The second date apparently corresponds to Sunday, the 13th October A.D. 1000. This was the 18th day of the month of Tulā, and on it the 12th *tithi* of the bright half (of Kārttika)⁴ ended 1 h. 17 m. after mean sunrise; but as the *nakshatra* was Rēvati only from 11 h. 10 m. after mean sunrise, I should have expected the day to be described as the day of (the preceding *nakshatra*) Uttara-Bhadrpadā.

140.—In the Śiva temple at Pēraṅgiyūr.⁵

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] śrī-Rāja-Rājarājadēvaṛku yāṇḍu
 2[4]āvadu i-yāṇḍu⁶ Mṛiṇchika-nāyaṛu pū[r]vva-
 pakshattu=P[puday]-kilamaiyum paṇjamiyum peṇṇa Ti[ru]vō[ṇa]ttiṇ nā[ḷ].

"In the 2[4]th year (of the reign) of the glorious Rāja-Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Śravaṇa, which corresponded to the fifth *tithi* and to a [Wednesday] of the first fortnight of the month of Vṛiśchika in this year."

For the given week-day (Wednesday) and the *nakshatra* Śravaṇa the date would be wrong for all the ten years from the 20th to the 29th year of Rājarāja's reign. Irrespectively of the week-day, the date for the 24th year would correspond to Saturday, the 6th November A.D. 1008, which was the 12th day of the month of Vṛiśchika, and on which the 5th *tithi* of the bright half (of Mārgaśīrsha) ended 3 h. 33 m. after mean sunrise, while the *nakshatra* by all systems was Śravaṇa the whole day. I have little doubt that this Saturday is the proper equivalent of the date and that the week-day, if not misread, has been wrongly given in the original.

¹ No. 27 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906.

² The letter *la* is engraved below the line.

³ Read *Rēvati-ndī*.

⁴ I.e. the *utthāna-dvādaśi-tithi* (the *tithi* of the awakening of Viṣṇu).

⁵ No. 208 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906.

⁶ Read *Vṛiśchika*.

B.—VIKRAMA-CHOLA.

141.—In the Amṛitaghaṭṭhēśvara temple at Tirukkaḍaiyūr.¹

1 Svasti śrī [||*] Pâ-mâlai m[i]ḍaindu
16 kô=Pparakēsaripatmar=â[na] Tribhuvana-
chchakravatti-
17 gaḷ śrī-Vikrama-Śôḷadēvaṅku yāṇḍu 6 āṟ[ā]vadu V[ri]śchi
.²[y]aiyum [Bu]ḍaṅ-kiḷamaiyum peṟṟa Mṛigaśirshatti=nāḷ.

“In the 6th— sixth — year (of the reign) of king Parakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vikrama-Chōḷadēva,— on the day of Mṛigaśirsha, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the [second?] *tithi* of the [of the month of] Vṛiśchi[ka].”

The reign of Vikrama-Chōḷa has been found ³ to commence on the 29th June A.D. 1118, and this date of the 6th year of his reign undoubtedly corresponds to Wednesday, the 7th November A.D. 1123. This was the 11th day of the month of Vṛiśchika, and on it the second *tithi* (of the dark half of Kārttika) ended 4 h. 45 m., while the *nakshatra* was Mṛigaśirsha, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 7 h. 13 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 5 h. 55 m., after mean sunrise.

C.—RAJARAJA II.

142.—In the Grāmārdhanāthēśvara temple at Elvānāśūr.⁴

1 Svasti śrī [||*] Pâ maruviya Tiru-mādum
13 kô=Pparakēsari[pa]tmar=āna Tribhuvanachchakravar-
14 tigaḷ śrī-Rājarājadēvaṅku yāṇḍu ⁵ [1]ṣ[vadu] ⁶ Mâ-
15 sha-nāyaṅṟu pūrvva-pakshattu ashṭami[ya]m Budan-ki-
16 ḷamaiyum peṟṟa Pūsatti-nāḷ.

“In the [1]5th year (of the reign) of king Parakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,— on the day of Pushya, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the eighth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mēsha.”

With the result previously obtained ⁷ for the commencement of the reign of Rājarāja [II.] Parakēsarivarman, this date regularly corresponds to Wednesday, the 5th April A.D. 1161, which was the 13th day of the month of Mēsha and on which the 8th *tithi* of the bright half (of Vaiśākha) ended 12 h. 54 m., while the *nakshatra* was Pushya, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 11 h. 10 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 9 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise.

143.—In the Grāmārdhanāthēśvara temple at Elvānāśūr.⁸

4 kô=Pparakēsaripanmar=āna
[Tri]bu-
5 vanachchakravattigaḷ śrī-Rājarājadēvaṅku yāṇḍu 1[7]vadu Dha[nu-nāya]ṅṟu
[a]para-pa-
6 ksha[t*]tu navamiyum Nāyaṅṟu-ki[la]maiyum peṟṟa A

¹ No. 80 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906.
² Perhaps *dvitṛiyaiyum* is meant. ³ See above, Vol. VII. p. 8.
⁴ No. 140 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906.
⁵ The letter *ṣ* is engraved below the line.
⁶ The letters *vadu* are written in a group.
⁷ See above, Vol. VIII. pp. 2 and 264.
⁸ No. 129 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906.

"In the 1[7]th year (*of the reign*) of king Parakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of A¹ which corresponded to a Sunday and to the ninth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Dhanus."

The date corresponds to Sunday, the 2nd December A.D. 1162, which was the 7th day of the month of Dhanus, and on which the 9th *tithi* of the dark half (of Mārgaśīrsha) ended 16 h. 56 m., while the *nakshatra* was Hasta, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 13 h. 47 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 10 h. 30 m., after mean sunrise.

The result shows that the *nakshatra*, of the name of which only the initial vowel *a* remains in line 6 of the original, was Attam (Hasta).—The date is the latest one hitherto examined of the reign of Rājarāja II.

144.—In the Grāmārdhanāthēśvara temple at Elvānāsūr.²

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Pū maruviya Tiru-mādam kō=
 8 P[p]ara[k]ēsaripatmar=āna Tribhuvana[ch]chakrava[r]tigaḷ śrī-Rājarājadēvaṛku
 yāṇḍu 15[vadu]³ M[i]na-
 9 nāyaṛṛu p[ū]rvva-pakṣhattu paṇ[jami]y[u]m Tiṅgaḷ-kiḷamaiyum peṛṛa
 M[ri]gaśi[r]shatti=nāḷ.

"In the 15th year (*of the reign*) of king Parakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Mṛgaśīrsha, which corresponded to a Monday and to the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mīna."

In accordance with the previously obtained results, this date should fall in A.D. 1161, some time before the 24th March (the first day of the month of Mēsha); but with the actual reading of the original it would be incorrect. In my opinion, the fifth *tithi* (paṇ[jami]yum) has here been quoted erroneously instead of the seventh (*saptamiyum*), and the date corresponds to Monday, the 6th March A.D. 1161, which was the 12th day of the month of Mīna, and on which the 7th *tithi* of the bright half (of Chaitra) ended 3 h. 41 m., while the *nakshatra* was Mṛgaśīrsha, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 4 h. 36 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 3 h. 17 m., after mean sunrise.

Of the three dates, the date No. 142 would show that the reign of Rājarāja II. could not have commenced before (approximately) the 6th April A.D. 1146.⁴

D.—RAJADHIRAJA II.

145.—In the Tyāgarājasvāmin temple at Tiruvārūr.⁵

- 1 Svasti śr[i] ௨ Kaḍal sūḷnda pār-mag[a]ḷu[m]
 2 kō Rājakēsaripa[nma]r=āna Tribhuvanachcha[k*]karavattigaḷ śrī-
 Rājadha(dhi)rājadēvaṛku yāṇḍu 2[āvadu]⁶ Mēsha-nāyaṛṛu pūrvva-pakṣhattu
 shashṭhiyun=Diṅgaḷ-kiḷamaiyum peṛṛa Puṇarpūsatti=nāḷ.

"In the 2nd year (*of the reign*) of king Rājakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājadhirājadēva,—on the day of Punarvasu, which corresponded to a Monday and to the sixth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mēsha."

¹ The name of the *nakshatra*, which is lost in the original, may be Aśvati (Aśvini), Attam (Hasta), Avittam (Dhanishṭhā) or Anuḷam (Anurādhā).

² No. 137 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906.

³ The letters *vadu* are written in a group.

⁴ Compare the date No. 106, above, Vol. VIII. p. 264.

⁵ No. 538 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

⁶ The word *āvadu* seems to be denoted by a flourish added to the figure 2.

The five dates Nos. 145-149 are of the reign of a king Rājādhirāja Rājakēsarivarman, and are taken from inscriptions every one of which begins with the words *kaḍal sūḷnda*. The first four dates work out regularly on the assumption that this king commenced to reign between (approximately) the 28th February and the 30th March A.D. 1163. With such a commencement of his reign:—

This date, No. 145, corresponds to Monday, the 30th March A.D. 1164, which was the 7th day of the month of Mēsha, and on which the 6th *tithi* of the bright half (of the first Vaiśākha) ended 19 h. 3 m., while the *nakshatra* was Punarvasu, by the Brahma-siddhānta from 7 h. 13 m., according to Garga from 9 h. 51 m., and by the equal space system from 21 h. 40 m., after mean sunrise.—This equivalent of the original date might perhaps be objected to on the ground that the *nakshatra* was Punarvasu only from 7 h. 13 m. (or later) after mean sunrise; and in the case of the date No. 106, above Vol. VIII. p. 263, where also the *nakshatra* was found to be Punarvasu from 8 h. 32 m. (or later) after mean sunrise, I have myself stated that that *nakshatra* in the original date might have been quoted erroneously instead of the immediately preceding *nakshatra* Ādrā. But the two dates together now seem to me to show that in either case there was some special reason for quoting the *nakshatra* Punarvasu, instead of the *nakshatra* Ādrā in which the moon was at the commencement of the day.¹

146.—In the Kapardiśvara temple at Tiruvalaṇḍi.²

- 1 Svasti [śrī] [||*] Kaḍal sūḷnda pār-mādarum
 5 [kō] Rājakēsari[vanma]r= ā[ṇa] Tribhuvanachchakrava[tti]-
 6 ga| śrī-R[āj]ādhirājadēvaṅku [y]āṇḍu [Ṣā]vadu Sim[ha]-n[ā]yaṅ[ru] [a]para-
 pakshattu [dv]āda[siyu]m [Ti]-
 7 [āga]t-kilamai[yu]m peṇṇa [Puṇa]r[pū]ṣat[tu] nā[||].

“In the [8]th year (of the reign) of king Rājakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājādhirājadēva,—on the day of Punarvasu, which corresponded to a Monday and to the twelfth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Simha.”

The date corresponds to Monday, the 10th August A.D. 1170, which was the 14th day of the month of Simha, and on which the 12th *tithi* of the dark half (of Śrāvaṇa) commenced 2 h. 3 m., while the *nakshatra* was Punarvasu,³ by the equal space system and according to Garga for 17 h. 44 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 17 h. 4 m., after mean sunrise.

147.—In the Tyāgarājasvāmin temple at Tiruvārūr.⁴

- 1 [Sva*][sti] śrīh ||— Kaḍal sūḷnda pār=ē[lu]n-diśai
 7 . . kōv=Irājakēsaripaṇmar=āṇa Tribhuvanachchakravattiga| śrī-Rājādhirājadēvaṅku
 yāṇḍu 10[āvadu]⁵ Miṇa-nā[yaṅ]u pūrvva-pakshattu trayōdaśiyuñ=Jevvāy-kkilamāi-
 yum peṇṇa Magattu nā|.

“In the 10th year (of the reign) of king Rājakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājādhirājadēva,—on the day of Maghā, which corresponded to a Tuesday and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Miṇa.”

¹ For other dates with *nakshatras* which also, if I may say so, commenced some time after sunrise, compare e.g. Nos. 23, 47, 66, 105, and 121 of this series.

² No. 627 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

³ A 12th *tithi* joined with the *nakshatra* Punarvasu is called *jayanṭi*; it is a *mañā-dvādaśi*. This may be the reason why the 12th *tithi* has been quoted in the original date (as a current *tithi*).

⁴ No. 540 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

⁵ The word *āvadu* seems to be denoted by a flourish added to the symbol for ten.

The date corresponds to Tuesday, the 27th February A.D. 1173, which was the 5th day of the month of Mīna, and on which the 13th *tithi* of the bright half (of Phālguna) ended 10 h. 50 m., while the *nakshatra* was Maghā, by the equal space system for 14 h. 27 m., and according to Garga for 2 h. 38 m., after mean sunrise.

148.—In the Darbhāranyēśvara temple at Tirunallār.¹

- 1 Svasti śrī[h] [[*] Kaḍal sūl[ṇ]da [pā]r-mādarum
[k]ōv=Irā[śa]kēsar[i]paṇmar=ā[ṇa] Tiribuva[ṇa][ch]chakkarava[t*]tigā! śrī-Ir[ā]-
j[ā*]d[i]ra[ja*]dēvaṅku yā[p]-
- 2 ḍū padīṇ-ōṇṇāvadū Siṁha-nā[ya]ṇṇu pū[r]va-pasha(kshā)ttu paṇjamiyū[m]
Budāṇ-kilamai[y]um p[e]ṇṇa Śōd[i]-nāl.

"In the eleventh year (of the reign) of king Rājakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājādhirājadēva,—on the day of Svāti, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Siṁha."

The date corresponds to Wednesday, the 15th August A.D. 1173, which was the 19th day of the month of Siṁha, and on which the 5th *tithi* of the bright half (of Bhādrapada) ended 13 h. 53 m., while the *nakshatra* was Svāti, by the equal space system for 17 h. 44 m., according to Garga for 5 h. 16 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 1 h. 19 m., after mean sunrise.

149.—In the Vṛishabhapurīśvara temple at Mēl-Śēvūr.²

- 1 Svasti śrī [[*] Kaḍal sūlnda pār-m[ā]darum
- 2 kō Irāśakē[śa]ripatmar-āṇa
Tribhuvanachchakkaravattiga! śrī-Rājā[dhirā*]jadēvaṅku yāṇḍu lāavadu
Kaṇkaḍaga-ṇāyaṇṇu-ppadinmu(mū)ṇṇān=di(di)yadiy=[ā]-
- 3 ṇa Budan-kilamaiyūm=apara pakshattu ēkāda[ś]iyum peṇṇa R[ō]ṣaṇi-nāl.

"In the 13th year (of the reign) of king Rājakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājā[dhirā]jadēva,—on the day of Rōhiṇī, which corresponded to the eleventh *tithi* of the second fortnight and to a Wednesday, the thirteenth solar day of the month of Karkāṭaka."

In the three hundred years from A.D. 1000 to A.D. 1300 there are only two days which would satisfy the requirements of this date, *viz.* Wednesday, the 8th July A.D. 1097, and Wednesday, the 8th July A.D. 1181.

In A.D. 1097 the Karkāṭaka-saṁkrānti took place 17 h. 26 m. after mean sunrise of Thursday, the 25th June; the first day of the month of Karkāṭaka therefore was Friday, the 26th June, and the 13th day of the same month was Wednesday, the 8th July. On this day the 11th *tithi* of the dark half (of Āshāḍha) ended 5 h. 36 m., and the *nakshatra* was Rōhiṇī, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 4 h. 36 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 3 h. 56 m. after mean sunrise.

In A.D. 1181 the Karkāṭaka-saṁkrānti took place 10 h. 56 m. after mean sunrise of Friday, the 26th June, which was the first day of the month of Karkāṭaka; and the 13th day of the same month therefore was Wednesday, the 8th July. On this day the 11th *tithi* of the dark half (of Āshāḍha) commenced 4 h. 24 m. after mean sunrise, and the *nakshatra* was Rōhiṇī, by the Brahma-siddhānta and according to Garga the whole day, and by the equal space system from 1 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise.

¹ No. 394 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

² No. 222 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

It is clear that if, as was assumed above, the reign of Rājādhirāja Rājakēsarivarman commenced between the 28th February and the 30th March A.D. 1163, neither of the two Wednesdays given above could have fallen in the 13th year of his reign. On the other hand, I may state that if either of the two days really fell in his 13th year, the other dates would be incorrect. In these circumstances, and assuming that, with the exception of the regnal year, the details of the original date have been given correctly, I can only suggest that the year 13 (which is given in figures¹ only) has been quoted erroneously instead of the 19th year, and that the proper equivalent of the date therefore is really Wednesday, the 8th July A.D. 1181. It might of course be objected that this day would fall in the reign of Kulōttuṅga III. Parakēsarivarman, which commenced between the 6th and the 8th July A.D. 1178. But I have already shown that we have a similar overlapping of two reigns also in other cases. A date (No. 94) of the 39th year of Kulōttuṅga III. corresponds to the 25th January A.D. 1217, while the reign of his successor Rājarāja III. commenced in June-July A.D. 1216; and of this king again we have two dates (Nos. 96 and 97) of the 7th February and the 22nd April A.D. 1248, whereas the reign of his successor Rājendra-Chōla III. commenced in March-April A.D. 1246.

From the materials available I therefore infer that Rājādhirāja Rājakēsarivarman, *i.e.* Rājādhirāja II., commenced to reign between (approximately) the 28th February and the 30th March A.D. 1163.

E.—KULOTTUNGA-CHOLA III.

150.—In the Grāmārdhanāthēśvara temple at Elvānāśūr.³

- 1 Tiribuvānachchakkaravattigal śrī-Vīrar[ā]jēndira-Śōladēvaṛk[ku] yāṇḍu 6vadu
Magara-nāyaṛru pūrvva-pakku[li]ttu³ dviṭ[t]iyaiyum Tiṅgaṭ-kiḷamai[y]um pe[ṛṛa
A]viṭṭatti-nāl.

"In the 6th year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vīrarājendra-Chōladēva,—on the day of Śravishṭhā, which corresponded to a Monday and to the second *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Makara."

The date corresponds to Monday, the 16th January A.D. 1184, which was the 22nd day of the month of Makara, and on which the 2nd *tithi* of the bright half (*of Māgha*) commenced 5 h. 36 m., while the *nakṣatra* was Śravishṭhā, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 10 h. 30 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 11 h. 10 m., after mean sunrise.

151.—In the Amṛitaghaṭēśvara temple at Tirukkaḍaiyūr.⁴

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Puyal vāyppa
5 kō=[Ppa]rakēsaripaṛmar-āṇa
Tiribuvānachchakkaravattigal Madu[r]aiyum Pāṇḍi[ya]ṇaiyum muḍittalai-
koṇḍ-aruliya śrī-Kulōttuṅga-Śōladēvaṛku yāṇḍu 16 vadu Mēsha-nāyaṛru pūrvva-
pakshattu [a]ṭṭamiyu[m]
6 Viyāla-kkiḷamaiyum peṛṛa Pūṣatti-nāl.

"In the 16th year (*of the reign*) of king Parakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōladēva, who was pleased to take Madurai and the

¹ Mr. Venkayya has informed me, about three years ago, that the figures undoubtedly are '13.' I would suggest that 'the thirteenth' solar day, which is mentioned closely to the regnal year, may have misled the writer to put down '13' also for the latter.

² No. 158 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906.

³ No. 43 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906.

⁴ Read *-pakshattu*.

⁵ Read *Triḍhu*.

crowned head of the Pāṇḍya,—on the day of Pushya which corresponded to a Thursday and to the eighth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mēsha.”¹

The date corresponds to Thursday, the 31st March A.D. 1194, which was the 7th day of the month of Mēsha, and on which the 8th *tithi* of the bright half (of the second Chaitra) ended 10 h. 50 m., while the *nakshatra* was Pushya, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 18 h. 24 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 16 h. 25 m., after mean sunrise.

152.—In the Śivayōganāthasvāmin temple at Tiruvisālūr.²

- 1 Svasti śrī ||— [Pu]yal vāppa kō=P[pa]ra-
 16
 17 k[ōśa]ri[pa]rmar=[ā]ṇa T[i]ribuva[ṇa]chcha[kka]ravattiga! Ma[du]rai[ya]m [P]āṇ[di]-
 18 yan muḍi-ttalaiaṇ-gond-arul[na] śrī-Kulōttuṅga-Śō[la]-
 19 dēvarkku yāṇḍu paṇi[t]tāva[du] Kum[bha]-nāya[r]ṇa pūr[va]-paksha[tu]
 20 tri(tri)tiyaiyum Śaṇi-kkilaṇmaiṇ p[er]ṇa [Pū]rattu nā[ḷ].

“In the eighteenth year (of the reign) of king Parakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷadēva, who was pleased to take Madurai and the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya,—on the day of Pūrva-Phalgunī, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Kumbha.”

The wording of this date is intrinsically wrong because on the third *tithi* of the bright half in the month of Kumbha the *nakshatra* could not possibly be Pūrva-Phalgunī; and the probability would seem to be that either has the first fortnight been erroneously quoted instead of the second, or Pūrva-Phalgunī (*Pūrattu*) instead of Pūrva-Bhādrapadā (*Pūraṭṭādi*).³ In my opinion, the date corresponds to Saturday, the 3rd February A.D. 1196, which was the 10th day of the month of Kumbha, and on which the 3rd *tithi* of the bright half (of Phālguna) commenced 5 h. 40 m., while the *nakshatra* was Pūrva-Bhādrapadā, by the equal space system for 4 h. 36 m., after mean sunrise.

153.—In the Veṭṭaranyēśvara temple at Tiruvālaṅgāḍu.⁴

- 1 [Sva]sti [śrī]. [||*] Tribhuvanachchakkaravattiga! Maduraiyu[m] ī[ḷ]amum
 P[āṇ]ḍi[ya]n muḍittalai[ya]n-go-
 2 [ṇ]ḍ-arul[ḷi]na [śrī]-Kulōttuṅga-Śō[la]d[ō]va[r]kku yāṇ[ḍu] 2]3 vadu
 4 Kanni-nāya[r]ṇa=ppadinā[r]ṇa=di[yadi]y=[ā]ṇa
 Śevvāy-kka(kki)[ḷa]mai[ya(yu)]m pū[ru]va-[pa]ksha[t]-
 5 tu [tri]tiyaiyum p[er]ṇa Sittirai-nā[ḷ].

“In the [2]3rd year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷadēva, who was pleased to take Madurai, ī[ḷ]am and the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya,—on the day of Chitrā, which corresponded to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight and to a Tuesday which was the sixteenth solar day of the month of Kanyā.”

The date corresponds to Tuesday, the 12th September A.D. 1200. The preceding Kanyā-samkrānti took place 20 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise of Sunday, the 27th August; the first day of the month of Kanyā therefore was Monday, the 28th August, and the 16th day of

¹ Another inscription of the [1]8th year of the same king with apparently the same astronomical details is found in the same temple (No. 42 of 1906). But the portion, where the fortnight, the *nakshatra* and the *tithi* may be expected, is damaged. What is actually found is [pā] miyūm
Viyāḷa-kkaḷamaiyūm p[er]ṇa Pā[sattu] nā[ḷ].

² No. 14 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1907.

³ Compare the date No. 50, above, Vol. VI. p. 283.

⁴ No. 456 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905.

the same month was Tuesday, the 12th September A.D. 1200. On this day the 3rd *tithi* of the bright half (of Āśvina) commenced 7 h. 12 m., and the *nakshatra* was Chitrā, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 2 h. 38 m., after mean sunrise.—There seems no reason why the second *tithi* (*dvitīyayum*) should not have been quoted in the original date instead of the third (*tritīyayum*).

F.—RAJARAJA III.

154.—In the Jambukēśvara temple near Trichinopoly.¹

- 1 Svas[ti] śr[i] [||*] [Tri]bhuvanachchakravattiga| śrī-²Rājarājadēvarkku yāṇḍu
24[āvadu³] Mid[u]ṇa-nāyaru pūrvva-pakshattu ēkādaśiyum
Śaṇi-kkīlamaiy[u]m peṇṇa [Ś]ōdi-nāḷ.

“In the 24th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Svāti, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the eleventh *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mithuna.”

The reign of Rājarāja III. has been found to commence⁴ between (approximately) the 27th June and the 10th July A.D. 1216. This date of the 24th year corresponds to Saturday, the 2nd June A.D. 1240, which was the 9th day of the month of Mithuna, and on which the 11th *tithi* of the bright half (of Jyāishṭha) ended 3 h. 37 m., while the *nakshatra* was Svāti, by the equal space system for 5 h. 55 m., after mean sunrise.

155.—In the Jambukēśvara temple near Trichinopoly.⁵

- 1 Svas[ti] śrīh [||*] Tribhu[va]ṇachchakravartiga| śrī-⁶Rājarājadēvaṇku yāṇḍu
2[9⁷ āvadu⁸] Tulā-nāyaru=ppūrvva-[pa]kshattu prathamaiyum [Ś]evvāy-
kīlamaiyum per-
2 ṇa Śōdi-nāḷ.

“In the 2[9]th⁷ year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Svāti, which corresponded to a Tuesday and to the first *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Tulā.”

The date, for the 29th year, regularly corresponds to Tuesday, the 4th October A.D. 1244, which was the 7th day of the month of Tulā, and on which the first *tithi* of the bright half (of Kārttika) ended 12 h. 58 m., while the *nakshatra* was Svāti, by the equal space system for 15 h. 46 m., and according to Garga for 3 h. 17 m., after mean sunrise.—For the 26th year of the reign of Rājarāja III. the date would be incorrect.

156.—In the Jambukēśvara temple near Trichinopoly.⁹

- 1 Svast[i] śrī [||*] Tribhu[va]nachcha[kra]vattiga| śrī-¹⁰Rājarājadēvaṇku yāṇḍu
2[9¹⁰ āvadu¹⁰] Tulā-nāyaru pūrvva-pakshattu prathamaiyum Śevvāy-
kka(kki)[la]maiyum peṇṇa Ś[ōd]i-nāḷ.

“In the 2[9]th¹⁰ year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Svāti, which corresponded to a Tuesday and to the first *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Tulā.”

¹ No. 508 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905.

² This name consists of two abbreviations for the word *rāja* placed side by side.

³ This word seems to be denoted by a flourish added to the second figure of the regnal year.

⁴ See above, Vol. VIII. p. 260.

⁵ No. 501 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905.

⁶ This name consists of two abbreviations for the word *rāja* placed side by side.

⁷ The second figure of the date might also be 6.

⁸ This word seems to be denoted by a flourish added to the second figure of the regnal year.

⁹ No. 502 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905.

¹⁰ See the notes on the preceding date.

The date is identical with the preceding date, and corresponds therefore to Tuesday, the 4th October A.D. 1244.

157.—In the Jambukēśvara temple near Trichinopoly.¹

- 1 Svast[i] śr[i] [||*] Tr[i]bhuvanachchakravatt[i]gaḥ śr[i]-²Rājarājadēvaḥku
[y]āṇḍu 2[9 āvadu]³ Kumbha-nāyaḥṣu=ppū[r]vva-pakshattu navamiyum
Tiṅgaṭ-kīla[m]aiyum perṛa Urōṣaṇ[i]-nāḥ.

"In the 2[9]th year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Rōhiṇī, which corresponded to a Monday and to the ninth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Kumbha."

The date corresponds to Monday, the 6th February A.D. 1245, which was the 14th day of the month of Kumbha, and on which the 9th *tithi* of the bright half (of Phālguna) commenced 1 h. 12 m., while the *nakshatra* was Rōhiṇī, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 7 h. 53 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 7 h. 13 m., after mean sunrise.

158.—In the Jambukēśvara temple near Trichinopoly.⁴

- 1 Svast[i] śr[i] [||*] Tr[i]bhuvanachchakravatt[i]gaḥ śr[i]-²Rājarājadē[va]rku
[y]āṇḍu 2[9āvadu]³ Kumbha-nāyaḥṣu=ppūrvva-pakshattu navam[i]yum Tiṅgaṭ-
k[i]la[m]aiyum perṛa Urōṣaṇ[i]-nāḥ.

"In the 2[9]th year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Rōhiṇī, which corresponded to a Monday and to the ninth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Kumbha."

The date is identical with the preceding date, and corresponds therefore to Monday, the 6th February A.D. 1245.

G.—PERUNJINGADEVA.

159.—In the Jambunātha temple at Jambai.⁵

- 1 Svasti śr[i] [||*] Śa[galabu]vaṇachchakkaravattigaḥ śrī-kō=Pperu[ñ]jiṅgadēva[r]ku
yāṇḍu 16vadu Daṇu-nāyaḥṣu pū[rvva-pakshattu] trayōdaś[i]yum Tiṅgaṭ-
k[i]lamaiyu[m*] perṛa Urōṣaṇ[i]-⁶nāḥ.

"In the 16th year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of all worlds, the glorious king Peruñjiṅgadēva,—on the day of Rōhiṇī, which corresponded to a Monday and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the first [fortnight] of the month of Dhanus."

Above, Vol. VII. p. 165, I have found that the reign of Peruñjiṅgadēva commenced between (approximately) the 11th February and the 30th July A.D. 1243. This date, of his 16th year, corresponds to Monday, the 9th December A.D. 1258, which was the 14th day of the month of Dhanus, and on which the 13th *tithi* of the bright half (of Pausa) commenced 7 h. 48 m., while the *nakshatra* was Rōhiṇī, by the Brahma-siddhānta the whole day, according to Garga from 1 h. 19 m., and by the equal space system from 13 h. 8 m., after mean sunrise.—Instead of the 13th, I should have expected the 12th *tithi* to have been quoted, especially as, joined with Rōhiṇī, this *tithi* is a *mahā-dvādaśī* (*pāpa-nāśinī*).

¹ No. 500 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905.

² This name consists of two abbreviations for the word *rāja* placed side by side.

³ This word seems to be denoted by a flourish added to the second figure of the regnal year.

⁴ No. 62 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1903.

⁵ No. 96 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906.

⁶ The syllables *ṣaṇ[i]* are repeated by mistake in the original.

130.— In the Grāmārdhanāthēśvara temple at Elvānāśūr.¹

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Śagalabuvanachchakkaravattiga!
 śrī-kô=²Pparuñ-
 2 jñagadēvarkku yāṇḍu muppadāvadu Tulā-nāyarra apara-pakshattu
 3 tri(tri)tiyaiyum Tiāga[1]-kilamaiyum perṛa Kāttigai-nāl.

"In the thirtieth year (of the reign) of the emperor of all worlds, the glorious king Peruñjñagadēva,—on the day of Kṛittikā, which corresponded to a Monday and to the third *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Tulā."

The date corresponds to Monday, the 10th October A.D. 1272, which was the 13th day of the month of Tulā, and on which the 3rd *tithi* of the dark half (of Āśvina) commenced 6 h. 40 m., while the *nakshatra* was Kṛittikā, by the equal space system for 13 h. 47 m., by the Brahma-siddhānta for 0 h. 39 m., and according to Garga for 1 h. 58 m., after mean sunrise.

A LIST OF THE DATES OF CHOLA KINGS HITHERTO EXAMINED.

A.—Parāntaka I. Parakēsarivarman.

(Between the 15th January and the 25th July A.D. 907.)

- No. 101 (Vol. VIII. p. 261).—Year 36, Kaliyuga 4044 (current): Saturday, the 14th January A.D. 943.
 No. 55 (Vol. VII. p. 1).—Year 40: Saturday, the 25th July A.D. 946.

B.—Rājarāja I. Rājakēsarivarman.

(Between the 25th June and the 25th July A.D. 985.)

- No. 137 (Vol. IX. p. 207).—Year 5: Sunday, the 1st December A.D. 989.
 No. 1 (Vol. IV. p. 66).—Year 7: the 26th September A.D. 991.
 No. 61 (Vol. VII. p. 169).—Year 11: Sunday, the 14th June A.D. 996.
 No. 25 (Vol. V. p. 48).—Year 15: Tuesday, the 29th August A.D. 999.
 No. 27 (Vol. V. p. 197).—Year 15: Wednesday, the 15th May A.D. 1000.³
 No. 138 (Vol. IX. p. 208).—Year 16: Monday, the 23rd September A.D. 1000.
 No. 139 (Vol. IX. p. 208).—Year 16: Sunday, the 13th October A.D. 1000.
 No. 2 (Vol. IV. p. 67).—Śaka 929 (current). The date is incorrect.
 No. 140 (Vol. IX. p. 208).—Year 24: Saturday, the 6th November A.D. 1008.⁴
 No. 3 (Vol. IV. p. 68).—Year 28, Śaka 934. The date would correspond to the 23rd December A.D. 1012, but contains no details for exact verification.

C.—Rājendra-Chōla I. Parakēsarivarman.

(Between the 27th March and the 7th July A.D. 1012.)

- No. 102 (Vol. VIII. p. 261).—Year 5: Tuesday, the 26th March A.D. 1017.
 No. 32 (Vol. VI. p. 20).—Year 9, Śaka 943 (current): Thursday, the 7th July A.D. 1020.
 No. 4 (Vol. IV. p. 63).—Śaka 943 (current): Wednesday, the 1st March A.D. 1021.
 No. 5 (Vol. IV. p. 69).—Year 31 (for 21), Śaka 954: Monday, the 23rd October A.D. 1032.

¹ No. 159 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906.

² Read =Pperuñjñaga.

³ In the original the week-day is wrongly given as Thursday.

⁴ The week-day is wrongly given as Wednesday.

- No. 33 (Vol. VI. p. 21).—Year 22, Śaka 955 : Sunday, the 25th November A.D. 1033.
 No. 34 (Vol. VI. p. 22).—Year 26, Śaka 959. The date is incorrect.
 No. 62 (Vol. VII. p. 169).—Year 31 : Friday, the 23rd July A.D. 1042.¹

D.—Rājādhirāja I. Rājakēsarivarman.

(Between the 15th March and the 3rd December A.D. 1018.)

- No. 15 (Vol. IV. p. 218).—Year [3]2 (for 22) : Thursday, the 22nd November A.D. 1039.
 No. 12 (Vol. IV. p. 216).—Year 26 : Wednesday, the 14th March A.D. 1044.
 No. 13 (Vol. IV. p. 217).—Year 27 : Wednesday, the 13th February A.D. 1045.
 No. 14 (Vol. IV. p. 217).—Year 29 : Wednesday, the 3rd December A.D. 1046.²
 No. 11 (Vol. IV. p. 216).—Year 30 : Śaka 970 (current). The date does not admit of exact verification.
 No. 35 (Vol. VI. p. 22).—Year 35 : Śaka 975 :—probably Sunday, the 23rd May A.D. 1053.³

E.—Rājēndradēva Parakēsarivarman.⁴

(The 28th May A.D. 1052.)

- No. 38 (Vol. VI. p. 24).—The 82nd day of year 4 : Thursday, the 17th August A.D. 1055.
 No. 36 (Vol. VI. p. 23).—Year 6, Śaka 979 : Monday, the 27th October A.D. 1057.
 No. 37 (Vol. VI. p. 23).—Year 12 (for 11 ?), Śaka 984. The date does not admit of exact verification.

F.—Virarājēndra Rājakēsarivarman.⁵

(Between the 11th September A.D. 1062 and the 10th September A.D. 1063.)

Vol. VII. p. 9.—Year 5 : Monday, the 10th September A.D. 1067.

G.—Kulōttuṅga-Chōla I. Rājakēsarivarman (Rājēndra-Chōla II.)

(Between the 14th March and the 8th October A.D. 1070.)

- No. 56 (Vol. VII. p. 1).—Year 4 : Thursday, the 7th November A.D. 1073.
 No. 39 (Vol. VI. p. 278).—Year 7, Śaka 998 : Friday, the 10th February A.D. 1077.⁶
 No. 63 (Vol. VII. p. 170).—Year 16 : Thursday, the 12th March A.D. 1086.
 No. 6 (Vol. IV. p. 70).—Year 37, Śaka 1030 (for 1028 ?). The date does not admit of exact verification.
 No. 9 (Vol. IV. p. 72).—Śaka 1035 : Sunday, the 22nd February A.D. 1114.
 No. 7 (Vol. IV. p. 70).—Year 44 : Friday, the 13th March A.D. 1114.
 No. 8 (Vol. IV. p. 71).—Year 45 : Thursday, the 8th October A.D. 1114.
 No. 40 (Vol. VI. p. 279).—Year 45, Śaka 1036 : Wednesday, the 9th December A.D. 1114.
 No. 26 (Vol. V. p. 48).—Year 48 : Monday, the 7th January A.D. 1118.
 Nos. 20 and 28 (Vol. IV. p. 262, and Vol. V. p. 198).—Year 48 : Friday, the 25th January A.D. 1118.⁷

¹ The *nakshatra* quoted is intrinsically wrong.

² The 2nd *tithi* is wrongly quoted instead of the 3rd.

³ The 13th *tithi* has probably been wrongly quoted instead of the 3rd.

⁴ In No. 37 surnamed Rājakēsarivarman.

⁵ No. 273 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904 contains a date of the 7th year of this king and of Śaka 991 expired (= A.D. 1069-70).

⁶ The month Māgha is wrongly quoted instead of Phālguna.

⁷ In No. 28 the 12th *tithi* is wrongly quoted instead of the 2nd which is correctly given in No. 20.

H.—Vikrama-Chôla Parakêsarivarman.

(The 29th June A.D. 1118.)

- No. 21 (Vol. IV. p. 263, and Vol. VII. p. 3).—Year 4 : Monday, the 1st May A.D. 1122.
 Nos. 103 and 104 (Vol. VIII. p. 262).—Year 4 : Wednesday, the 10th May A.D. 1122.
 No. 22 (Vol. IV. p. 264, and Vol. VII. p. 3).—Year 5 : Monday, the 31st July A.D. 1122.
 No. 57 (Vol. VII. p. 3).—Year 5 : Thursday, the 31st May A.D. 1123.
 No. 10 (Vol. IV. p. 73, and Vol. VII. p. 4).—The 340th day of year 5 : Sunday, the 3rd June A.D. 1123.¹
 No. 141 (Vol. IX. p. 209).—Year 6 : Wednesday, the 7th November A.D. 1123.
 No. 84 (Vol. VIII. p. 1).—Year 7 : Thursday, the 7th August A.D. 1124.
 No. 105 (Vol. VIII. p. 263).—Year 8 : Tuesday, the 18th August A.D. 1125.
 No. 42 (Vol. VI. p. 280).—Year 9, Śaka 1049 : the 27th May A.D. 1127.²
 No. 59 (Vol. VII. p. 5).—Year 10 : Sunday, the 15th April, or Saturday, the 14th April A.D. 1128.³
 No. 64 (Vol. VII. p. 170).—Year 11 : Wednesday, the 19th December A.D. 1128.
 No. 58 (Vol. VII. p. 4).—Year 11 : Saturday, the 5th January A.D. 1129.
 No. 65 (Vol. VII. p. 171).—Year 15. The date does not admit of verification.
 No. 41 (Vol. VI. p. 279, and Vol. VII. p. 3).—Year 16 : Monday, the 16th April A.D. 1134.
 No. 43 (Vol. VI. p. 281, and Vol. VII. p. 5).—Year 17, Śaka 1054 (for 1057) : Thursday, the 18th April A.D. 1135.

I.—Kulôttuṅga-Chôla II.⁴

Vol. VII. p. 9.—Śaka 1056 (for 1065) : the 24th March A.D. 1143.

J.—Râjarâja II. Parakêsarivarman.

(Between the 6th April and the 11th July A.D. 1146.)

- No. 85 (Vol. VIII. p. 2).—Year 4 : Wednesday, the 23rd November A.D. 1149.
 No. 86 (Vol. VIII. p. 2).—Year 6 : Thursday, the 24th January A.D. 1152.
 No. 89 (Vol. VIII. p. 3).—Year 6 : Thursday, the 14th February A.D. 1152.⁵
 No. 87 (Vol. VIII. p. 2).—Year 12 : Wednesday, the 26th March A.D. 1158.
 No. 88 (Vol. VIII. p. 3).—Year 15 : Thursday, the 12th January A.D. 1161.
 No. 144 (Vol. IX. p. 210).—Year 15 : Monday, the 6th March A.D. 1161.⁶
 No. 142 (Vol. IX. p. 209).—Year 15 : Wednesday, the 5th April A.D. 1161.
 No. 106 (Vol. VIII. p. 263).—Year opposite to 16 : Wednesday, the 11th July A.D. 1162.
 No. 143 (Vol. IX. p. 209).—Year 17 : Sunday, the 2nd December A.D. 1162.

K.—Râjâdhirâja II. Râjakêsarivarman.

(Between the 28th February and the 30th March A.D. 1163.)

- No. 145 (Vol. IX. p. 210).—Year 2 : Monday, the 30th March A.D. 1164.
 No. 146 (Vol. IX. p. 211).—Year 8 : Monday, the 10th August A.D. 1170.
 No. 147 (Vol. IX. p. 211).—Year 10 : Tuesday, the 27th February A.D. 1173.
 No. 148 (Vol. IX. p. 212).—Year 11 : Wednesday, the 15th August A.D. 1173.
 No. 149 (Vol. IX. p. 212).—Year 13 (for 19 ?) : Wednesday, the 8th July A.D. 1181 (?).

¹ The 7th *tithi* is wrongly quoted instead of the 8th.² The year Plava is wrongly quoted instead of Plavaṅga.³ In the original date either the *nakshatra* or the week-day is quoted incorrectly.⁴ Perhaps identical with Kulôttuṅga-Chôla II. Râjakêsarivarman, of whom I possess unpublished dates of the regnal years 4, 10, 14 and 15.⁵ The month of Mîna is wrongly quoted instead of Kumbha.⁶ The 5th *tithi* is wrongly quoted instead of the 7th.

L.—Kulôttunga-Chôla III. Parakésarivarman (Virarâjendra-Chôla,¹ Tribhuvanavira²).

(Between the 6th and the 8th July A.D. 1178.)

- No. 66 (Vol. VII. p. 171).—Year 3 : Monday, the 11th August A.D. 1180.³
 No. 67 (Vol. VII. p. 171).—Year 3 : the date is incorrect.
 No. 107 (Vol. VIII. p. 264).—Year 4 : Thursday, the 11th March A.D. 1182.
 No. 150 (Vol. IX. p. 213).—Year 6 : Monday, the 16th January A.D. 1184.
 Nos. 108 and 109 (Vol. VIII. p. 264).—Year 6 : Thursday, the 5th July A.D. 1184.⁴
 No. 68 (Vol. VII. p. 172).—Year 7 : Wednesday, the 22nd August A.D. 1184.
 No. 23 (Vol. IV. p. 264).—Year 8 : Monday, the 8th July A.D. 1185.
 No. 90 (Vol. VIII. p. 4).—Year 10 : Tuesday, the 5th January A.D. 1188.⁵
 No. 19 (Vol. IV. p. 220).—Year 12 : Monday, the 4th December A.D. 1189.
 No. 60 (Vol. VII. p. 6).—Year 14 : Thursday, the 2nd January A.D. 1192.⁶
 No. 110 (Vol. VIII. p. 265).—Year 16 : Monday, the 17th January A.D. 1194.
 No. 151 (Vol. IX. p. 213).—Year 16 : Thursday, the 31st March A.D. 1194.
 No. 24 (Vol. IV. p. 265).—Year 16 : Saturday, the 4th June A.D. 1194.⁷
 No. 69 (Vol. VII. p. 172).—Year 17 : Monday, the 13th February A.D. 1195.
 No. 70 (Vol. VII. p. 172).—Year 17 : Thursday, the 8th June A.D. 1195.
 No. 152 (Vol. IX. p. 214).—Year 18 : Saturday, the 3rd February A.D. 1196.⁸
 No. 71 (Vol. VII. p. 173).—Year 19 : Monday, the 2nd September A.D. 1196.⁹
 No. 17 (Vol. IV. p. 219).—Year 19 : Tuesday, the 12th November A.D. 1196.
 No. 72 (Vol. VII. p. 173).—Year 19 : Wednesday, the 30th April A.D. 1197.
 No. 16 (Vol. IV. p. 219).—Year 19 (for 20), Śaka 1119 : Friday, the 21st November A.D. 1197.¹⁰
 No. 111 (Vol. VIII. p. 265).—Year 20 : Sunday, the 3rd May A.D. 1198.¹¹
 No. 31 (Vol. V. p. 199).—Year 20. The date is quite incorrect.
 No. 73 (Vol. VII. p. 174).—Year 21 : Wednesday, the 7th April A.D. 1199.
 No. 74 (Vol. VII. p. 174).—Year 21 : Saturday, the 10th April 1199.¹²
 No. 153 (Vol. IX. p. 214).—Year 23 : Tuesday, the 12th September A.D. 1200.
 No. 112 (Vol. VIII. p. 265).—Year 23 : Monday, the 6th November A.D. 1200.
 No. 113 (Vol. VIII. p. 266).—Year 25 : Wednesday, the 24th July A.D. 1202.¹³
 No. 44 (Vol. VI. p. 231).—Year 27 : Thursday, the 5th May A.D. 1205.
 No. 29 (Vol. V. p. 198).—Year 29 : Wednesday, the 7th March A.D. 1207.
 No. 114 (Vol. VIII. p. 266).—Year 32 : Monday, the 21st December A.D. 1209.¹⁴
 No. 18 (Vol. IV. p. 220).—Year 34 : Monday, the 19th September A.D. 1211.
 No. 91 (Vol. VIII. p. 4).—Year 35 : Sunday, the 2nd June A.D. 1213.
 No. 92 (Vol. VIII. p. 4).—Year 36 : Monday, the 14th April A.D. 1214.

¹ This name occurs in the dates of the 6th and 7th years.² This name occurs in the dates from the 32nd to the 39th year.³ I now take this to be the proper equivalent of the date.⁴ The 12th *tithi* is wrongly quoted instead of the 11th.⁵ The second fortnight is wrongly quoted instead of the first.⁶ The first fortnight is wrongly quoted instead of the second.⁷ The 4th *tithi* is wrongly quoted instead of the 14th.⁸ The *nakshatra* Pūrva-Phalguni is wrongly quoted instead of Pūrva-Bhādrapadā.⁹ The *nakshatra* quoted is intrinsically wrong.¹⁰ The 15th solar day is wrongly quoted instead of the 25th.¹¹ The *nakshatra* Uttarāshādhā is wrongly quoted instead of Uttara-Bhādrapadā.¹² The month of Rishabha is wrongly quoted instead of Mēsha.¹³ The 5th *tithi* is wrongly quoted instead of the 4th.¹⁴ The 9th *tithi* is wrongly quoted instead of the 8th.

- No. 93 (Vol. VIII. p. 5).—Year 37 : Monday, the 17th November A.D. 1214.
 No. 30 (Vol. V. p. 199).—Year 37 : Sunday, the 7th June A.D. 1215.
 No. 94 (Vol. VIII. p. 5).—Year 39 : Wednesday, the 25th January A.D. 1217.

M.—Rājarāja III. Rājakēsarivarman.¹

(Between the 27th June and the 10th July A.D. 1216.)

- No. 115 (Vol. VIII. p. 267).—Year 2 : Monday, the 29th January A.D. 1218.
 No. 75 (Vol. VII. p. 174).—Year 4 : Monday, the 22nd June A.D. 1220.
 No. 76 (Vol. VII. p. 175).—Year 5 : Wednesday, the 19th August A.D. 1220.²
 No. 77 (Vol. VII. p. 175).—Year opposite to 6 : Thursday, the 13th October A.D. 1222.
 No. 95 (Vol. VIII. p. 6).—Year opposite to 8 : Monday, the 7th October A.D. 1224.³
 No. 116 (Vol. VIII. p. 267).—Year opposite to 8 : Sunday, the 23rd February A.D. 1225.⁴
 No. 117 (Vol. VIII. p. 267).—Year 10 : Friday, the 17th April A.D. 1226.
 No. 78 (Vol. VII. p. 175).—Year 10 : Tuesday, the 21st April A.D. 1226.
 No. 118 (Vol. VIII. p. 268).—Year 12 : Monday, the 2nd August A.D. 1227.
 No. 119 (Vol. VIII. p. 268).—Year 16 : Thursday, the 10th July A.D. 1231.
 No. 120 (Vol. VIII. p. 268).—Year 16 : Saturday, the 22nd May A.D. 1232.
 No. 45. (Vol. VI. p. 281).—Year opposite to 16 : Saturday, the 25th September A.D. 1232.
 No. 46 (Vol. VI. p. 282).—Year 17 : Tuesday, the 18th January A.D. 1233.
 No. 47 (Vol. VI. p. 282).—Year 18 : Tuesday, the 23rd August A.D. 1233.
 No. 121 (Vol. VIII. p. 269).—Year 18 : Sunday, the 13th November A.D. 1233.
 No. 48 (Vol. VI. p. 282).—Year 18 : Wednesday, the 7th December A.D. 1233.
 No. 122 (Vol. VIII. p. 269).—Year 18 : Sunday, the 25th December A.D. 1233.
 No. 49 (Vol. VI. p. 283).—Year 18 : Monday, the 2nd January A.D. 1234.
 No. 123 (Vol. VIII. p. 269).—Year 19 (for 18) : Sunday, the 11th June A.D. 1234.
 No. 50 (Vol. VI. p. 283).—Year 19 : probably Sunday, the 13th August A.D. 1234.⁵
 No. 124 (Vol. VIII. p. 270).—Year 19 : Sunday, the 5th November A.D. 1234.
 No. 125 (Vol. VIII. p. 270).—Year 19 : Thursday, the 25th January A.D. 1235.
 No. 128 (Vol. VIII. p. 271).—Year 27 (? for 21) : Monday, the 12th January A.D. 1237.⁶
 No. 51 (Vol. VI. p. 284).—Year 22 : Tuesday, the 16th March A.D. 1238.⁷
 No. 52 (Vol. VI. p. 284).—Year opposite to 22 : Monday, the 28th February A.D. 1239.
 No. 53 (Vol. VI. p. 284).—Year opposite to 22 : Wednesday, the 2nd March A.D. 1239.
 No. 54 (Vol. VI. p. 285).—Year opposite to 22 : Friday, the 4th March A.D. 1239.
 No. 154 (Vol. IX. p. 215).—Year 24 : Saturday, the 2nd June A.D. 1240.
 No. 126 (Vol. VIII. p. 270).—Year opposite to 24 : Saturday, the 12th January A.D. 1241.
 No. 127 (Vol. VIII. p. 271).—Year 27 : Wednesday, the 30th July A.D. 1242.
 Nos. 155 and 156 (Vol. IX. p. 215).—Year 29 : Tuesday, the 4th October A.D. 1244.
 Nos. 157 and 158 (Vol. IX. p. 216).—Year 29 : Monday, the 6th February A.D. 1245.
 No. 129 (Vol. VIII. p. 271).—Year 29 : Monday, the 26th June A.D. 1245.
 No. 130 (Vol. VIII. p. 272).—Year 30 : Sunday, the 17th December A.D. 1245.⁸

¹ This surname occurs only in the date No. 45.

² The 5th *tithi* may have been quoted erroneously instead of the 4th.

³ The 9th *tithi* is wrongly quoted instead of the 8th.

⁴ [The last day of] the month of Kumbha has been quoted erroneously instead of [the first day of] the immediately following month of Mīna.

⁵ In the original date either the *nakshatra* Uttirattādi (Uttara-Bhadrapadā) has been wrongly quoted instead of Uttirām (Uttara-Phalgunī), or the first fortnight instead of the second.

⁶ If the published reading of the original date is correct, the second fortnight has been wrongly quoted instead of the first.

⁷ The 4th *tithi* is wrongly quoted instead of the 14th.

⁸ The 13th *tithi* is wrongly quoted instead of the 12th.

- No. 96 (Vol. VIII. p. 6).—Year 32 : Friday, the 7th February A.D. 1248.
 No. 97 (Vol. VIII. p. 6).—Year 32 : Wednesday, the 22nd April A.D. 1248.

N.—Rājendra-Chôla III.

(Between the 21st March and the 20th April A.D. 1246.)

- No. 79 (Vol. VII. p. 175).—Year 3 : Saturday, the 20th March A.D. 1249.
 No. 98 (Vol. VIII. p. 6).—Year 4 : Sunday, the 12th September A.D. 1249.
 No. 131 (Vol. VIII. p. 272).—Year 4 : Wednesday, the 5th January A.D. 1250.
 No. 80 (Vol. VII. p. 176).—Year 7 : Wednesday, the 25th December A.D. 1252.
 No. 83 (Vol. VII. p. 177).—Year opposite to 7. The date is intrinsically wrong.
 No. 132 (Vol. VIII. p. 272).—Year 9 : Tuesday, the 12th January A.D. 1255.
 No. 133 (Vol. VIII. p. 273).—Year opposite to 11 : Monday, the 9th July A.D. 1257.
 No. 134 (Vol. VIII. p. 273).—Year 16 (for 17) : Monday, the 1st May A.D. 1262.
 No. 135 (Vol. VIII. p. 273).—Year 18 : Wednesday, the 2nd January A.D. 1264.¹
 No. 136 (Vol. VIII. p. 274).—Year 20 : Wednesday, the 20th January A.D. 1266.
 No. 81 (Vol. VII. p. 176).—Year 21 : Wednesday, the 30th June A.D. 1266.
 No. 99 (Vol. VIII. p. 7).—Year 22 : Wednesday, the 20th April A.D. 1267.
 No. 82 (Vol. VII. p. 177).—Year 22 : Sunday, the 8th May A.D. 1267.

* * * * *

O.—Peruñjingadēva.

(Between the 11th February and the 30th July A.D. 1243.)

- Vol. VII. p. 164, B.—Year 7 : Friday, the 30th July A.D. 1249.
 No. 159 (Vol. IX. p. 216).—Year 16 : Monday, the 9th December A.D. 1258.
 Vol. VII. p. 164, A.—Year 18, Śaka 1182 : Sunday, the 31st October A.D. 1260.
 No. 160 (Vol. IX. p. 217).—Year 30 : Monday, the 10th October A.D. 1272.
 Vol. VII. p. 165, D.—Year 31 : Saturday, the 10th February A.D. 1274.

* * * * *

P.—Tribhuvanavīra-Chôladēva.

(Between the 24th August A.D. 1331 and the 23rd August A.D. 1332.)

- No. 100 (Vol. VIII. p. 7).—Year 11 : Friday, the 23rd August A.D. 1342.

No. 30.—DATES OF PANDYA KINGS.

BY THE LATE PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

(Continued from Vol. VIII. page 283.)

From the numerous dates of Pāṇḍya kings sent to me by Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya, I here give five (Nos. 63-67), the European equivalents of which may be given with certainty. The remaining dates must wait till more dates of the kings to whom they belong have been discovered. Of those here published, Nos. 64 and 66 are valuable inasmuch as, taken together with previously published dates, they show that Māṇavarman Kulaśēkhara I. commenced to reign between (approximately) the 2nd and the 27th June A.D. 1268, and Māṇavarman Kulaśēkhara II. between (approximately) the 6th and the 29th March A.D. 1314.

¹ The second fortnight is wrongly quoted instead of the first.

In a postscript I give a date of a king Rājakesarivarman Vira-Pāṇḍya, according to Mr. Venkayya a ruler of Koṅṅu, which quotes both the Śaka year 1202 and the regnal year 15, both given in words. This date is of considerable interest, because my calculations prove its meaning to be this, that the day of the date fell in the 15th year of the king's reign which (reign) commenced in the Śaka year 1202 (and not, that the day of the date itself fell in the Śaka year 1202). The date thus suggests another point of doubt and uncertainty regarding the interpretation of dates that do not contain sufficient *data* for exact verification, even where at first sight such doubt seems to be out of the question.

At the end of this article also I give a list of all published dates of Pāṇḍya kings that have been examined by me, with approximate statements of the time when each king commenced to reign.

A.—MARAVARMAN SUNDARA-PANDYA II.

63.—In the rock-cut Śiva temple at Tirumaiyam.¹

1 Svasti śrī [||*] Kō Māraṇmar=āṇa Tribhuvāṇachchakravattigaḷ śrī-Sundara-Pāṇḍiya-dēvaṅku yāṇḍu 7vadu [Risha]bha-[nāyi]ṇṇu=ppadiṇṇu[ū]ṇṇān=diyadiyum pūrvva-
² mikshattu daśamiyum Nāyirru-kkila.³

2 mai[yu]m peṇ[ra*] U[tti]rattu nāḷ.

"In the 7th year (of the reign) of king Māraṇmar *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍya-dēva, — on the day of Uttara-Phalgunī, which corresponded to a Sunday, to the tenth *tithi* of the first fortnight and to the thirteenth solar day of the month of Rishabha."

I have previously found ⁴ that the reign of Māraṇmar Sundara-Pāṇḍya II. commenced between (approximately) the 15th June A.D. 1238 and the 18th January A.D. 1239. This date of his 7th year regularly corresponds to Sunday, the 7th May A.D. 1245. The preceding Vṛishabha-samkrānti took place 0 h. 4 m. after mean sunrise of Tuesday, the 25th April A.D. 1245, which was the first day of the month of Vṛishabha; and the 13th day of the same month therefore was Sunday, the 7th May A.D. 1245. On this day the 10th *tithi* of the bright half (of Jyāishṭha)⁵ commenced 0 h. 43 m., and the *nakshatra* was Uttara-Phalgunī, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 19 h. 42 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 16 h. 25 m., after mean sunrise.

For the reign of Māraṇmar Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. the date would be quite incorrect.

B.—MARAVARMAN KULASEKHARA I.

64.—In the Arjunēśvara temple at Kīlāḍi.⁶

1 Svasti śrī [||*] Kō Māraṇ[rmma]r=āṇa Tr[i]bhuvāṇachcha[ka]vattigaḷ⁷
 [em]maṇḍalamuṇ=goṇḍ-araliya śr[i]-Kulaśēkharadēvaṅku [yā]ṇḍu 23vadu
 Mith[u]na-nāyirru 6 ti⁸ pūrvva-pakshattu [tri]t[i]yāi[yum] Vell[i]-kk[i]lamaiyum
 peṇṇa Pūśattu nāḷ.

"In the 23rd year (of the reign) of king Māraṇmar *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśēkharadēva, who was pleased to take every country, — on the day of Pushya, which corresponded to a Friday and to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight (and) to the 6th solar day of the month of Mithuna."

¹ No. 387 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906.

² Read *-pakshattu*.

³ The whole of this line is engraved over an erasure.

⁴ See above, Vol. VI. p. 305.

⁵ I.e. the *tithi* of the *Dafaharā*.

⁶ No. 447 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906.

⁷ Read *°chakra*.

⁸ The syllable *ti* here stands for *tiyadi*.

I have previously found¹ that the reign of Māṇavarman Kulaśēkhara I. commenced between (approximately) the 19th March and the 27th June A.D. 1268. This date of his 23rd year regularly corresponds to Friday, the 1st June A.D. 1291. The preceding Mithuna-saṁkrānti took place 7 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise of Sunday, the 27th May A.D. 1291, which was the first day of the month of Mithuna; and the 6th day of the same month therefore was Friday, the 1st June A.D. 1291. On this day the 3rd *tithi* of the bright half (of the first Āshāḍha) ended 3 h. 3 m., and the *nakshatra* was Pushya, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 14 h. 27 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 12 h. 29 m., after mean sunrise.

The date reduces the period, during which Māṇavarman Kulaśēkhara I. must have commenced to reign, to the time from (approximately) the 2nd to the 27th June A.D. 1268.

65.—In the Arjunēśvara temple at Kīlāḍi.²

1 Svasti śrī [||*] śrī-kō
Māṇapaṇmar=āṇa Tribhuvanachchakavattiga[¹³ e]mmandalamuṇ=gop[ḍ-a]ruliya
śrī-Kulaśēgaradēvaṛku yāṇḍu 30vaḍiṇ edirām=āṇḍu Ka[r]kkaṭaka-nāyaṛṛu 8 ti^m
apara-pakshattu ē[k]āda[śi]yum peṛra Rōhiṇi[i]-nāḷ.

"In the year opposite the 30th year (of the reign) of the glorious king Māṇavarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśēkharadēva, who was pleased to take every country,—on the day of Rōhiṇi, which corresponded to the eleventh *tithi* of the second fortnight and to the 8th solar day of the month of Karkāṭaka."

For the year opposite the 30th, *i.e.* for the 31st year, of Māṇavarman Kulaśēkhara I. this date regularly corresponds to [Saturday], the 5th July A.D. 1298. The preceding Karkāṭaka-saṁkrānti took place 17 h. 19 m. after mean sunrise of Friday, the 27th June A.D. 1298. The first day of the month of Karkāṭaka therefore was Saturday, the 28th June, and the 8th day of the same month was Saturday, the 5th July A.D. 1298. On this day the 11th *tithi* of the dark half (of Āshāḍha) ended 18 h. 55 m., and the *nakshatra* was Rōhiṇi, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 23 h. 38 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 22 h. 59 m., after mean sunrise.

C.—MARAVARMAN KULASEKHARA II.

66.—In the Bhūmiśvara temple at Guḍimallūr.⁵

1 Suvasi⁶ [śrī] [||*] Kō Māṇapaṇmar Ti[ru]buvanaachchakkarava[t]ti śrī-Kula-
[ś]ēgaradēvaṛku yāṇḍu 12[āvaḍu]⁷ paṇṇ[i]raṇ[ḍāva]ḍu [M]ēsha-nāyaṛṛu
pupu[ru]va-⁸pakshattu chatutteṣiyum Velli-kkilaṁaiyum peṛra Avittat[^{tu} n]āḷ.

"In the 12th—twelfth—year (of the reign) of king Māṇavarman (*alias*) the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśēkharadēva,—on the day of Dhanishṭhā, which corresponded to a Friday and to the fourteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mēsha."

This date is intrinsically wrong because the *nakshatra* cannot possibly be Dhanishṭhā on the 14th *tithi* of a first fortnight in the month of Mēsha. Irrespectively of the *nakshatra*

¹ See above, Vol. VIII. p. 278.

² No. 449 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906.

³ Read °chakra.

⁴ The syllable *ti* here stands for *tiyadiyu*.

⁵ No. 419 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905.

⁶ Read *svasti*.

⁷ The word *āvaḍu* seems to be denoted by a flourish added to 2.

Read *pārva*.

the date would be wrong for the 12th year of the reign of Māṇavarman Kulasēkhara I. But for the 12th year of the reign of Māṇavarman Kulasēkhara II. (which has been found¹ to commence between approximately the 6th March and the 23rd July A.D. 1314) the date would regularly correspond to Friday, the 29th March A.D. 1325, which was the 4th day of the month of Mēsha, and on which the 14th *tithi* of the bright half (of Chaitra) ended 7 h. 9 m., while the *nakshatra* was Hasta, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 10 h. 30 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 7 h. 13 m., after mean sunrise.—I have no doubt that this is the true equivalent of the date, and that the concluding words of the original date ought to be *Attattu nāl*, “the day of Hasta,” instead of *Avittattu nāl*.

The date would prove that Māṇavarman Kulasēkhara II. could not have commenced to reign later than (approximately) the 29th March A.D. 1314.

D.—JATAVARMAN PARAKRAMA-PANDYA.

67.—In the Satyagirinātha-Perumāḷ temple at Tirumaiyam.²

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Śrī-kō=[Chchadai]paṇmar=āṇa Tr[i]buvanaśa[kra]vatt[i]gaḷ śr[i]-
Parākk[i]rama-Pāṇḍiyadēvarkku [ā]ṇḍu 5vad[iṇ]
2 edir 7vadu . . . -n[ā]yaru apara-pakshattu dvādisiyum Nāyaru-kk[i]-
lamaikum perṇa Uttarādattu nāl.

“In the 7th (year) opposite the 5th year (of the reign) of the glorious king [Jaṭā]-varman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Parākrama-Pāṇḍyadēva,—on the day of Uttarāshāḍhā, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the twelfth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of”

I have previously found³ that Jaṭavarman Parākrama-Pāṇḍya commenced to reign between (approximately) the 10th January A.D. 1357 and the 9th January A.D. 1358. This date of the 7th opposite the 5th year, *i.e.* of the 12th year of his reign, undoubtedly corresponds to Sunday, the 4th February A.D. 1369, which was the 11th day of the month of [Kumbha], and on which the 12th *tithi* of the dark half (of Māgha) ended 21 h. 7 m. after mean sunrise, while the *nakshatra* was Uttarāshāḍhā, by the Brahma-siddhānta and according to Garga the whole day, and by the equal space system from 6 h. 34 m. after mean sunrise.

The date shows that Jaṭavarman Parākrama-Pāṇḍya could not have commenced to reign before (approximately) the 5th February A.D. 1357.

POSTSCRIPT.

RAJAKESARIVARMAN VIRA-PANDYA.⁴

In the Kariyamānikka-Perumāḷ temple at Vijayamaṅgalam.⁵

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Nanmaṅgalañ=jirakka [||*] [Śaga]r-yāṇḍu āyiratt-iru-nūṅṅ-iraṇḍil
[kō]v=[Irā]śa[k]ēsaripa[ṇ]mar=āṇa [Tri]bhuvanaścha[kravat]-
2 tīgaḷ śrī-Vira-Pāṇḍiyadēvaṅku yāṇḍu pa[di]ṇaiñjāvadu ⁶Tu[l]ā-nāyaru apara-
pakshattu=⁷Ttiṅgaṭ-kiḷamaiy[u]m daṣamiyum pe[ṇṇa] Ut[t]irattu n[ā]l.

¹ See above, Vol. VI. p. 315.

² No. 395 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906.

³ See above, Vol. VII. p. 17.

⁴ This king is neither a Pāṇḍya nor a Chōla, but a ruler of Kōṅgu; see Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya's *Annual Report* for 1905-06, page 79.

⁵ No. 544 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905.

⁶ The *akshara tu* is engraved above the line.

⁷ The guttural *ṇ* is engraved above the line.

"In the Śaka year one thousand two hundred and two, the fifteenth year (of the reign) of king [Rā]jakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vira-Pāṇḍyadēva,—on the day of Uttara-Phalgunī, which corresponded to the tenth *tithi* and to a Monday of the second fortnight of the month of Tulā."

The meaning of this date would naturally be taken to be that the day of the date fell both in the 15th year of the king's reign and in the Śaka year 1202, either current or expired; but for either of these Śaka years the date would be incorrect.

For the current Śaka year 1202 the date might be taken to correspond to Monday, the 2nd October A.D. 1279, which was the 4th day of the month of Tulā, and on which the 10th *tithi* of the dark half (of Āśvina) ended 2 h. 37 m. after mean sunrise. But the *nakshatras* on this day were Maghā and Pūrva-Phalgunī.

For the expired Śaka year 1202 it would correspond to Saturday, the 19th October A.D. 1280, which was the 22nd day of the month of Tulā, and on which the 10th *tithi* of the dark half (of Āśvina) ended 18 h. 25 m., while the *nakshatra* was Pūrva-Phalgunī, by the Brahmasiddhānta for 11 h. 10 m., according to Garga for 15 h. 46 m., and by the equal space system from 3 h. 17 m., after mean sunrise.

The date would be incorrect also for the Śaka year 1200 (current or expired) and for all years down to Śaka 1214 expired. It would be correct for Śaka 1215 expired (= 1216 current). For this year it would correspond to Monday, the 26th October A.D. 1293, which was the 29th day of the month of Tulā, and on which the 10th *tithi* of the dark half (of Kārttika) ended 6 h. 52 m. after mean sunrise, while the *nakshatra* by all systems was Uttara-Phalgunī during the whole of the day.

I have no doubt that Monday, the 26th October A.D. 1293, is the proper equivalent of the date; and, in accordance with this result, I take the true meaning of the original date to be this, that the day of the date fell in the 15th year of the king's reign which commenced some time during the (current) Śaka year 1202 (= A.D. 1279-80) that is quoted at the beginning of the date. For dates that have to be similarly interpreted, I may refer to Nos. 261, 262 and 269 of my *Southern List*.

A LIST OF THE DATES OF PANDYA KINGS HITHERTO EXAMINED.

A.—Jaṭavarman Kulaśēkhara.

(Between the 30th March and the 29th November A.D. 1190.)¹

- No. 2 (Vol. VI. p. 302).—Year opp. to 13: Thursday, the 26th February A.D. 1204.
 No. 1 (Vol. VI. p. 301).—Year 12 opp. to 13: Saturday, the 29th November A.D. 1214.
 No. 45 (Vol. VIII. p. 275).—Year 13 (for 13 opp. to 13?): Thursday, the 6th October A.D. 1216(?).
 No. 44 (Vol. VIII. p. 275).—Year 14 opp. to 13: Wednesday, the 29th March A.D. 1217.

B.—Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I.

(Between the 29th March and the 4th September A.D. 1216.)

- No. 6 (Vol. VI. p. 304).—Year 7: Monday, the 13th March A.D. 1223.
 No. 5 (Vol. VI. p. 303).—Year 9: Friday, the 28th March A.D. 1225.
 No. 46 (Vol. VIII. p. 276).—Year 15: Tuesday, the 3rd December A.D. 1230.

¹ Or perhaps: Between the 7th October and the 29th November A.D. 1190.

No. 3 (Vol. VI. p. 302).—Year opp. to year opp. to 17: Monday, the 4th September A.D. 1234.

No. 4 (Vol. VI. p. 303).—Year opp. to year opp. to 17: Monday, the 19th February A.D. 1235.

C.—Māraṇvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II.

(Between the 15th June A.D. 1238 and the 18th January A.D. 1239.)

No. 63 (Vol. IX. p. 223).—Year 7: Sunday, the 7th May A.D. 1245.

No. 10 (Vol. VI. p. 305).—Year 11: Sunday, the 25th April A.D. 1249.

Nos. 7 and 8 (Vol. VI. p. 304).—Year opp. to year opp. to 11: Wednesday, the 18th January A.D. 1251.

No. 9 (Vol. VI. p. 305).—Year opp. to year opp. to 11: Wednesday, the 14th June A.D. 1251.¹

D.—Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I.

(Between the 20th and the 28th April A.D. 1251.)

No. 11 (Vol. VI. p. 306).—Year 2: Thursday, the 27th March A.D. 1253.

No. 12 (Vol. VI. p. 306).—Year 2: Saturday, the 19th April A.D. 1253.

No. 13 (Vol. VI. p. 306).—Year 3: Wednesday, the 29th October A.D. 1253.

No. 17 (Vol. VI. p. 307).—Year 7: Sunday, the 7th October A.D. 1257.²

No. 14 (Vol. VI. p. 307).—Year 9: Tuesday, the 29th April A.D. 1259.

No. 15 (Vol. VI. p. 307).—Year 9: Sunday, the 15th June A.D. 1259.

No. 16 (Vol. VI. p. 307).—Year 10: Wednesday, the 28th April A.D. 1260.

No. 18 (Vol. VI. p. 308).—Year 11: Tuesday, the 19th July A.D. 1261.³

E.—Vira-Pāṇḍya.

(Between the 11th November A.D. 1252 and the 13th July A.D. 1253.)

No. 32 (Vol. VII. p. 11).—Year 7: Sunday, the 13th July A.D. 1259.

No. 31 (Vol. VII. p. 10).—Year 15: Thursday, the 10th November A.D. 1267.

F.—Māraṇvarman Kulaśekhara I.

(Between the 2nd and the 27th June A.D. 1268.)

No. 20 (Vol. VI. p. 309).—Year 10: Wednesday, the 5th January A.D. 1278.

No. 48 (Vol. VIII. p. 277).—Year 22: Monday, the 27th June A.D. 1289.

No. 64 (Vol. IX. p. 223).—Year 23: Friday, the 1st June A.D. 1291.

No. 21 (Vol. VI. p. 309).—Year 26: Wednesday, the 18th November A.D. 1293.⁴

No. 19 (Vol. VI. p. 308).—Year 27: Friday, the 10th December A.D. 1294.

No. 49 (Vol. VIII. p. 277).—Year 30: Wednesday, the 31st July A.D. 1297.

No. 65 (Vol. IX. p. 224).—Year opp. to 30: Saturday, the 5th July A.D. 1298.

No. 50 (Vol. VIII. p. 277).—Year 34: Saturday, the 8th July A.D. 1301.⁵

No. 51 (Vol. VIII. p. 278).—Year 29 (for 39): Saturday, the 9th July A.D. 1306.

No. 22 (Vol. VI. p. 310).—Year 40: Saturday, the 24th February A.D. 1308.

No. 47 (Vol. VIII. p. 276).—Year 40, Śaka 1229: Monday, the 18th March A.D. 1308.

¹ The month of Mīna is wrongly quoted instead of Mithuna.

² In the date, which is intrinsically wrong, the month of Kanyā is quoted instead of Tulā.

³ Thursday appears to have been wrongly quoted instead of Tuesday.

⁴ The 2nd *tithi* is wrongly quoted, or misread, instead of the 3rd.

⁵ The 3rd *tithi* is wrongly quoted instead of the 2nd.

G.—Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II.

(Between the 13th September A.D. 1275 and the 15th May A.D. 1276.)

- No. 25 (Vol. VI. p. 311).—Year 6: Monday, the 21st July A.D. 1281.
 No. 52 (Vol. VIII. p. 278).—Year 10: Monday, the 23rd July A.D. 1285.
 No. 54 (Vol. VIII. p. 279).—Year 12: Wednesday, the 27th August A.D. 1287.¹
 No. 26 (Vol. VI. p. 311).—Year 12: Friday, the 12th September A.D. 1287.²
 No. 53 (Vol. VIII. p. 279).—Year 11 (for 12): Wednesday, the 29th October A.D. 1287.
 No. 23 (Vol. VI. p. 310).—Year 13 (for 14): Monday, the 1st August A.D. 1289.
 No. 24 (Vol. VI. p. 310).—Year 13 (for 14): Friday, the 5th August A.D. 1289.
 No. 27 (Vol. VI. p. 312).—Year opp. to 14: Monday, the 15th May A.D. 1290.
 No. 55 (Vol. VIII. p. 280).—Year 2 opp. to 13: Monday, the 28th August A.D. 1290.³
 No. 56 (Vol. VIII. p. 280).—Year 9 for 10(?): Friday, the 29th March A.D. 1286(?).⁴

H.—Māṇavarman Kulaśekhara II.

(Between the 6th and the 29th March A.D. 1314.)

- No. 29 (Vol. VI. p. 313).—Year 4: Saturday, the 23rd July A.D. 1317.
 No. 30 (Vol. VI. p. 313).—Year 5: Monday, the 5th March A.D. 1319.⁵
 No. 28 (Vol. VI. p. 312).—Year 8: Saturday, the 14th November A.D. 1321.
 No. 66 (Vol. IX. p. 224).—Year 12: Friday, the 29th March A.D. 1325.⁶

I.—Māṇavarman Parākrama-Pāṇḍya.

(Between the 1st December A.D. 1334 and the 1st November A.D. 1335.)

- No. 33 (Vol. VII. p. 11).—Year 6, Śaka 1262: Wednesday, the 1st November A.D. 1340.
 No. 34 (Vol. VII. p. 11).—Year 8 (for 18): Friday, the 30th November A.D. 1352.

J.—Jaṭavarman Parākrama-Pāṇḍya.

(Between the 5th February A.D. 1357 and the 9th January A.D. 1358.)

- No. 67 (Vol. IX. p. 225).—Year 7 opp. to 5: Sunday, the 4th February A.D. 1369.
 No. 35 (Vol. VII. p. 12).—Year 10 opp. to 5, Śaka 1293: Friday, the 9th January A.D. 1372.

K.—Kōṇēraṇmaikoṇḍāṇ Vikrama-Pāṇḍya.

(Between the 13th January and the 27th July A.D. 1401.)

- No. 59 (Vol. VIII. p. 282).—Year 4: Sunday, the 15th February A.D. 1405 (?).⁷
 No. 58 (Vol. VIII. p. 281).—Year 8: Friday, the 27th July A.D. 1408.
 No. 57 (Vol. VIII. p. 281).—Year 15, opp. to 2, Śaka 1339: Wednesday, the 12th January A.D. 1418.

¹ The 31st solar day is wrongly quoted instead of the 30th.² The 13th *tithi* is wrongly quoted instead of the 3rd.³ The [first day of the] month of Kanyā is wrongly quoted instead of [the last day of] Simha.⁴ This date may possibly be one of the 8th year of J. Sundara-Pāṇḍya I., corresponding to Friday, the 28th March A.D. 1259.⁵ The date is intrinsically wrong. The month of Simha is wrongly quoted instead of Mīna, and the *nakṣatra* Pushya (*Pāṣat'u nāl*) instead of Pūrva-Phalgunī (*Pūrattu nāl*).⁶ The *nakṣatra* Dhanishṭhā (*Aviṭṭattu nāl*) is wrongly quoted instead of Hasta (*Atiattu nāl*).⁷ In the original date, which is intrinsically wrong, the first fortnight is wrongly quoted instead of the second, and the 3rd *tithi* instead of the 2nd.

L.—Jaṭilavarman Parākrama-Pāṇḍya Arikésaridēva.

(Between the 18th June and the 19th July A.D. 1422.)

- No. 37 (Vol. VII. p. 13).—Year opp. to 31 : Thursday, the 19th July A.D. 1453.¹
 No. 36 (Vol. VII. p. 12).—Year 2 opp. to 31, Śaka 1377 : Monday, the 24th March A.D. 1455.
 No. 38 (Vol. VII. p. 13).—Year 4 opp. to 31 : Wednesday, the 16th March A.D. 1457.
 No. 39 (Vol. VII. p. 13).—Year 8 opp. to 31, Śaka 1381 : Wednesday, the 17th June A.D. 1461.²

M.—Māṇavarman Vira-Pāṇḍya.

(Between the 13th March and the 28th July A.D. 1443).

- No. 60 (Vol. VIII. p. 282).—Year 11 opp. to 2 : Monday, the 28th July A.D. 1455.
 No. 61 (Vol. VIII. p. 283).—Year 14 : Sunday, the 16th January A.D. 1457.
 No. 62 (Vol. VIII. p. 283).—Year 14 : Saturday, the 12th March A.D. 1457.

N.—Jaṭilavarman Parākrama-Pāṇḍya Kulasēkhara.

(Between the 15th November A.D. 1479 and the 14th November A.D. 1480.)

- No. 40 (Vol. VII. p. 14).—Year 20, Śaka 1421 : Thursday, the 14th November A.D. 1499.

O.—Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya III.

(Between the 2nd June A.D. 1531 and the 1st June A.D. 1532.)

- No. 42 (Vol. VII. p. 15).—Year 22 opp. to 2, Śaka 1477 : Saturday, the 1st June A.D. 1555.

P.—Jaṭilavarman Śrīvallabha.

(Between the 29th November A.D. 1534 and the 28th November A.D. 1535.)

- No. 41 (Vol. VII. p. 15).—Year 3, Śaka 1459 : Wednesday, the 28th November A.D. 1537.

Q.—Jaṭilavarman Śrīvallabha Ativirarāma.

(Between the 23rd August A.D. 1562 and the 22nd August A.D. 1563.)

- No. 43 (Vol. VII. p. 16).—Year 5, Śaka 1489 : Friday, the 22nd August 1567.

No. 31.—TIRUMALAI ROCK INSCRIPTION OF RAJENDRA-CHOLA I.

By PROFESSOR E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.; HALLE (SAALE).

When, more than twenty years ago, I started epigraphical work in the Madras Presidency, I prepared with my own hands an inked estampage of the inscription which is here re-edited. After Mr. Venkayya had joined my office in Bangalore, we spent a considerable time in reading and translating this record — one of the first early Chôla documents we tried to make out in a reliable manner. The Tamil text of it as printed in *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. p. 98, does not contain any misreadings.³ But the translation on p. 99 needs revision in the light of the other Chôla inscriptions which were published later on, and a facsimile of this beautifully

¹ Monday is wrongly quoted instead of Thursday.

² Śaka 1381 is wrongly quoted instead of 1383, and the 23rd solar day wrongly instead of the 21st.

³ Only the date in line 12 should be '13' (instead of '12'); the same correction has to be made in the heading of the Plate facing p. 232 below.

engraved and well preserved rock inscription was hitherto missing. I therefore republish it now in Roman characters with a fresh translation, and with a collotype of a careful inked estampage which was prepared recently under Rai Bahadur Venkayya's personal supervision.

The inscription is engraved on a smooth piece of rock near a rock-cut Jaina figure on the top of the hill of Tirumalai near Pôlûr in the North Arcot district. The language is Tamil, and the alphabet is likewise Tamil, interspersed with a few Grantha words and letters (*svasti śrī*, l. 1; *śhai* of *vishaiya*, l. 9; *Mahi*², l. 10; *Śrī-Rājendra-Chôladêva* and *ja* of *Jayaṅgaṇḍa*, l. 12; *śrī*, *Jina* and *dêva*, l. 13; *vyâpâri*, l. 13 f.).

The inscription is dated in the 13th year of the reign of the Chôla king Parakêsarivarman alias Rājendra-Chôladêva I. (l. 12), who ascended the throne in A.D. 1012.¹ Its first eleven lines consist of a passage in Tamil verse which describes the conquests of the king, and the first words of which (*Tiru manṇi*, etc.) are quoted — as pointed out by Mr. Venkayya — in Perundêvaṅar's commentary on the *Vīrasôliyam*.²

The list of conquests opens with Iḍaiduṇai-nāḍu (l. 1 f.), i.e. the country of Yeḍatore in the Mysore district, and Vaṇavâsi, i.e. Banavâsi in the North Canara district. The next item, the city of Koḷippâkkai, must have been included in the Western Châlukya kingdom. For it was set on fire by Rājâdhirâja I. in the course of a war against Sômesvara I. and Vikramâditya VI.,³ and it is mentioned as Koḷipâke in an inscription of Jayasimha II.⁴ Maṇṇai-kāṭaka is identified by Mr. Rice with the city of Maṇṇe in the Nelamaṅgala tâluka of the Bangalore district.⁵

Îlam (l. 2) or Îla-maṇḍala (l. 3) is the Tamil designation of the island of Ceylon. Rājendra-Chôla I. boasts of having deprived its king of his own crown, the crowns of his queens, and two other trinkets which the Pândya king had previously deposited with the king of Ceylon: a crown and the 'necklace of Indra.' Mr. Venkayya has pointed out that the *Mahāvamsa* (chapter LIII.) also refers to the crown of the Pândya, which had been left with the king of Ceylon and was taken from him by the Chôlas,⁶ and that the 'necklace of Indra' is alluded to in several Pândya inscriptions.⁷

The Kêraḷa (l. 3) is the king of Malabar. Śândimattivu (l. 5), i.e. the island of Śântimat (?), is unknown. Muṣaṅgi is perhaps identical with the fort of Uchchaṅgi in the Bellary district.⁸ Jayasimha of Raṭṭa-pâḍi (l. 6), who was put to flight at Muṣaṅgi, is the Western Châlukya king Jayasimha II.⁹

Śakkaragôṭṭam, i.e. Chakrakôṭṭa, is shown by the inscriptions of Kulôttuṅga I. to have belonged to the dominions of the king of Dhârâ.¹⁰ Madura-maṇḍala (l. 7) need not be connected with Madhurâ, the capital of the Pândya king, who has been already accounted for (l. 3), but may be meant for the district of the northern Mathurâ on the Yamunâ. The three next geographical names cannot be identified.

At Âdinagar (?) Rājendra-Chôla I. captured Indraratha of the race of the Moon (l. 8). As suggested by Prof. Kielhorn,¹¹ this prince may be identical with that Indraratha who is mentioned in the Udaypur inscription as an enemy of Bhôjadêva of Dhârâ.

¹ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 196; above, Vol. VIII. p. 262.

² Compare *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 197.

³ *Ibid.* p. 52.

⁴ Above, Vol. III. p. 231. Compare also Vol. VI. pp. 224, 225 and 227 (*Koḷlipâka*).

⁵ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. p. 10 of the Introduction.

⁶ *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1906-1907*, p. 73.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 63 f.; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII. p. 72 and note 78.

⁸ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 94, note 4.

⁹ *Ibid.* Vol. I. p. 96.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* Vol. III. p. 132.

¹¹ *List of Southern Inscr.* p. 120, note 3.

Oḍḍa-vishaya (l. 9) is the province of Orissa, and Kōśalai-nāḍu is probably *Southern Kōśala*.¹ Taṇḍabūti, i.e. Daṇḍabhukti, and its ruler Dharmapāla are unknown from other sources. The same is the case with Raṇaśūra, who ruled over Takkaṇalāḍam (l. 10), i.e. Dakṣhiṇa-Virāṭa² or Southern Berar, and with Gōvindahandra,³ the ruler of Vaṅgāla-dēśa, i.e. the Bengal country. Mahipāla, whom the Chōla king deprived of his elephants and women, is identified by Prof. Kielhorn with the Pāla king Mahipāla I.⁴

The list of conquests closes with Uttiralāḍam (l. 11), i.e. Uttara-Virāṭa or Northern Berar, and the Gaṅgā, i.e. the river Ganges.

The short passage in Tamil prose with which the inscription ends (ll. 12-14) records its actual purpose — a gift of money for a lamp and for offerings to the Jaina temple on the hill by the wife of a merchant of Malliyūr in Karaivaḷi, a subdivision of Perumbāṇappāḍi. The temple was called Śrī-Kundavai-Jinālaya (l. 13), i.e. the Jina temple of Kundavai. This name suggests that the shrine owed its foundation to Kundavai, the daughter of Parāntaka II., elder sister of Rājārāja I. (and consequently the paternal aunt of Rājendra-Chōla I.) and wife of Vallavaraiyar Vandyadēvar.⁵ The sacred hill (Tirumalai) is stated to have formed part of Vaigavūr, a *paḷlichchandam*, i.e. 'a village belonging to a Jaina temple,'⁶ in Mugai-nāḍu, a subdivision of Paṅgāla-nāḍu, a district of Jayaṅgoṇḍa-Chōla-maṇḍala. Malliyūr is the modern Gudimallūr near Arcot.⁷ The remaining geographical names mentioned in this paragraph have been discussed in *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 89, and above, Vol. VII. p. 192.

In conclusion I would like to add a few words on the later conquests of Rājendra-Chōla I. which are registered in the Tanjore inscription No. 20. Mr. Venkayya has shown that my former identification of Kaḍāram with a place in the Madura district⁸ must be wrong, because the Chōla king despatched an expedition to it on ships by sea, and because two of the localities mentioned in connection with this expedition, Nakkavāram and Pappālam, are, respectively, the Nicobar Islands and a port in Burma.⁹ Among the remaining items we read in line 9 of the Tanjore inscription *niṛaiśr-viśaiyamum*, and in line 11 *kalai-ttakkōr pugaḷ talai-ttakkōlamum*. The second of them, Takkōlam, may be identical with Ptolemy's *Táκωλα ἐμπόριον*, which Colonel Gerini places at Takōpa on the western coast of the Malay Peninsula.¹⁰ Instead of the first, which I had translated by 'Vijayam of great fame,' an inscription at Kaṇḍiyūr near Tanjore reads *niṛai-śrīvishaiyamum*, 'the prosperous Śrīvishaya.'¹¹ This may be the correct reading; for according to the larger Leiden grant (l. 80) Śrīvishaya was the name of the country ruled over by the king of Kaṭāha or Kaḍāram.

¹ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 97.

² In his *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1906-1907*, p. 87 f., Mr. Venkayya has shown that the Tamil term *Ilāḍa* does not correspond to the Sanskrit *Lāṭa* (Gujarāt), but to *Virāṭa* (Berar).

³ Page 34 of Dr. Burnell's *South-Indian Palaeography* (2nd ed.) contains the following note:—"The great inscription at Tanjore (11th century) mentions a Śēramān, but also a king of Karuvai (or Karūr) and a Gōvindahandra (king of Kannāḍa)."—*Kannāḍa* (= Kannāḍa or Kaṇṇāṭa?) is nothing but a misreading of the word *Takkaṇalāḍam*, which happens to precede the name *Gōvindahandra* (l. 10), and *Karuvai*, here represented as referring to Karuvūr, is probably derived from *Ādinagar-avai* (l. 8). I am not drawing attention to these mistakes in order to gloat over them, but to prevent their being quoted as reliable facts.

⁴ *List of Southern Inscr.* p. 120, note 4.

⁵ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 68. For three other princesses named Kundavai see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXIII. p. 298, note 13, and *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 100.

⁶ Above, Vol. VII. p. 116, note 1.

⁷ See Mr. Venkayya's *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1905-1906*, p. 36 f., Nos. 418, 416 and 419.

⁸ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 106.

⁹ *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1898-99*, p. 17. Compare *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 194 f.

¹⁰ *Journ. R. As. Soc.* 1904, p. 247.

¹¹ See my *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1894-95*, p. 4.

TEXT.

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Tiru maṇṇi vaḷarav=iru-ṇila-maḍandaiyum pōr-chēchaya-ppāvaiyuñ=
jīr-ttaṇi-chchelviyu=daṇ perun-dēviyar=āgi iṇb-uṇ neḍ-udiyal ūliyuḷ
Idaidu-
- 2 rai-nāḍun=dudar-vaṇa-vēli-ppaḍar Vanavāsiyuñ=juḷli-chēchūl-madiṭ-Kolḷippākkaiyu=
nannaṅk-arū-muraṇ Maṇṇaikkāḍakkamum poru-gaḍal īlatt=araśarda=muḍiyum
āṅga-
- 3 var dēviyar=ōṅg-eḷiṇ-muḍiyu=munṇ=avar pakkaḷ=Tteṇṇavar vaitta śundara-
muḍiyum Indiran=āramun=deṇ-ḍirai īḷa-maṇḍala=muḷuvadum eṇi-baḍai=
Kkēraḷar
- 4 muṇaimaiyir=chūḍuṇ=gula-daṇam=āgiya palar pugalaḷ muḍiyuñ=Jeṅgadir-mālaiyuñ=
jaṅg-adir-vēlai-ttol-bēruṇ-gāvaṇ=pal-baḷan-di(di)vuñ=jeruviṇ=cheṇa-
- 5 vil¹ irubatt-oru-gāl=araiṇṇuḷai kaṭṭa Paraśurāmaṇ mēv-arūñ=Jāṇḍimattivv-araṇ²
karuḍi iruttiya sēmbor-ṇiru-ttagu-muḍiyum bayaṇ-goḍu paḷi miga
Muṇaṅgiyil mu-
- 6 dug=itt-olitta Śayaśi(śi)ṇgaṇ āḷa-pperum-bugaḷoḍum piḍ-iyal Iraṭṭabāḍi ēl-arai
ilakkamu=nava-nedi-kkula-pperu-malaigaḷum vikkirama-vīrar Śakkaragōṭṭamu=
7 mudira-baḍa-vallai Madura-maṇḍalamum kâ-miḍai-vaḷaiya=Nāmaṇaikkōṇamum
vēṇ-jilai-vīrar Paṇjappalliyum pās-uḍai-ppaḷa=naṇ-Māṇuṇi-dēsamum ayaṇ-
8 l-vaṇ-gi(gi)rttiy=Āḍinagar-avaiyir=Chandiraṇ=ṇol-gulatt=Iradaṇaṇai⁴ viḷaiy=
amarkkaḷattu=kkilaiyoḍum piḍ[it]tu=ppala-daṇattoḍu niṇai kula-daṇa-kkuvai-
9 yuñ=jitt-arūñ=jeri-miḷaiy=⁵Oṭṭa-vishaiyamum būsurar sēr nal-Kkōśalai-nāḍun=
Daṇmabāḷaṇai vem-muṇaiy=alittu vaṇḍ-uṇai-sōlai=Ttaṇḍaya(bu)ttiyum=
Iraṇa-
- 10 sūraṇai muraṇ=ura=ttākki=ttikk-aṇai-gi(gi)rtti=Ttakkaṇalāḍamun=Gōvindaśandaṇ
māv=iḷind=ōḍa=ttaṇḍāda-sāral Vāṅḷa-dēsamun=dōḍu-gaḍar-chaṅguṇōṭṭaṇ⁶
Mahibāḷaṇai
- 11 vēṇ-jama[r*]-vaḷāgatt=aṇjuvitt=aruḷi oṇ-ḍiṇal yāṇaiyum peṇḍir-baṇḍāramu=
nittiḷa-neḍuṇ-gaḍal=Utti[ra]lāḍamum vēṇi-maṇaṇ-ṇirtta-tteṇi-buṇaṇ=Kaṅgaiyu=
mā-p-
- 12 poru-daṇḍāṇ=koṇḍa kō=Pparagēśaribaṇmar=āṇa uḍaiyār Śrī-Rājendra-
Chōḷadēvaṇku yāṇḍu lāṇadu [Ja]yāṇḍoṇḍa-Sōḷa-maṇḍalattu Paṅḷaḷa-
nāṭṭu naḍuvil
- 13 va[g]ai Mugai-nāṭṭu=ppaḷlichchandaṇ Vāḡavūr-Ttirimalai Śrī-Kundavai-
Jinālayattu dēvaṇku=Pperumbāṇappāḍi=Kkaraivaḷi Malliyūr irukkum vyā-
- 14 pāri Nannappayaṇ maṇavāṭṭi Śāmuṇḍappai vaitta tirunandāvilakku oṇṇinukku=
kkāśu irubadum [tiru]vamudukku vaitta kāśu pattum [||*]

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Hail! Prosperity!

(L. 12.) In the 13th year (of the reign) of king Parakēsarivarman *alias* the lord
Śrī-Rājendra-Chōḷadēva, who,—

¹ Read =*chīnavi*.

² Read =*ottu-araṇ*.

³ Other inscriptions read *aḷapp-arum*; see *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 93, note 5.

⁴ Read =*Indiradaṇai*. That this is the original reading, becomes more than probable in the following manner:— (1) The doubtful word may be expected to rhyme on *Chandira*, the third word before it. (2) The Tanjore inscription No. 20 reads =*Indiradaṇai*. (3) *Indiratha* is the only correct Sanskrit name I can think of, which would account for both corrupt readings.

⁵ The Tanjore inscription No. 20 reads *kitt-arūñ=jeri-miṇai*.

⁶ Read, as in the Tanjore inscription No. 20, *tōḍu-gaḷar-chaṅguv-ōṭṭal*.

(L. 1.) in (*his*) life of high prosperity, while Tiru (Lakshmi), having become constant, was increasing, (*and*) while the goddess of the great earth, the goddess of victory in battle, and the matchless goddess of fame rejoiced to have become his great queens,—

(L. 11.) seized by (*his*) great, warlike army (*the following*):—

(L. 1.) Idaidurai-nāḍu; Vanavāsi, (*round which*) a fence of continuous forests was spreading;¹ Kolippākkai, whose walls were surrounded with brushwood;² Mannai-kkaḍakkam, whose strength was unapproachable;³ the crown of the king of Iḷam (*on*) the tempestuous ocean; the exceedingly fine crowns of the queens of that (*king*); the beautiful crown⁴ and the necklace of Indra, which the king of the South (*i.e.* the Pāṇḍya) had previously deposited with that (*king of Iḷam*); the whole Iḷa-maṇḍala (*on*) the transparent sea; the crown praised by many and the garland of the Sun, family-treasures which the arrow-shooting (*king of*) Kēraḷa rightly wore; many ancient islands, whose old, great guard was the ocean which makes the conches resound; the crown of pure gold, worthy of Tiru (Lakshmi), which Paraśurāma, having considered the fortifications of Śāndimattivu impregnable, had deposited (*there*), when, in anger, (*he*) bound the kings twenty-one times in battle; the seven and a half lakshas of Iraṭṭabāḍi, (*which was*) strong by nature, (*and which he took*), together with immeasurable fame, (*from*) Jayasimha, who, out of fear and full of vengeance, turned his back at Muśaṅgi and hid himself; the principal great mountains (*which contained*) the nine treasures (*of* Kuvēra);⁵ Śakkaragōṭṭam, whose warriors were brave; Madura-maṇḍala, whose forts (*bore*) banners (*which touched*) the clouds; Nāmaṇaikkōṇam, which was surrounded by dense groves; Pañchappalli, whose warriors (*bore*) cruel bows; the good Māṣuṇi-dēśa, whose fruits were fresh; a large heap of family-treasures, together with many (*other*) treasures, (*which he carried away*) after having captured Indraratha of the old race of the Moon, together with (*his*) family, in a fight which took place in the hall (*at*) Ādinagar, (*a city*) which was famous for unceasing abundance; Oḍḍa-vishaya, which was difficult to approach, (*and which he subdued in*) close fights; the good Kōśalai-nāḍu, where Brāhmaṇas assembled; Taṇḍabutti, in whose gardens bees abounded, (*and which he acquired*) after having destroyed Dharmapāla (*in*) a hot battle; Takkaṇalāḍam, whose fame reached (*all*) directions, (*and which he occupied*) after having forcibly attacked Raṇasūra; Vaṅḡala-dēśa, where the rain-wind never stopped, (*and from which*) Gōvindaśhandra fled, having descended (*from his*) male elephant;⁶ elephants of rare strength and treasures of women, (*which he seized*) after having been pleased to put to flight on a hot battle-field Mahipāla, decked (*as he was*) with ear-rings, slippers and bracelets; Uttiralāḍam, as rich in pearls as the ocean; and the Gaṅḡā, whose waters dashed against bathing-places (*tirtha*) covered with sand,—

(L. 12.) Chāmuṇḍappai, the wife of the merchant Nannappaya, who resided (*at*) Malliyūr (*in*) Karaivali, (*a subdivision*) of Perumbānappāḍi, deposited twenty *kāṣus* for one perpetual lamp and ten *kāṣus* for offerings to the god of the Śrī-Kundavai-Jinālaya (*on*) the holy mountain (Tirumalai) of Vaigavūr, a paḷlichchandam in Mugai-nāḍu, a subdivision (*vagai*) in the middle of Paṅḡala-nāḍu, (*a district*) of Jayaṅḡḍa-Chōḷa-maṇḍala.

¹ It seems most natural to take *paḍar* as a verb. It may also mean 'a road' or may be the nom. plur. of the Sanskrit *bhaṭa*, 'a warrior.'

² This was perhaps done by the besieging Chōḷa army when setting fire to the city. Among the meanings of *suḷli* the *Dictionnaire Tamoul-Français* notes the following:—'brouilles, menu bois sec pour brûler.'

³ Other inscriptions read *naṇṇarḱ-arum-araṇ*, 'whose fortifications were unapproachable.'

⁴ It seems more simple to take the first member of *sundara-muḍi* as an adjective, than to translate the compound by 'the crown of Sundara.'

⁵ See *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 95, note 1.

⁶ Compare *paḡaḍ=ṣṇind=śḍa*, *ibid.* Vol. II. p. 34, text line 7 f.

No. 32.—MAMBALLI PLATE OF SRIVALLAVANGODAI; KOLLAM 149.

By T. A. GOPINATHA RAO, M.A., MADRAS.

The copper plate on which the subjoined inscription is engraved, belongs to the Māmballi bhaṇḍārattil of the Māmballi maṭha and was secured for me for publication by Mr. S. Govinda Pillai, High Court Vakil, Trevandrum. Besides this plate, there are five other odd plates belonging to the same maṭha, which bear fragments of inscriptions of the Kīlappērūr¹ dynasty of the Vēṇāḍu kings. In one of them occurs the name Śrī-Vīra-Dēvadarāṇ-Kēraḷavarman of Kīlappērūr.²

The plate measures $10\frac{1}{2}'' \times 3\frac{1}{4}''$ and has a hole on the left margin. It does not appear to have possessed a ring or seal. At the left end of the plate, the owner has engraved, in modern Malayālam characters, the word Māmballi. Excepting this single word and a few Grantha letters interspersed in the document, the inscription is written in the Vaṭṭeḷuttu alphabet. The words *svastī* and *śrī* in line 1; the letter *śrī* occurring in the name Śrīvallavaṅḍōdai in lines 7, 18 and 19; *rakshī*³ and *rakshā*³ occurring in the words *rakshichchu* and *rakshābhōgam* in l. 12 are in Grantha characters. The consonant *k* retains the earlier form, without a loop at the bottom; this form differs from the later ones, which are scarcely distinguishable from the symbol for *ch*. The letter *pū* (of *pūṅgū* in l. 3), whilst it has the common form in all other instances, looks like the Grantha letter *hra*. The language of the inscription is Tamil, tinged here and there with the colloquialisms of the Malabar Coast: e.g. *irundaruliṅ=ēdattu vaichchu*, (=at the place where they were pleased to be seated), in l. 5; *paṭṭāra-gakkolḷa* for *paṭṭāragarkk=ulḷa* (=belonging to the *bhaṭṭāraka*) in lines 6 and 12; *ari* for *arisi* (=rice) in l. 9; *Muruṅṅaiyūr* for *Muruṅṅaiyūr* in l. 21; *Saṅṅaran* for *Saṅṅaran* in l. 22; *rakshichchu* for *rakshittu* in l. 12. The phrase *nāṇālichcheydu* is contracted in the modern Malayālam language into *nāṇāliche*.

This is the earliest known record dated in the Kollam era, and belongs to the reign of the Vēṇāḍu king Śrīvallavaṅḍōdai.³ It is dated in the 149th year of the Kollam era,

¹ [Kīlappērūr is annexed as the house-name of the Vēṇāḍ (Travancore) princes in later inscriptions (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXV. p. 190). It is a village about 8 miles to the north-east of Āṅṅīngal, which is the hereditary domain of H. H. the Senior Rani of Travancore (Mr. Nagamaiya's *Travancore Manual*, Vol. III. p. 579). The country round Āṅṅīngal seems to have been known as Kūpadēsa in ancient times. The late Mr. Sundaram Pillai was of opinion that Vēṇāḍu and Kūpadēsa were two distinct principalities and that the latter was at some stage of its history annexed by the rulers of the former. The Vēṇāḍu kings are said to have assumed the family name Kīlappērūr after this annexation.—V. Venkayya.]

² [This name occurs without the title *vīra* in a Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscription from Vīraṇam in the Travancore State. The late Professor Sundaram Pillai has called the king Kēraḷavarman II. and assigned A.D. 1193 for his date (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXIV. p. 283).—V. V.]

³ [In the name Śrīvallavaṅḍōdai *kōdai* was perhaps an epithet of the rulers of Vēṇāḍu. The first part of the name, i.e. Śrīvallavaṇ (Śrīvallabha) may be that of the king to whom Vēṇāḍu was feudatory. Such a combination of names is frequently met with in Tamil inscriptions. If the name Śrīvallavaṅḍōdai be a similar compound, Śrīvallavaṇ or Śrīvallabha might be the name of a Pāṇḍya king. The Pāṇḍya king, who probably reigned about this time, was Vīra-Pāṇḍya, with whom the Chōḷa Āditya II. is said to have fought in his youth. Vīra-Pāṇḍya himself claims to have taken "the head of the Chōḷa (king)", and a number of his inscriptions have been found at Śuchindram in South Travancore. But we have at present no reason to suppose that he bore the name Śrīvallabha, although the designation was common enough among the Pāṇḍyas. On the other hand, the Singhalese chronicle *Mahāvamsa* refers to an invasion of Ceylon in the period A.D. 975-991 by Vallabha, the Chōḷa king (Mr. Wijesinha's *Translation*, Chapter LIV, p. 85). It is, however, doubtful if the Chōḷas were powerful enough to undertake an expedition against Ceylon at the time of which we are now speaking. And as the chronology of the Singhalese chronicle is not beyond question, we cannot suppose that the ruler of Travancore mentioned in the Māmballi plate was a Chōḷa feudatory. The history of the Chēras is very little known. Consequently it is uncertain to which dynasty the Śrīvallabha, whose feudatory the Vēṇāḍu ruler might have been in A.D. 973, belonged.—V. V.]

on a Sunday corresponding to the *Aśvati*-nakshatra in the month *Vṛiśchika* when the planet Jupiter stood in the constellation *Tulā*. Professor Kielhorn kindly contributes the following remarks on the date:—"If the date were correctly recorded, it would correspond, for the year 149 of the Kollam era, to Sunday, the 8th November A.D. 973, which was the 15th day of the month of *Vṛiśchika*, and on which [the 11th *tithi* of the bright half of *Mārgaśīra* ended 11 h. 12 m., while] the *nakshatra* was *Rēvatī* for 16 h. 25 m., after mean sunrise, and *Aśvinī* (*Aśvati*) for the rest of the day. On the same day Jupiter's mean longitude was $191^{\circ} 44'$, and his true longitude $195^{\circ} 27'$, i.e. in either case Jupiter was in the sign *Tulā*."

"The difficulty here is, that the day should have been described as the day of the *nakshatra* *Aśvinī*, when this *nakshatra* only commenced 16 h. 25 m. after mean sunrise; and I have no doubt whatever that either *Aśvinī* (*Aśvati*) has been quoted erroneously instead of *Rēvatī*, or Sunday instead of Monday. If the week-day were Monday,¹ the date would regularly correspond to Monday, the 10th November A.D. 973, the 16th day of *Vṛiśchika*, when the *nakshatra* was *Aśvinī* (*Aśvati*) for 16 h. 25 m. after mean sunrise, and when Jupiter of course still was in the sign *Tulā*."

The inscription informs us that *Umaiyaṁmai* of *Tirukkalayapuram*, daughter of *Ādichchan*, set up a *bhaṭṭāraka* (image) in the temple at *Ayurūr*. The king *Śrīvallavaṅgōdai* made a gift of land to *Umaiyaṁmai* for the purpose of keeping up the services of the *bhaṭṭāraka* set up in the *Ayurūr* temple; and she, in her turn, made over the subject matter of the gift to the *Tirucheṅṅunṇūr* temple, in order that it might be placed under the management of the *Poduvāls* of that temple. From the produce of the land so given, the *Poduvāls* of the temple of *Tirucheṅṅunṇūr* had to supply to the temple daily 4 *nālis* of rice for daily offerings and annually 200 *paraīs* (of 9 *nālis* each) of paddy.² If the word *uḍai* used in l. 18 was really meant to be used in the sense of 'of or belonging to,' the inscription would warrant us to draw the conclusion that *Umaiyaṁmai* was a near relation of *Śrīvallavaṅgōdai*—either mother or wife. It would then be more probable to consider her as his wife than as his mother, as the passage *Śrīvallavaṅgōdaiy=uḍai Ādichchan=Umaiyaṁmai* means *Ādichchan* *Umaiyaṁmai* belonging to *Śrīvallavaṅgōdai*. She might perhaps be the daughter of the *Chōla* king *Āditya* II.,³ to whose time this record belongs. If, on the other hand, *uḍai* be a mistake for *iḍai* then no sort of relationship need exist between the two.⁴

The inscription employs several peculiar terms which require some explanation each. The word *attippēru* (ll. 8 and 19) implies 'acquisition by the pouring of water.' This mode of acquisition differs from others, such as purchase, etc.⁵ The meaning of the expressions *kilīḍu* and *iḍaiy=iḍu* is not definitely known. *Kilīḍu* literally means 'that which is placed under,'⁶ and *iḍaiy=iḍu*, 'that which is placed in the middle.' A piece of land placed under the management of a person was perhaps called a *kilīḍu* with reference to that person. If this person sublet to a third party, the person subletting seems to be the *iḍaiy=iḍan*, i.e. he is the middle man between the owner of the property and the sub-tenant. It is in this sense that the passages of the inscription, in which these terms occur have been translated. The name *poduvāl* was given to a class of people who were eligible for service in temples. It has now

¹ [According to the Editor's footnote 4 on p. 236, the name of the week-day is engraved over an erasure.—F. K.]

² [See below, p. 238, note 3.—V. V.]

³ [The record may belong either to the reign of *Āditya* II. or of his successor *Madhurāntaka*. If *Umaiyaṁmai* was the daughter of the *Chōla* king *Āditya* II., it is difficult to understand why he is described as a native of *Tirukkalayapuram*. In all probability she was a private individual.—V. V.]

⁴ [See below, p. 238, note 10.—V. V.]

⁵ [See below, p. 237, note 12.—V. V.]

⁶ [Compare *Hultzsch, Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 292.—V. V.]

become the name of a sub-caste among the Ambalavāsi section of the Malayālis. Then again, the word *ūrālan* is explained variously as a trustee of an endowed temple, *magistrat de la ville*, or a patron or founder of a temple. I believe it is used here in the first two meanings. The term *adhikāri* occurs in the inscriptions of the Tamil and Malayālam countries, and is used in the sense of 'an officer in charge of a division,'¹ and it is in this sense the term is used in line 23 of the present record. The phrase *mukkālvattam* implies, according to Dr. Gundert, a Bhagavatī temple. If this be the sense in which it is employed in our inscription, then the *bhāṭṭāraka* set up by Umaiyyammai might be taken to be Bhagavatī. But its literal meaning, 'the three-fourths of a *vattam* (circuit or group of villages),' and the use of the *bhāṭṭāraka* instead of *bhāṭṭāraki* preclude the possibility of its being a Bhagavatī temple in the present instance. How *mukkālvattam* came to mean a Bhagavatī temple is not known. The meaning of the expressions *Śīrūrnaḍai* and *Śīrūrnaḍai-ttaṇḍam* is not clear. Hence they have been tentatively translated as "the custom obtaining in small towns" and "the fine levied in accordance with the custom obtaining in small towns."

The places mentioned in this inscription are:—Kollam, Tirukkalayapuram, Ayirūr, Tiruchcheṅṅunrūr, Idaiyāmaṇam, Murunnaiyūr, Maṇalmūḱku, Punalūr and Kuḍagōṭṭūr. Of these Kollam, Ayirūr and Tiruchcheṅṅunrūr are the modern Quilon, Ayirūr and Cheṅṅunrūr² (the head-quarters of the tāluka of the same name) in North Travancore. Idaiyāmaṇam might be identified with Eḍamaṇ, a station on the Maniyachi-Quilon branch of the South Indian Railway; and Punalūr is another station on the same line. I am not able to identify the rest.

TEXT.³

First Side.

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Kollan=dōṇṇi nūṟṟu-nāṟpattonbadām=āṇḍu Tul-
- 2 ttuḷ Viyāḷa=niṟṟa Mirichchiga nāyirru [Nāyir=āṇḍa]⁴
- 3 Achchuvadi i-nnā[.]āḷ Kollattu=p[pū]ṅgāviṇ kōyilul=uya-
- 4 riya koṭṭilul Tiruchcheṅṅunrūr=pparudai=pperu-makkaḷ kūtṭa-
- 5 n=gūḍi irundaruliṅ=ēḍattu⁵ vaichchu Tirukkalaiyapuratt=Ādichchaṇ=
- Umaiyyammai
- 6 Ayururūṟ=piradiṭṭai-śeyda paṭṭāragaraiyum paṭṭāragarkkollā⁶ pūmiyum
- Ādi-
- 7 chchaṇ=Umaiyyammaikku [nī]rōḍ=atti-kkoḍuttāṇ Vēṇāḍ=uḍaiya Śrīvallavaṅḍōḍai
- [||*] Ādich-
- 8 chaṇ=Umaiyyammai tāṇ=attipēṟu koṇḍadu Tiruchcheṅṅunrūr=ppaṭṭāraga-
- 9 rkku=kkīḷ-iḍāy=chchirūṟ naḍaiy=ōḍu kūḍa nāṇṇāli=chchey[da]ri tiruva-
- mudi-
- 10 nukkum [o]ṇbadi=nāli=pparaiyāḷ irunūṟu parai=chche[y]ḍu nel āṇḍu-
- 11 varai kuḍuppidāga=ppoduḍāḷ kaiyyil nīrōḍ=atti=kkuḍuttāḷ [||*] Ayurūr
- mu-
- 12 kkāl-vattamum paṭṭārakollā⁷ iḍaiy-iḍum rakshichchu koḍuttu rakshā-
- pōgaṇ=

¹ [The word *adhikārin* is also used in the sense of 'minister;'] *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 92, and above Vol. VII. p. 196.—V. V.]

² [According to Mr. Nagamaiya the village is called Chengannur (*Travancore Manual*, Vol. III. p. 581) and there is a large and famous pagoda dedicated to the goddess Bhagavatī, in which there is celebrated annually a festival lasting for 28 days.—V. V.]

³ From the original copper plate.

⁴ Read *irundaruliṅ-ēḍattu*.

⁵ Read *paṭṭāragarkkollā*.

⁶ This portion is engraved over an erased.

⁷ Read *paṭṭāragarkkollā*.

First Side.

2 4 6 8 10 12 14

Handwritten text in Tamil script, first side of the plate. The text is arranged in approximately 14 horizontal lines. At the bottom left, there is a small circular hole and some additional markings.

Second Side.

16 18 20 22 24 26

Handwritten text in Tamil script, second side of the plate. The text is arranged in approximately 10 horizontal lines. There is a small circular hole near the bottom left of this side.

STEN KONOW.

SCALE 0.80.

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

- 13 gollakkaḍaviyar poduvālmār [||*] i-ppariśu śeyda kīl-iṭṭil ūrālarāga i-
 14 ḍaiy-iḍarāga pukku vilakkavum poru! kavaravum peṇār [||*] ¹ idā[ṇṇāli]l-onṇu

Second Side.

- 15 śeyyumavaṇ ² yeppēṇṇu-vagai chchirṇṇūr-naḍai-ttaṇḍam irunṇṇu=kkaḷaṇṇu
 16 poṇ taṇḍa-ppaḍa-kkaḍaviyaṇ [||*] ³ avaṇku³ pāḍu tāṅumavaṇum ippari-
 17 śē taṇḍappaḍuvidu [||*] i-ppariśu mēṇ=chollappaṭṭa Ayurūr mukkā-
 18 l-vaṭṭamum paṭṭāragakka=olla⁴ iḍaiy-iḍuṇ=Śrīvallavaṇḍōḍaiy=uḍai-
 19 Ādichchaṇ=Umaiyaṇmai aṭṭi-ppēṇṇu koṇḍadu [||*] Śrīvallavaṇḍōḍaiy=u-
 20 ḍaṇ=irukka=Ttiruchcheṇṇuṇṇūr=ppaṭṭāragakka kīl-iḍāga aṭṭiy-e⁵
 21 ḍatt-aṇiyuṇ=jāḍukka! Muruṇṇaiyūr=Ttēvam=Bavittiraṇ nāṇum=aṇi-
 22 vaṇ [||*] Iḍaiyāmaṇattu Śaṇṇaraṇ=Ganḍaṇ nāṇum=aṇivaṇ [||*] Maṇalmūkki[ṇ]
 23 Kaṇḍaṇ=Dāmōḍaraṇ nāṇum=aṇivaṇ [||*] Vēṇaṭṭiṇku adigāraṇ=jeygi-
 24 ṇṇa Puṇalūr(i) Iravi Parandavaṇ nāṇum=aṇivaṇ [||*] Kuḍagōṭṭūr=
 Pparan-
 25 davaṇ=Ganḍaṇ nāṇum=aṇivaṇ [||*] ivai Tiruchcheṇṇuṇṇūr=ppoduva-
 26 ¹ Śāt[ta]ṇ=Jaḍaiyaṇ=eluttu [||*]

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1 to 7). Hail! Prosperity! In the year one hundred and forty-nine after Kollam appeared, on a Sunday corresponding⁶ to the Achchuvadi (*aśvati-nakshatra*) in the month of Mirichchigam (*Vṛiśchika*), when Jupiter stood in Tulā—while⁷ the great men of the *paraḍai*⁸ (assembly) of Tiruchcheṇṇuṇṇūr were pleased to be assembled⁹ on this day in the high hall of the palace (situated) in the flower garden of Kollam, Śrīvallavaṇḍōḍai, (the king) of Vēṇaḍu gave, by the pouring of water, to Ādichchaṇ=Umaiyaṇmai of Tirukkalaṇyapuram, the *baṭṭārakar*¹⁰ set up by Ādichchaṇ=Umaiyaṇmai at Ayurūr, and the lands belonging to the *baṭṭārakar*.

(Ll. 8 to 11). Ādichchaṇ=Umaiyaṇmai gave, as *kīl-iḍu* to the *baṭṭārakar* of Tiruchcheṇṇuṇṇūr, by pouring water in the hands of the *poduvāḷ*,¹¹ what she acquired by gift,¹² so that (he)

¹ [The reading seems to be *id[ai] nāiyil-onṇu*. If *nai* has to be taken as *ṇā* it would be quite different from the other *ṇās* which occur in the inscription and resemble the modern Tamil *ṇā*.—V. V.]

² [The reading seems to be *vevṇēṇṇu*.—V. V.]

³ Read *avaṇukku*.

⁴ Read *paṭṭāragakkaḷḷa*.

⁵ Read *aṭṭiyay-iḍattu*.

⁶ [The original has *Nāyir-āṇḍa Achchuvadi*, which would mean in Tamil 'the (*nakshatra*) *Aśvati* (*Aśvini*) which was governed by *Nāyiru* (the Sun).' If then the week-day be Sunday, *Nāyir-āṇḍa* would correspond to the modern *Nāyirāḷcha* and the word *āḷcha* which Dr. Gundert derives from the root *ālu* 'to sink' may, in that case, be derived from the root *āl* 'to rule'.—V. V.]

⁷ [The expression *iḍattu vaichchu* of the original seems to be used in the sense of the modern Malayāḷam *iḍattil veichchu* which appears to be almost synonymous with the Tamil *iḍattil*.—V. V.]

⁸ [The word *paraḍai* occurs also in the form *paraḍai* and is a *tadbhava* of the Sanskrit *parishat*.—V. V.]

⁹ [The original has "were assembled and were pleased to be seated."—V. V.]

¹⁰ [It was evidently the image of the god that was made over to Ādichchaṇ Umaiyaṇmai; see below, p. 238, note 10.—V. V.]

¹¹ [According to Dr. Gundert, *poduvāḷ* means "a class of half-Brahmans, temple servants" and *agappoduvāḷ* with *pūṇṇḍl* officiate as priests and administrators of temple property.—V. V.]

¹² [*Aṭṭipēṇṇu* is evidently the same as *aṭṭippēṇṇu* which, according to Dr. Gundert, means "complete purchase of a free h. l." Mr. Nagamaia defines the term as 'the out and out surrender of the jenmi's rights by sale (*Travancore Manual*, Vol. III, p. viii).—V. V.]

might supply, according to the rate current in small towns,¹ four *nāli* of rice² for (daily) offerings, and two hundred *para*i of paddy at nine *nāli* per *para*i, annually.³

(Ll. 11 to 13). The *poduvāls* shall protect the *mukkāl-vaṭṭam*⁴ of Ayurūr and the *idaiyidu* of the *bhaṭṭāraka*, and take (a fraction of the produce) as remuneration for the protection (afforded).⁵

(Ll. 13 to 14). The *ūrāḷars* shall not enter as ⁶ *idaiyidars* in the *kīḷidu* (which is the subject of) this transaction,⁷ and shall neither dismiss (the *kīḷidars*) nor collect the rent.

(Ll. 14 to 16). He that reduces this to a fourth⁸ shall, consistently with the custom obtaining in small towns, be subject to the general fine of two hundred *kaḷaṅju* of gold.⁹

(Ll. 16 to 17). He that abets the former shall also be subject to a fine in the same way.

(Ll. 17 to 19). Both the *mukkālvaṭṭam* of Ayurūr and the *idaiyidu* belonging to the *bhaṭṭārakar*, mentioned above, are thus the acquisitions in gift of Âdichchaṇ=Umaiammai (of, or) related to Śrīvallavaṅgōdai.¹⁰

(Ll. 19 to 22). (The following are the signatures of) the *sādhus* who were present at the time when Âdichchaṇ=Umaiammai, while she was with Śrīvallavaṅgōdai, made this gift of

¹ [I take *chirṛār-naḍaiyōḍu kāḍa* as meaning "together with the shrine at Śirṛūr." *Naḍai* (*nada*) is used for 'temple' in South Malabar according to Dr. Gundert, and there is a temple at Quilon called Gaṇapatiṇāḍai meaning 'shrine or temple of Gaṇapati.'—V. V.]

² [I would read in the original *chēvad=ari* (l. 9) and *chēvaḍu nel* (l. 10) and take *chēvaḍu nel* as equivalent to *senel* which occurs in the Ambāsamudram inscription of Varaguṇa-Mahārāja (above, p. 90) and which according to Winslow means "superior kind of rice, of a yellowish hue — as *seṇjāli*."—V. V.]

³ [As the dative *tiruvamudipukkum* is used and as the purpose for which the 200 *para*i of paddy had to be supplied is not stated, it looks as if the paddy was to be converted into rice and used for offerings. In this case, there is something wrong in the calculation here made. At the rate of four *nāli* of rice per day the quantity required for a year or 360 days comes to 1,440 *nāli* of rice or 160 *para* according to the equivalent of the *para* given in line 10. How 160 *para* of rice can be obtained from 200 *para* of paddy it is difficult to understand. According to the Tanjore inscriptions of Rājārāja I., 2½ times the quantity of paddy was required to obtain a given measure of rice, and 3 times the quantity according to the Ambāsamudram inscription of Varaguṇa-Mahārāja.—V. V.]

⁴ [The word *mukkālvaṭṭam* occurs in the Tirunelli plates of Bhāskara Ravivarman, where Professor Hultzsch has translated it by 'temple' (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 292). According to Dr. Gundert the term denotes in Travancore 'a temple of Koṅgaṇimār.' An inscription at Tiruvāḷisvaram near Ambāsamudram in the Tinnevely district mentions *Tiripiradāna* ('*dahanam*') *paṇṇiṇa tēvagaṇār tirumukkālvaṭṭam*, where *tirumukkālvaṭṭam* appears to mean 'the holy shrine' of the god Śiva (No. 120 of the A. A. Superintendent's collection for 1905).—V. V.]

⁵ [According to Dr. Gundert *rakṣā-bhōgam* is synonymous with *rāja-bhōgam*, which denotes the ruler's share. From certain Tellicherry records (1796-1799) it appears that this share amounted to one-fifth (of the revenue).—V. V.]

⁶ [The word *āga* here translated 'as' occurs in a similar context in the Tirunelli plates of Bhāskara Ravivarman (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 290, text line 17). It is apparently synonymous with the Tamil *āvaḍu* or *āgilum* and the Malayālam *āgaṭṭe*.—V. V.]

⁷ [*I-ppariṣu* means 'in this manner, thus.' I would translate the passage thus: "Neither the *ūrāḷar* nor the *idaiyidar* shall be entitled to interfere and disturb the *kīḷidu* thus settled or to seize (any) property."—V. V.]

⁸ *I.e.* he who contributes to the dwindling of this charity.

⁹ [I would translate the passage as follows: "He who does any injury to this (contract) shall individually pay a fine of two hundred *kaḷaṅju* (to) the shrine at Śirṛūr." See notes 1 and 2 on p. 237 and note 1 above.—V. V.]

¹⁰ [Instead of *Ayurūriṅ=piradiṭṭai tēyda paṭṭāragar* of line 6, we have here *Ayurūr mukkāl-vaṭṭam* which to a certain extent confirms the meaning 'shrine' of *mukkālvaṭṭam*. Instead of *paṭṭāragarkk=olla pāmi* in line 6, we have here *paṭṭāragarkk=olla idaiyidu*, which denotes the interest which the Ayurūr shrine possessed in the land acquired by Âdichchaṇ-Umaiammai from Śrīvallavaṅgōdai. Consequently, the sentence repeats the statement made in lines 5 to 7 that Âdichchaṇ-Umaiammai had obtained the concession from Śrīvallavaṅgōdai. Accordingly, it seems to me that *Śrīvallavaṅgōdaiy-uḍai* at the end of l. 18 is a simple clerical mistake for *Śrīvallavaṅgōdaiy-idai*. If any such relationship as would be implied by the use of the word *uḍai* were intended, it would be more natural to expect it noted when Âdichchaṇ-Umaiammai is mentioned for the first time. Besides, it would be unusual for the mother or wife of Śrīvallavaṅgōdai to enter into a transaction of this nature with him.—V. V.]



land as *idaiyidu* to the *bhaṭṭāraka* of Tiruchcheṅṅūr:—¹ I, *Dēvam*-²*Pavittiraṇ* of *Muruṇṇaiyūr*, also know;³

(L. 22). I, *Saṇṇaran Kaṇḍaṇ* of *Idaiyāmaṇam*, also know;

(Ll. 22 to 23). I, *Kaṇḍaṇ Dāmōdaraṇ* of *Maṇalmūkkū*, also know;

(Ll. 23 to 24). I, *Iravi-Parandavaṇ*⁴ of *Puṇalūr*, the *adhikārin* of *Vēṇāḍu*, also know;

(Ll. 24 to 25). I, *Parandavaṇ-Kaṇḍaṇ* of *Kuḍagōṭṭūr*, also know.

(Ll. 25 to 26). This is the writing of *Śāṭṭaṇ-Śaḍaiyaṇ*, the *poduvāl* of Tiruchcheṅṅūr.

No. 33.—THREE EARLY BRAHMI INSCRIPTIONS.

By PROFESSOR H. LÜDERS, PH.D., ROSTOCK.

I.—BRITISH MUSEUM STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF KAṆISHKA.

On the occasion of a visit to the British Museum in the autumn of 1906, I discovered in one of the cases of the Northern Gallery the stone bearing the subjoined inscription, which, as far as I know, has never been published before. At my request impressions were taken, from which I have prepared the transcript. Subsequently Dr. Fleet kindly sent me the photograph of the stone reproduced in the accompanying plate.

Nothing seems to be known about the origin of the stone, but the characters, the language and the date of the inscription prove that it comes from Northern India.

The sculpture at the top of the stone represents a man and a woman sitting on a bench. The woman to the left, wearing a loin-cloth and a girdle and the usual ornaments round the neck, the wrists, the ankles and in the lobes of the ear, rests her left elbow on the knee of her left leg which she has placed on the top of the bench, and turns her laughing face to the spectator. The male person also is wearing a necklace, bracelets, ear-drops, and a *dhōti* covering the knees. He is sitting astride, and with the right hand he touches, or points to, a sort of stand placed between the two persons on the bench and bearing what would seem to be a cushion adorned by three small square marks and supporting some bell-shaped object. Right over the head of the man there appears something which at first sight looks almost like a club, but which in my opinion probably is the mutilated head of a cobra. As the stone is broken off immediately above the head of the female person, it is quite possible that her head also was overshadowed by a similar representation of a serpent's head; and it seems to me very probable therefore that the sculpture represents a Nāga and his wife.

The writing is Brāhmī of the earlier Kushaṇa type. The subscript *ya* is expressed by the full sign, and the *sha* shows the old form with the small cross-bar. The language is the usual mixed dialect. The inscription, which is dated in the tenth year of mahārāja dēvaputra Kaṇishka, records the gift of a temple. Details will be discussed below.

¹ [In the original the name *Ādicheṇa-Umaiyaṇmai* is not repeated as it is represented in the translation. It looks as if *Śrīvallavaṅgōdai* was seated with the members of the assembly of Tiruchcheṅṅūr in the palace at Kollam (ll. 4-5) while making the gift to *Ādicheṇa Umaiyaṇmai*. Accordingly I would translate this sentence as follows:—“(The following are) the *saddhus* who know (the transaction entered into) at the place at which (*Ādicheṇa Umaiyaṇmai*)—while *Śrīvallavaṅgōdai* was sitting with (the assembly ?)—granted the *ḷṭṭidu* (of the land ?) to the lord (*bhaṭṭāraka*) of Tiruchcheṅṅūr.” The same fact is referred to in lines 8 and 9.—V. V.]

² [The name of the man was apparently *Dēvaṇ Pavittiraṇ*.—V. V.]

³ *I.e.* the terms of this transaction and bear witness to the same.

⁴ [Parandavaṇ is apparently a *tadbhava* of the Sanskrit *Paramāpa*.—V. V.]

TEXT.

- 1 Siddha[m]¹ maharâjasya dēva[putrasya]²
 2 Kāṇishkasya savatsarē [10]³
 3 gri 2 di 9 ētayē purvay[ē]⁴
 4 [n]tarāyam⁵ na[va]rikāyam⁶ [h]ā-
 5 [rmya]n=[d]ata[n]⁷ priyatām dēvi⁸ grā[masya].⁹

REMARKS.

1 The *anusvāra* is indistinct because it is crossed by the line forming the base of the sculpture. — 2 The reading of the bracketed characters is certain, though the surface of the stone has peeled off at the corner. — 3 This figure also has suffered from the peeling off of the surface, but the reading is beyond doubt. — 4 The *ē* is very indistinct, and the correct reading may possibly be *purvaya* or *purvayam*. — 5 At first sight one might feel inclined to read *natarāyam*, but the base-line of the first letter is quite straight, whereas *na* has a distinctly curved base. I feel therefore sure that what appears to be the continuation of the base-line to the left, is merely due to a flaw in the stone. — 6 The two convergent side-lines of the *va* are not very distinct, just as in the same letter in line 3, and there appears a vertical in the middle which makes the letter look almost like *na*. But this line is far too thin to really form part of the letter and must be accidental. — 7 The bracketed letters of these two words are more or less damaged, but the reading seems to be sure. — 8 The *ē*-stroke is added to the top of the letter, whereas in *dē* in the first line it is added in the middle. — 9 The last two letters are damaged, but only the *ya* can be said to be conjectural.

TRANSLATION.

Success! In the year 10 of the *mahārāja dēvaputra* Kāṇishka, in the second (month of) summer, on the ninth day,—on that (date specified as) above a temple was given in the northern *navāmikā* (?). May the goddess of the village be pleased!

NOTES.

The orthography of the inscription is very irregular, double consonants, long vowels and the *anusvāra* being frequently not expressed in writing. A long *ā* appears in the word *hārmya*. According to the *St. Petersburg Dictionary* the same form is found also in the *Taitt. Ār.* VI, 6, 2 instead of the ordinary *harmya* occurring in the corresponding verse in *Atharvav.* XVIII, 4, 55. In *hārmyan=datam* the final *m* is converted into the nasal before the following mute, which is rare in inscriptions in this dialect. Another instance is found in the concluding words of the Mathurā inscription, above Vol. I. p. 386, No. 8: *priyatām=bhagavān=Rishabhasrih*, which at the same time help us to understand the phrase found at the end of the present record: *priyatām dēvi grāmasya*.

Of greater interest is the spelling of the king's name, *Kāṇishka*, with a long vowel in the first syllable and a lingual *ṇ*. With regard to the latter point, the seven Brāhmī inscriptions that have preserved the name are in perfect agreement.¹ In the Kharōṣṭhī inscriptions of Suś Vihār² and Zeda³ the name is read as *Kanishka*, in that of Manikyāla as *Kaneshka*,⁴ but I am by no means sure whether in the two last mentioned inscriptions the readings *Kanishka* and

¹ Mathurā inscr. of S. 5, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXIII. p. 34 ff., No. 4; Mathurā inscr. of S. 7, above Vol. I. p. 391, No. 19; Mathurā inscr. of S. 9, *Vienna Or. Journ.* Vol. I. p. 173, No. 2, and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXIII. p. 37, No. 6; Mathurā inscr., *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXIII. p. 149, No. 25; Sarnāth inscr. of S. 3, above Vol. VIII. p. 176, No. 3^a; Sarnāth inscr. of S. 3, above Vol. III. p. 179, No. 3^d.

² *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 326.

³ *Journ. As. Ser.* VIII. Vol. XV. p. 137.

⁴ *Journ. As. Ser.* IX. Vol. VII. p. 8.



Scale .9

From an inked estampage.

Collo type by Gebr. Plettner, Halle-Saale.

[illegible]

Kaṇishka would not be preferable. On the whole, contemporary records certainly are in favour of the spelling with the lingual *n*, and I would therefore propose to use *Kaṇishka* as the common form of the name. The spelling with the long vowel in the first syllable as in the present inscription is unusual, but it does not stand quite alone. In the Sārnāth inscription, No. 3^a, the editor, it is true, reads *Kaṇishkasya*, but the photo-lithograph¹ distinctly shows *Kāṇishkasya*.

Turning to the special object of the inscription, we may infer from the concluding words that the temple was dedicated to a goddess, and the representation of the two Nāgas above the inscription makes it not unlikely, I think, that the goddess intended was a Nāgī. That during the Kushāna period there existed temples for the worship of serpents in Northern India, is well attested by the two Mathurā inscriptions² which mention the temple (*st[h]āna*) of the *nāgēndra* Dadhikarṇa and a servant at the temple of the same Dadhikarṇa (*Dadhikarṇadēvikulika*).

The most difficult words of the inscription are *utarāyaṃ navamikāyaṃ*. I have thought for some time that they might be part of the date and mean 'on the following (i.e. intercalated) ninth (lunar day)', but for two reasons this idea must be given up. Firstly, such a statement would be in the wrong place after *ētayē purvayē*, and secondly, as Professor Kielhorn informs me, *uttara* is never used in the sense of *adhika* or *dvitīya*.³ The words must therefore be connected with *hārmyan=datam*, and as a form ending in *-āyaṃ* can hardly be anything else but the locative singular of a stem in *ā*; *utarā navamikā* would seem to denote either the locality where the temple was erected or, possibly, the goddess to whom it was dedicated. However, these explanations are far from satisfactory. Neither has *navamikā* the appearance of being the name of a locality, nor does *utarā navamikā* in the least sound like the name of a goddess or a Nāgī. I am at present unable to solve this difficulty.

II.—MATHURĀ STONE INSCRIPTION, DATED SAMVAT 74.

This inscription is engraved on a stone-slab discovered by Sir Alexander Cunningham in the Jail Mound at Mathurā. It was first edited in 1870, together with facsimiles, by Rajendralala Mitra in the *Journ. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXIX. Part I. p. 129, No. 15, and by Dowson in the *Journ. Roy. As. Soc. New Ser.* Vol. V. p. 183, No. 4. In 1873 Cunningham published it again with a facsimile in the *Arch. Surv. Rep.* Vol. III. p. 32, No. 8, and in 1904 I have treated it myself in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXIII. p. 106, No. 20. I edit it here again for a special reason. When I was in Oxford in 1905, Professor Hoernle kindly made over to me the collection of impressions, rubbings and drawings of inscriptions formed by him when preparing the second volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, which was to contain the 'Indo-Scythic' inscriptions. In this collection there is also the impression which I have used for the present edition. It cannot be said to be first-rate and, as unfortunately most of the impressions of this collection, it has been tampered with in some places by pencilling out parts of letters that in the impression itself are more or less effaced. Nevertheless the impression is of the greatest value as shown by the following note written on the margin, probably by General Cunningham himself: 'The only impression now available.—The stone has been lost at Agra.' Under these circumstances it seemed to me desirable to publish the accompanying reproduction of the impression, which in spite of its shortcomings naturally is far superior to the drawings published hitherto. Professor Hoernle's collection contains besides two facsimiles. The one is an eye-copy in red and blue pencil on a slightly reduced scale, made according to a marginal note by Captain Watts, Royal Engineers, the other is a pencil-tracing on transparent paper, perhaps made from the stone itself, but afterwards gone over with China-ink, blue and red pencil, and practically of no value.

¹ [I have some weeks ago examined the original and the *ā* is quite certain.—S. K.]

² *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 390, No. 18; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXIII. p. 102, No. 13.

³ Professor Hultsch writes to me that he is nevertheless inclined to connect *utarāyaṃ navamikāyaṃ* with the date, but he would take *uttara* in the sense of *uchyamāna*, *uparī-likhita*, 'above-mentioned.'

The inscription is divided by a blank space into two parts. The upper portion, containing eight lines, is complete with the exception of some letters at the end of the first two lines, which have disappeared by the breaking off of the right corner of the stone. Of the lower portion which in Dowson's and Cunningham's facsimiles has been omitted altogether, nothing is left but faint traces of some characters in the first line. The characters are Brāhmi of the Kushapa type. The *sha* appears in the older form with the small cross-bar, but the subscript *ya* shows the cursive form. The language is the mixed dialect. The inscription is dated in the year 74 of a mahārāja rājātīrāja devaputra whose name began with Vāsu, but owing to its fragmentary state its real purport cannot be made out.

TEXT.

- 1 Mahārajasya¹ r[ā].....²
- 2 sya devaputrasya Vāsu....³
- 3 savatsarē⁴ 70⁵ 4 varsham[ā]-⁶
- 4 sē prathamē divasē
- 5 trīs[ē]⁷ 30 asyam⁸ purvvayam⁹
- 6 Talakiy[ā]¹⁰ mahādāṇḍa-
- 7 nāyakasya¹¹ Vā-
- 8 lina[sy]a¹² k[shē]t[rē]¹³ Mihi-
- 9 [mahādāṇḍa]¹⁴.

REMARKS.

1 The *ā*-stroke is distinctly visible in the impression, although it does not appear in Capt. Watts' eye-copy.—2 The *ā*-stroke is uncertain. Restore *rājātīrāja*.—3 The *ā*-stroke is quite distinct, though here again it is omitted in Capt. Watts' eye-copy. As regards the restoring of the line, I refer to the remarks below.—4 The *ē*-stroke, omitted in Capt. Watts' eye-copy, is quite distinct.—5 Owing to a flaw in the stone, a small portion of the lower left cross-bar of the symbol has disappeared. In the impression somebody has tried to restore the missing portion by adding in pencil a hook turning upwards, but there is nothing to warrant this restoration. There can be no doubt that the symbol had the shape of a plain St. Andrew's cross, just as in other inscriptions. The lower right cross-bar also has been pencilled over in the impression, but this is of no consequence as it is perfectly distinct. The meaning of the symbol will be discussed below.—6 The upper portion of the *m* and the *ā* are not quite distinct.—7 The *ē*-stroke is indistinct, and the *śa* has suffered from a hole in the paper.—8 The apparent curving of the tail of the *a* has been caused by pencilling. In Capt. Watts' eye-copy the tail is quite straight.—9 Above the *pu* there is a distinct stroke which must be accidental.—10 There are some strokes behind and below the *ta*, but they are not noticed in Capt. Watts' eye-copy and may be accidental. The *ē*-stroke is not very distinct, and the reading *Talakiyam* would be possible.—11 Capt. Watts expressly states that there are no traces of letters before the *nā* of line 7 and the *li* of line 8. The *nā* has been pencilled over so as to look almost like *sā*, but there can be no doubt that it is *nā*, and as such it appears also in Capt. Watts' eye-copy.—12 The *ya* is damaged, but certain.—13 The *ksh* of the first and the *r* of the second syllable are damaged, but certain. The *ē* of *kshē* is very faint and not given in Capt. Watts' eye-copy. The last syllable may also be *trō* as in Capt. Watts' eye-copy.—14 Of this word only faint traces are visible in the impression, and the reading rests almost entirely on Capt. Watts' eye-copy. Instead of *da* Capt. Watts gives *dē*.

TRANSLATION.

In the year 74 of the mahārāja rājātīrāja devaputra Vāsu...., in the first month of the rainy season, on the thirtieth day, 30,—on that (date specified as) above, in the field (?) of the great general Vālina at Talakiya (or Talaki?) Mihi....

2

4

6

8



NOTES.

The orthography shows the usual features. The lengthening of the vowel in *dāṇḍa* appears again in the same word in the Set-Mahet inscription, above Vol. VIII, p. 181, and we may further compare such forms as *āntēvāsisa* and *āntēvāsiniyē* in the Mathurā inscriptions, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 198 f., Nos. 1 and 4.

As regards the date, the first symbol of the date of the year requires a fuller consideration, as it has been differently interpreted. As already stated above, it has the shape of a St. Andrew's cross. Cunningham¹ originally read it as 40, and he was followed by Dowson, who in editing the Mathurā inscriptions everywhere adopted Cunningham's readings of the dates.² In 1891 Bühler expressed his belief that the sign really represented 70,³ and this opinion was endorsed in the following year by Cunningham in his paper on the coins of the Kushanas in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, Ser. III. Vol. XII. p. 50, note 6.

I accordingly read the symbol as 70 when I published the inscription in the *Indian Antiquary*, and I am still convinced that Bühler was right, but in order to settle this question definitely, it will be necessary to examine the other Northern Brāhmī inscriptions where the same sign occurs. They are the following seven, all of which come from Mathurā or its neighbourhood :—

(1) Mathurā inscription of the time of *svāmin mahākshatrapa Śoḍāsa*, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 199, No. 2, and Plate. In the *Vienna Or. Journ.* Vol. V. p. 177, Bühler read the symbol as 40, adding 70 in brackets. In the *Ep. Ind.*, *loc. cit.*, Bühler again gave 40 in the text, but added in a note that the symbol might possibly be 70. And lastly in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 55, note 2, he stated that he would now remove the alternative reading 42, which he had thought admissible at first.

(2) Kāman inscription, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 212, No. 42, and Plate. Here Bühler rendered the sign by 70 in the text, but added in a footnote that it might also be read as 40.

(3) Mathurā inscription, *Journ. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXIX. Part I. p. 130, No. 17, and Plate; *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* New Ser. Vol. V. p. 183, No. 5, and Plate; *Arch. Surv. Rep.* Vol. III. p. 33, No. 11, and Plate. Cunningham and Dowson read the sign as 40, and I have followed them in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXIII. p. 102.

(4) Mathurā inscription, *Journ. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXIX. Part I. p. 127, No. 1, and Plate; *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* New Ser. Vol. V. p. 182, No. 1, and Plate; *Arch. Surv. Rep.* Vol. III. p. 33, No. 12, and Plate. Cunningham and Dowson read the sign as 40, and I have adopted this reading in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXIII. p. 101, No. 11.

(5) Mathurā inscription, *Journ. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXIX. Part I. p. 127, No. 2, and Plate; *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* New Ser. Vol. V. p. 183, No. 2, and Plate; *Arch. Surv. Rep.* Vol. III. p. 34, No. 13, and Plate. Cunningham and Dowson read the sign as 40, and I have followed them in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXIII. p. 102, No. 13.

(6) Mathurā inscription, *Journ. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXIX. Part I. p. 130, No. 18, and Plate. The facsimile is very poor. In the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXIII. p. 101, No. 12, I have read the sign as 40, but I have pointed out also that the inscription is possibly identical with that referred to under No. 3.

(7) Mathurā inscription, *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* New Ser. Vol. V. p. 184, No. 7, and Plate; *Arch. Surv. Rep.* Vol. III. p. 34, No. 14, and Plate. Cunningham and Dowson read the sign as 40.

¹ The absurd opinions of Rajendralala Mitra may be passed over in silence.

² Compare Cunningham's remarks, *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* New Ser. Vol. V. p. 194.

³ *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 373, note 7.

It thus appears that the symbol has hitherto been treated sometimes as 40 and sometimes as 70, but it will be readily conceded, I think, that it is impossible to assign two different values to the same sign in inscriptions of the same locality and the same period. But before we can decide which of the two interpretations is the correct one, we shall have to examine also the other symbols supposed to represent either 40 or 70 in the early Brāhmī inscriptions of Northern India. The following inscriptions, which for convenience sake I number in continuation of the list given above, must be taken into consideration :—

(8) Mathurā inscription of the time of *mahārāja* Huviksha, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 387, No. 9, and Plate. The symbol resembles the ligature *pta* and was read by Bühler as 40.

(9) Mathurā inscription, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 387, No. 10, and Plate. The general appearance of the symbol is the same as in No. 8, but its lower part is not quite distinct in the photo-lithograph. Bühler read the sign as 40.

(10) Mathurā inscription, *Arch. Surv. Rep.* Vol. III. p. 33, No. 10, and Plate; *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 396, No. 30, and Plate. The symbol generally has the same form as that in No. 8, but its lower part is a little more cursive. Cunningham and Bühler read it as 40.

(11) Mathurā inscription of the time of *mahārāja* Huvishka, *Arch. Surv. Rep.* Vol. III. p. 34, No. 15, and Plate. The symbol is the same as in No. 8. Cunningham read it as 40, and I have followed him in my treatment of the record in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXIII. p. 103, No. 14.

(12) Mathurā inscription, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 204, No. 20, and Plate; p. 321, and Plate. The upper part of the symbol is the same as in Nos. 8—11, but its lower part is a distinct loop. Bühler read the sign as 70.

(13) Mathurā inscription, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 387, No. 11, and Plate. As Bühler expressly states in a footnote that the symbol is a plain *pta*, it may have been so in the impression before him. In the photo-lithograph, however, it does not bear the slightest resemblance to that sign, but looks exactly like the letter *bra*. Bühler read the symbol as 40.

(14) Sāñchi inscription of the time of *mahārāja rājātirāja devaputra* Shāhi Vāsashka, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 369 f., and Plate. The symbol found here has quite a peculiar shape. Provided that the vertical standing behind it does not belong to it, but is part of the following sign for 8, it resembles the usual sign for 20. As such it was read also at first by Bühler, but at Cunningham's suggestion he afterwards took it to be 70. The reading of the sign was then discussed at length by Dr. Fleet in a paper in the *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* 1903, p. 326 ff., and he came to the conclusion that it was 20. But later on, when Mr. Vincent Smith in his *Early History of India*, p. 238, had suggested that the symbol might be read as 60, Dr. Fleet admitted the possibility of this interpretation; see *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* 1905, p. 357.¹

Leaving aside for the present the symbols found in the last three inscriptions, it appears that there are two symbols, the St. Andrew's cross and the *pta*, one of which must represent 70 and the other 40. Now in the inscription which forms the subject of this paper the St. Andrew's cross cannot represent 40, as in that case the inscription would be dated in the year 44 in the reign of a king whose name begins with Vāsu, whereas we know that from 33–60 Huvishka was the reigning monarch in this part of the country. Here, therefore, the St. Andrew's cross must represent 70, and we must accordingly assign the same value to the symbol also in the inscriptions enumerated above under Nos. 1–7. We thus get the dates S. 72 for No. 1, S. 74 for

¹ Another sign that originally was read 40 by Bühler, is found in the Mathurā inscription of the time of *mahārāja rājātirāja devaputra* Huvashka, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 386, No. 8, and Plate. Later on Bühler declared that on further consideration he read the symbol as 60, and as such it has been treated since then everywhere; see *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 204, note 61.

No. 2, and S. 77 for Nos. 3-7. The inscriptions themselves contain nothing to contradict this result. No. 4, it is true, mentions the *mahārāja rājātirāja devaputra* Hūvishka, but not in connection with the date, the inscription simply recording a gift to the *vihāra* of that king. As to the date S. 72 for the *mahākshatrapa* Śoṣāsa, I refer to the remarks of Dr. Fleet in the *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* 1907, p. 1024 ff.

If the St. Andrew's cross represents 70, the sign resembling *pta* must be 40. The inscription No. 8, therefore, would be dated in S. 44, No. 9 in S. 45, No. 10 in S. 47, and No. 11 in S. 48, which is in accordance with the statements of Nos. 8 and 11 that their dates fall into the reign of Huviksha or Huvishka.

The symbol occurring in No. 12 undoubtedly differs from either of the two symbols found in Nos. 1-11, but whereas it bears no resemblance whatever to the cross-shaped sign, it is easily intelligible as a cursive development of the *pta* sign.¹ In my opinion therefore this sign also must be taken as 40, and the inscription as being dated in S. 49, not S. 79. There is another point in favour of this interpretation. The inscription records a gift made at the request of the venerable Vṛiddhahasti (*Vṛiddhahastin*), a preacher in the *Koṭṭiya*(*Koṭṭika*)*gaṇa*, the *Vairā* (*Vajrī*) *śākhā*. There is another Mathurā inscription dated in S. 60,² recording a gift made at the request of the *gaṇin*, the venerable Kharṇṇa, a pupil of this same Vṛiddhahastin. If Vṛiddhahastin in S. 60 had a pupil who had acquired the dignity of *gaṇin*, he must have been a man advanced in years at that time, and although, of course, it is not impossible that he was still alive in S. 79, it would certainly seem more natural to find him as a spiritual adviser in S. 49 and his pupil in the same capacity eleven years later on, in S. 60.

Little can be said about the symbol occurring in No. 13. The form appearing in the photograph is quite peculiar and unlike any other symbol in the inscriptions from Mathurā or elsewhere, but in accordance with Bühler's statement, it may be provisionally taken as 40.

As regards the symbol in No. 14, I agree with Dr. Fleet that there is no reason whatever why it should be 70, as even the sign in No. 12, which Bühler cited in support of this interpretation, is to be read not 70, but 40. On the other hand, I feel sure that it is not 20. I have lately received through Dr. Konow impressions of an inscription running round the base of a pillar preserved in the Mathurā Museum. The inscription, which is in Brāhmī characters of the Kushaṇa type, is partly worn, but the date is quite distinct. Now the sign for the tens in the date of the year is the same as that in the Sāñchi inscription, showing again the vertical, which is thus proved to be an integrant part of it and not to belong to the following sign. And although unfortunately the text of the inscription contains nothing that would enable us to form a positive opinion on the value of the symbol, we may safely assert that it cannot be 20, as we find this number expressed by the usual sign in the date of the day. Lastly also the proposal to treat the symbol as 60 cannot be said to be convincing, the sign that has hitherto been read as 60 in the inscriptions of the Kushaṇa period³ certainly being entirely different. I do not want to offer a new hypothesis. In my opinion we shall have to wait for fresh materials before we can hope to arrive at a satisfactory result in this question. In how far the restoring of the king's name in our inscription of S. 74 is influenced by this uncertainty, will be shown below.

I know that the results arrived at above are partly not in harmony with those deduced from the coins of the Western Kshatrapas. The numeral signs occurring in the legends of those coins are given in table IX, col. V, of Bühler's *Indische Paläographie* from Professor Rapson's table in

¹ Perhaps the symbol found in No. 9 forms the intermediate stage between the *pta* and the looped sign. As I have stated above, its lower part is not quite distinct in the photo-lithograph, but it does not seem to me impossible that here also it consists not of the usual fork, but of a loop, though a much smaller one than in No. 12.

² *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 386, No. 8, and Plate.

³ *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 386, No. 8, and Plate; Vol. II. p. 204, No. 19, and Plate; *Arch. Surv. Rep.* Vol. XX. p. 37, and Plate V, fig. 6.

the *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* 1890, Plate to p. 639. Here the St. Andrew's cross has been entered as 40, and a sign much resembling the *pta* and another looped sign almost exactly like that of No. 12 as 70. I do not wish to throw any doubts on the correctness of these readings, but I contend that for such questions inscriptions must be treated separately according to time and locality.

Rajendralala Mitra, Dowson and Cunningham agreed in restoring the name of the king as *Vāsu[dāvasya]*. When I edited the inscription from the facsimiles published by my predecessors, I drew attention to the circumstance that the available space is hardly sufficient for the three *aksharas dāvasya*, and I proposed to restore the name as *Vāsushkasya*, as this name of the king seemed to be attested by two other inscriptions of S. 76 and S. 78,¹ whereas the first undoubted record of *Vāsudēva*'s reign was dated in S. 80. What I said about the difficulty of supplying three syllables is confirmed by the impression now before me, although owing to the frequent irregularity of the writing in these inscriptions it is impossible to speak on this point with absolute certainty. But the evidence for the existence of a king *Vāsushka* in S. 76 and S. 78 is not so strong as it seemed to be formerly. As I have tried to show above, the date of the Sāñchi inscription mentioning a king *Vāsashka*² is quite uncertain, and the Mathurā inscription mentioned by Führer as being dated in S. 76 and recording repairs in the reign of *Vāsushka* has not yet been published. As Dr. Konow informs me, it cannot even be found now, Führer's trenches having been filled up again a long time ago and the exact spot where the inscription was found being no more known. Under these circumstances a decision is, of course, impossible for the present. If Führer's statement after all should prove correct, I should unhesitatingly restore *Vāsu* to *Vāsushkasya*, otherwise the reading *Vāsudēvasya* will have to be accepted.

The rest of the inscription calls for few remarks. *Talakiya* or *Talaki* seems to be the name of a locality, but I am unable to identify it. The title *mahādāṇḍanāyaka* is frequent in the inscriptions of the Gupta period and later times. In the Kushāṇa inscriptions it has not yet been found before, but the subordinate title of *daṇḍanāyaka* occurs in the Manikyāla inscription,³ where the correct reading in l. 2 is, not *Laladoḍa-nayago*, but *Lala-daḍanayago*.

III.—MATHURĀ STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF ŚONḌĀSA.

This inscription was first published, together with a facsimile, in 1870 by Professor Dowson in the *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* New Ser. Vol. V. p. 188, No. 29. In 1873 it was published again with a facsimile by Cunningham in the *Arch. Surv. Rep.* Vol. III. p. 30, No. 1. And in 1904 I have tried to edit the text from those two facsimiles in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXIII. p. 149, No. 24. For the present edition of the record I have made use of an impression found in Professor Hoernle's collection described above.

Cunningham states that the stone bearing the inscription was found in the Jail Mound at Mathurā. According to Dowson, it has been cut through and the first part of it has been carried off. On the other hand, the facsimiles distinctly showed that something was missing at the right end, and thus I was led to suppose that the stone was damaged on both sides. This, however, is not the case. Nothing is missing at the beginning of the writing on the left, and on the right also only one letter has been cut off at the end of the first two lines. With this exception the inscription is in an excellent state of preservation.

¹ Mathurā inscription of S. 76, mentioned by Führer, *Progress Report* for 1895-96; Sāñchi inscription of S. 78, edited by Bühler, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 369 f.

² This is the reading suggested by Dr. Fleet, *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* 1903, p. 326, but he is himself inclined to look upon this form as a mere variant of *Vāsushka*, if the existence of such a name should be proved; see *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* 1905, p. 357 f.

³ *Journ. As. Ser.* IX. Vol. VII. p. 8 f.

The characters are of the so-called archaic type of the Mathurā inscriptions; see especially the letters *da*, *sa* and *sha*, and the subscript *ya*. The language is the mixed dialect. The inscription is not dated. It records various gifts of a Brahman of the Śēgrava (Śaigraṇa) gōtra, the treasurer of *svāmin mahākshatrapa* Śoṇḍāsa. For details I refer to the remarks below.

TEXT.

1 Svāmisya mahākshatrapasya Śoṇḍāsasya¹ gamjavarēṇa brāhmaṇēna Śēgrava-sagōtrēṇa [p]...².

2 rapī imāshām yamaḍa-pushkaraṇinam paśchimā pushkarani udapānō ārāmō³ stambhō i...

3 [śilā]paṭṭō⁴ cha-

REMARKS.

1 As to the reading of this name see the remarks below.—2 Little is left of the *pa*, but the reading is certain. Restore *pushka*-. —3 The outlines of the letters *ni udapānō ārāmō* are more or less touched up with pencil, but the reading is perfectly certain.—4 The reading *śilā* is certain, although the letters are entirely spoiled by being gone over with pencil.

TRANSLATION.

By the treasurer of the lord, the *mahākshatrapa* Śoṇḍāsa, a Brāhmaṇ of the Śēgrava (Śaigraṇa) gōtra, a tank, the western tank of these twin tanks, a reservoir, a grove, a pillar and this stone-slab (*was caused to be made*).

NOTES.

As regards the language, the most interesting form is *imāshām*. Apparently in the dialect of Mathurā the genitives plur. of the pronoun were, as in Pāli, *imēsaṃ* and *imāsaṃ*, and the author of the inscription translated the latter form into *imāshām* as he was wont to render *imēsaṃ* by *imēshām*. The nominative sing. masc. of the same pronoun is found at the end of line 2, but unfortunately nothing is left of it but the initial *i*. The word *pushkarani* shows in the third syllable the vocalisation of the Pāli *pokkharani*. *Yamaḍa* corresponds to Skt. *yamala* or *yamaḷa*, as the word would be written in Southern manuscripts. The construction of the inscription is rather peculiar, the verb or participle on which the instrumentals *brāhmaṇēna*, etc., depend, being omitted.

The first point to command attention is the name of the *mahākshatrapa*, which is generally supposed to be Śoḍāsa. In the present inscription there is a distinct sign above the *so*. It must have been found also in the impressions used by Dowson and Cunningham, as the former reads *Śāṇḍāsasya* (for *Śāṇḍāsasya*) and the latter *Sauḍāsasya* (for *Sauḍāsasya*), although the facsimiles show no trace whatever of *anusvāra* or *au*. The sign cannot be the stroke denoting *au*, as it does not touch the upper line of the *so*, but is separated from it by a distinct blank space. It can only be an *anusvāra* of the same bulky shape as that in *gamjavarēṇa* and in *pushkaraṇinam*.

The form Śoṇḍāsa has not yet been recognised anywhere else. In the second Brāhmī inscription at Mathurā mentioning this *mahākshatrapa*¹ Bühler read *Soḍāsasa*, but the photolithograph by no means excludes the reading *Śoṇḍāsasa*. Right above the *so* there is a white spot scarcely less distinct than that above the *ma* of *hēmaṇtamāsī* which Bühler read as *anusvāra*. In the Mathurā lion-capital inscription² Mr. Thomas reads the name as *Śuḍasa* and *Suḍisa*, and with regard to coins, Professor Rapson has stated in the *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* 1903, p. 289, note 3, that whenever the name is legible, the first *akshara* seems to be *so*, and that the alternative forms *Su*^o and *Sau*^o, given by Bhagvanlal and Cunningham respectively, cannot be

¹ *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 199, No. 2.

² *Above*, Vol. IX. pp. 143, 144.

certainly read on any of the specimens of the British Museum. But even if a re-examination should prove the readings *Śoḍāsa* and *Suḍāsa* to be correct, this would not invalidate the reading of the present inscription. Everybody familiar with the records of this period knows how often an *anusvāra* is omitted in writing, and that on that account the reading *Śomḍāsa*, even if found once only, carries more weight than the reading *Śoḍāsa* occurring ten times. In my opinion therefore *Śomḍāsa* must be accepted as the general form of the name.

Scarcely less interesting is the designation of the donor. Dowson and Cunningham read *gajavarēna*, and Bühler, *Vienna Or. Journ.* Vol. V. p. 177, proposed to alter the unintelligible syllables *gaja* into *raḥē*, 'during the reign.' The new reading *gaṃjavarēna* shows that *gaṃjavara*, 'treasurer,' which hitherto was known only from the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* V, 177 and Kshēmendra's *Lōkaprakāśa*, was an official title in India already in much earlier times. As recognised by Benfey,¹ *gaṃjavara* is the Persian *ganjwar*, and the use of this title is a new proof of the strong Parthian influence that made itself felt in Northern India from the time of Aśoka to the beginning of the Gupta empire.²

The donor calls himself by his *gōtra* name *Śaigra*, which in correct Sanskrit would be *Śaigra*. According to the *Gaṇapāṭha* the *Śaigra* *gōtra* is referred to by Pāṇini in II, 4, 67 and IV, 1, 104. I have also no doubt that Professor Kern is right in identifying *Śaigra* with Pāli *Siggava*,³ the name of the patriarch who conferred the *upasampadā* ordination on the great Tissa Moggaliputta.⁴

No. 34.—PATHARI PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF PARABALA; [VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 917.

BY THE LATE PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.⁵

Pathari in Long. 78° 15' and Lat. 23° 56', is the chief town of the Native State of the same name in the Bhopāl Agency of Central India.⁶ Its antiquities were first described, in 1848, by Captain J. D. Cunningham, in the *Journal As. Soc. Bengal*, Vol. XVII, Part I, p. 305 ff. After stating that the locality of which he is treating includes two good-sized reservoirs or lakes, and that the present town of Pathari and the smaller lake are distinguished by a single pillar and a solitary temple, Captain Cunningham on page 310 proceeds thus:— 'Near to the western edge of the smaller lake stands the wand or pillar, now called of Bheem Sen. It is composed of a single block about 36 feet in height and 2½ thick. The shaft is square in section for a height of 8 feet, and it then becomes circular On one side of the square portion of the shaft there is a long inscription, much obliterated, and of which I failed to make even a tolerable impression.'

The pillar and its inscription were again noticed in 1880, by General Sir A. Cunningham, in his *Archæol. Survey of India*, Vol. X, p. 70, thus:— 'Inside the town, on the top of the slope, there is a tall monolith with a bell-shaped capital. The shaft is circular, rising from a base 8 feet

¹ See the *St. Petersburg Dictionary* s. v.

² In the *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* 1903, p. 289 ff., Professor Rapson has described a coin that shows a general similarity to those of *Śoḍāsa*. With the exception of the first three *akṣaras* the inscription is not quite certain. Professor Rapson reads: *brahmanā[na go(?)ḍa ra(?)-tha(?) na]*. Would it be too bold to conjecture that the *brāhmaṇa* mentioned here may have some connection with the *brāhmaṇa* *Śaigra*, the *gaṃjavara* of *Śoḍāsa*, and that the reading must be altered accordingly?

³ *Geschiedenis van het Buddhisme in Indië*, Vol. II. p. 266.

⁴ See *Dīpa*, V, 57; 69, etc.

⁵ [The proofs of this and all subsequent papers by the late Professor Kielhorn have been read by me.—S. K.]

⁶ Constable's *Hand Atlas of India* Plate 27 D d.

3 inches high and 2 feet 9 inches square. On the northern face there is a long inscription of 38 lines of small letters. It opens with an invocation to Lakshmi-Nārāyaṇa,¹ but the greater part of the record is so much worn as to be quite illegible. Many of the letters here and there are in good order, and from their shapes I would assign the monument to somewhere about A.D. 600. Close by this pillar there is a small temple, with Viṣṇu sitting on Garuḍ over the door-way.

In October 1894 I received from Professor Hultzsich two impressions of the inscription, prepared by Mr. H. Cousens, Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle; and an excellent photograph² of it, taken by the same gentleman, was given to me two or three years afterwards by Dr. Fleet. From these materials I have already published a short account of the contents of the inscription and the tentative text of nine verses of it, in the *Nachrichten der K. Ges. der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen* for 1901, Part I, p. 519 ff. A repeated examination of the same materials now enables me to place before the reader, with some confidence, by far the greater part of this record, which, though troublesome to read, is not so illegible as it may have seemed to be on the original stone.

The inscription contains 38 lines of writing which covers a space of about 2 feet broad by 2 feet 7 inches high. It has certainly suffered greatly from exposure to the weather, especially in the middle and at the end of the lines all the way down, and for nearly the whole length of the last seven lines. But fortunately³ all proper names of importance may be read with absolute certainty, at any rate all those that occur in lines 1—31; and the same remark applies to the date of the inscription at the end of line 31. The size of the letters is about $\frac{3}{4}$ inch in the topmost lines, but less in the lower part down to line 31, while it is somewhat larger again in lines 32—38. The inscription was written and engraved with great care and skill. The characters belong to the northern alphabet such as, speaking generally, we find it e.g. in the Gwalior inscription of the reign of Bhôjadêva of the [Vikrama] year 933, published with a facsimile in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I, p. 159 f. With our present knowledge of Indian epigraphy, we should assign them at once to about the 9th century A.D. They include the rare sign for *jh*, which has not come out well either in the impressions or in the photograph, in the word *jhaṭiti* towards the end of line 15. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. The text is remarkably correct, and in respect of orthography the only points worth noticing here are that the sign for *v* is used for both *v* and *b*, and that the words *ansa* and *dhvansa* are written *ansa* and *dhvansa*, in lines 2 and 8.

The inscription consists of two parts. The first (and chief) part comprises lines 1—31, the second lines 32—38. This second part appears to be really a separate inscription, added by way of a postscript, which may record the installation of an image of Viṣṇu, but the exact purpose of which, owing to the damaged condition of lines 32—38, I have not been able to ascertain. What I may state with confidence is that, after the words *ôṃ namaḥ* at the commencement of line 32, there are five verses, two in the Sragdharā metre, one in the Vasantatilakā metre, one in the Upajāti metre, and the fifth perhaps in the same metre. So far as I can judge, the first and probably the second of these five verses contain some historical information, and it would therefore seem desirable to have a cast taken of this part of the inscription, which would enable one to decipher more of the text than I have succeeded in making out from the impressions and the photograph.⁴

¹ The first verse of the inscription commences with the words *Lakshmi-nāraṇhrapina*, which were apparently misread as *Lakshmi-Nārāyaṇa*.

² The accompanying facsimile has been prepared under the superintendence of Prof. Hultzsich from Mr. Cousens' photograph. A facsimile of the impressions would have been quite useless.

³ Exposed as the pillar has been to all the effects of the Indian climate for more than a thousand years it seems wonderful that of these small letters, which were not deeply engraved, many should have been preserved so well as we find them to be.

I am sanguine enough to hope that it will indeed some day be possible to make out the names which are hidden now in the second part of our inscription. It will then perhaps also be found that this part likewise ends with a date in the 9th century of the Vikrama era, of which in my opinion there are traces in the second half of line 38.

The first part (lines 1—31) also commences with *ōm namaḥ* and ends with a date which will be given below. Between the two there are 32 verses, the text of more than two-thirds of which may be given with perfect certainty, while there is no doubt about the general meaning of any of the rest. The verses form a *praśasti*, the main object of which is to record (in verses 25 and 26) that the king Parabala of some Rāshtrakūṭa family founded a temple of Śauri (Hari, Viṣṇu), before which he erected the Garuḍa-crested pillar on which the inscription is engraved. The *praśasti* opens with four verses which invoke the protection of, and glorify, the god Viṣṇu, under the names of Murāri, Kṛiṣṇa and Hari. It then (in verses 5—7) relates that formerly there was a king Jējja, under whom 'this Rāshtrakūṭa *vaṃśa*' was flourishing, and whose (unnamed) elder brother, after defeating thousands of Karṇāṭa soldiers with their arrays of elephants, obtained the Lāṭa kingdom. Jējja's son was Karkarāja (v. 11), who put to flight¹ the king Nāgāvalōka and invaded his home (vv. 14 and 15). And Karkarāja's son was Parabala, represented as ruling the land when the inscription was composed (V. 18). The rest records that the pillar was actually set up by the king's chief minister, whose name is not clear in the impressions, and that the *praśasti* was composed by Harsha (v. 29) and engraved by the *sūtradhāra* Sāhila (v. 31), while the last verse 32 contains the usual prayer that the king's pious work and his fame may endure for ever.—The date at the end of line 31 is *samvat 917 Chaitra-sudī 6 Sukrē*, i.e. "Friday, the 6th of the bright half of Chaitra of the year 917." In this date the numeral figures for the year are particularly clear, and cannot be read in any other way. The figure for 9 is the same as *e.g.* in line 6 of the Dēogaḍh pillar inscription of the time of Bhōjadēva of the [Vikrama] year 919 (*Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. X, Plate xxxiii. 2), and in line 22 of the Gurmha plate of Jayādityadēva II. of the [Vikrama] year 927 (*Journ. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. LXX. Part I. Plate i): The date must of course be referred to the Vikrama era. It is one of the earliest dates of that era which admit of exact verification and corresponds regularly, for the expired Kārttikādi Vikrama year 917, to Friday, the 21st March A.D. 861, when the 6th *tithi* of the bright half of Chaitra ended 16 h. 44 m. after mean sunrise.

The *praśasti* will, I think, be admitted to contain some rather pretty verses.² Its author, so far as I can judge, was well acquainted, amongst other poetical works, with Māgha's *Śiṣupālavadhā*, and in the composition of at least one verse he undoubtedly drew his inspiration from that poem.³ I refer to verse 16, which may be compared with Śis. XIX. 52. The former is:—

Śakalikṛita-sarvāṅgā nānābharanabhūṣhitāḥ |
dṛiṣyantē ripavō yasya nānābharanabhūṣhitāḥ ||

"With their limbs all cut to pieces (and thus)⁴ decorated with manifold ornaments (*ābharana*), his enemies are seen to abide on various battle-fields (*raṇa-bhū*)."

And Māgha's verse is:—

Sastravranamaya-srīmad-alaṃkaranabhūṣhitāḥ |
dadṛiṣē snyō Rāvaṇavad-alaṃkaranabhūṣhitāḥ ||

"Decorated with glorious ornaments (*alaṃkaraṇa*) which consisted in the wounds inflicted by weapons, another looked like Rāvaṇa, though abiding on a battle-field (*raṇa-bhū*) that was not connected with Lāṅkā."⁵

¹ The original apparently mentions the place where Nāgāvalōka was put to flight, but the name of it cannot be read with confidence. See verse 14 and the translation of it below.

² Compare *e.g.* verses 13, 15, 20 and 30.

³ The *praśasti* somewhat pointedly ends with the word *srīmatī*, which, in the case of an author who had studied the *śṛyaṅka mahākāvya* does not seem to me to be without significance.

⁴ Compare the following note.

⁵ Mallinātha explains: *sarvāṅgānābharanabhūṣhitatvān Rāvaṇa eva-āyam Lāṅkāśumbandha-virahāt-ityatirīka ity-arthaḥ | upamā-vyatirīka-yamakānām sāmānāyikāḥ |*

Here we not merely have, at the end of each half verse, the synonymous words *ābharāṇa-bhūṣita* and *alaṅkāraṇabhūṣita*, either of them similarly used in a double meaning, but we also find a form of the same verb (*drīṣyante* and *dadṛīṣe*) in exactly the same position in both verses. At the same time the manner in which the verse of the *Sisupālavadha* commences, clearly shows how we ought to interpret the first half of Harsha's verse: the ornaments with which the enemies were decorated consisted in the wounds inflicted on them when their limbs were cut to pieces. I am aware that what I have pointed out here is not of any great value now, because we have lately learnt from another inscription that Māgha lived long before the middle of the 9th century A.D.

Among the contents of the *prasasti* there are three points of particular interest. The first obviously is, that the inscription is one — the only one hitherto discovered — of a Rāshtrakūṭa king Parabala, for whom it furnishes a date in A.D. 861. The second point is, that Parabala's father Karkarāja defeated, and invaded the territory of, a king Nāgāvalōka. And to these may be added the statement that an unnamed elder brother of Karkarāja's father Jējja, after defeating certain Karṇāṭas, took possession of the Lāṭa kingdom.

As regards the first point, we knew indeed from the very earliest Sanskrit inscription brought to the notice of European scholars — the Mungir plate of Dēvapāla¹ translated by Sir Charles Wilkins in 1731 — that the Pāla king Dharmapāla married 'Rāṇādēvī, a daughter of the glorious Parabala, the ornament of the Rāshtrakūṭa family;' but as the name Parabala could not be traced in any subsequent inscription, scholars conjectured that it was a *biruda* of one of the Rāshtrakūṭas of Mālkheḍ, perhaps of Gōvīndarāja III. or Amōghavarsha I., according to the notions which they had formed regarding the time of Dharmapāla. Now there cannot remain any reasonable doubt that the Rāshtrakūṭa Parabala of our Pathari inscription is identical with the Parabala of the Mungir plate, a daughter of whom was married by Dharmapāla. But it does not follow that Dharmapāla's reign must therefore be taken to have commenced so late as the middle of the 9th century. Many Indian kings have had unusually long reigns, and at present we know nothing about the length of Parabala's reign, while all that we know for certain in this respect regarding Dharmapāla is that he reigned for at least 32 years. The zeal and activity displayed by the officials of the Archaeological Survey in the search for epigraphical documents encourage us to hope that before long we shall be in possession of materials that will definitely fix both the exact time of Dharmapāla's reign and the chronology of events generally which took place in Northern India during the 8th and 9th centuries.

The king Nāgāvalōka² who was defeated by Parabala's father Karkarāja seems to have been a ruler of some importance. I have no doubt that he is identical with that Nāgāvalōka who is mentioned in verse 13 of the Harsha inscription of Vīgraharāja,³ in terms which would imply that he was the overlord, and who certainly was a contemporary, of the Chāhamāna Gūvaka I. of Śākambharī, whom in my Synchronistic Table for Northern India I have roughly placed at the commencement of the 9th century. There has lately been discovered a copper-plate inscription of a Chāhamāna *Mahāsāmantādhipati*, which records a grant that was made at Bhīṣṇu-kachohha in the increasing reign of victory of the glorious Nāgāvalōka, and which apparently is dated in the [Vikrama] year 813 (corresponding to about A.D. 756).⁴ I owe a photograph of it to the kindness of Mr. Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha, but would wait for impressions before expressing an opinion regarding its genuineness and value.

¹ See *As. Res.* Vol. I. p. 123, and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXI. p. 253.

² I need hardly point out that this name looks like the well-known *birudas* ending in *avalōka* of certain Rāshtrakūṭa kings (*Khadgāvalōka*, *Vikramāvalōka*, etc.).

³ See above Vol. II. p. 121, line 12 of the text, where the actual reading of the original is *śrīman-Nāgāvalōka-pravarāṇṛipa*.

⁴ If the grant is genuine, the donation recorded in it was probably made on the 28th October A.D. 756.

Nor can I say anything definite at present regarding the conquest of the Lāṭa kingdom by the elder brother of Parabala's grandfather Jējja. The known names of chiefs connected with Lāṭa from about the middle of the 8th century and the available dates will be found above, Vol. VIII. App. II. p. 4. It will be seen there that we have no date, and know little about Lāṭa, between A.D. 757 and A.D. 812, which is just the period in which, judging from the date of the present inscription, we should have to place Jējja and his elder brother.

In the text which follows I have indicated by marks of interrogation all passages about which I am myself doubtful, and have left blanks where I could have put in only a purely conjectural reading. Others may be able to supply what is wanting or to find the correct readings where I have failed to do so. I know that I have shunned no trouble and may perhaps be permitted to say —

Harshēṇa nūnaṁ rachitā praśastir=
vidhēr=vaśād=aśma-talē vilīnā |
prakāśit=ēyaṁ pramadāch=chhramēṇa
satām mudam samtatam-ātanōtu ||

TEXT.¹

- 1 Ōm² namaḥ || ³Lakshmi-nīraṁdhrapīna[sta]nakalaśa-la[sa]t-pallavā Vṛitra-śatrōs=
ttrailōkyasvāmya-dīkshāvidhi-varaguravō=[r]i-
- 2 shtanāśa-prachanḍāḥ | dōrddanḍāḥ Kēsikēsagraha-ruchiraru[t-ā]ghuṣṭa-
h[i]msrānsadēsā⁴ Daityēbha-sthūlakumbha[stha]-
- 3 ladalana-d[ri]ḍhāḥ pāntu vas=tē Murārēḥ ||[1*] ⁵Vā(bā)lārka[chchhav]i-
chakra[āka]vimala-vyāl[ā]hat-āvēṣṭitaḥ⁶ karṇa[ā]lamvi(mbi)ta-kunḍalō⁷
jaladbara-
- 4 chchhēdāvadāta-chchhavīḥ | satkārītasvarakūṭa-nirgata iva snigdhēndranilōpala-
stambhaḥ⁸ skandhaga-padmarāgayugalaḥ Kṛishṇō=stu
- 5 vaḥ . śrēyasē ||[2*] ⁹Tribhuvanabhavana-stambhō nabhastalāmbhōdhi-sētur=agha-
dahanāḥ | vra(bra)hmāṇḍamaṇḍa(da)lām(vu)jadanḍa-ruchir=jjayati¹⁰ Ha-
- 6 ri-charaṇaḥ ||[3*] ¹¹Ahimakarachakra-kuvalayavilasatkamal-ālayaḥ sa-dāna[vakā]yaḥ |
jalanidhir=iva Harir=avatāt=purāṇa-purushō=pi yaḥ sadā nava-kā-
- 7 yaḥ¹² ||[4*] ¹³Rāj=āsīd=varachakkralāmchhita-karō lakshmi-sanāthaḥ purā driptāri-
prava(ba)ladvishat-pramathanaś=ch-ā[dhā]ra-bhūtō bhuvuḥ | vā(bā)hūdasta-
mahidharō [nara]-
- 8 ka-hā tuṁgadvipadhvasakṛit=¹⁴Kaṁsārāti-samō=py=akṛishṇatanubhṛich=chhri-Jējja
āryyaīḥ stu[ta]ḥ ||[5*] ¹⁵[Ra]mya-prasūtīr=achchhidras=tuṁgaḥ
prithur=akamṭakaḥ | śrī-Rāshṭra[kū]-
- 9 ṭa-vamśō=yam samṛiddhō yattra bhūbhṛiti ||[6*] ¹⁶Jitvā [vikaṭa]karighaṭā-
pra[bhuta]ra-Karṇaṭābhaṭasahasrā[pi] | [prithu ?] L[ā]ṭ-ākhyam rāshṭram
lavdham(bdham) yasy=āgrajēn=ājau ||[7*] ¹⁷[Vana]-

¹ From impressions and a photograph supplied by Mr. Cousens.

² Metre: Sragdharā.

⁴ Read "srānsadēsā."

⁵ Compare Śārāgīrīśha-phanikañchuka-, above Vol. II. p. 4, v. 22.

⁷ Originally -kunḍalō seems to have been engraved.

⁸ Compare Śisupālavadha III. 11.

¹⁰ Originally -ruchēr= was engraved.—Compare above Vol. I. p. 40, verse 2: vra(bra)hmāṇḍamaṇḍa-lamahōtpalanāla-lām vi(bi)bhṛat.

¹¹ Metre: Āryāgīti.

¹² Compare Śisupālavadha xiv. 70: navam budhā yam purāṇa-purusham prachakṣatē.

¹³ Metre: Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.

¹⁴ Read "d'ivamsakṛit=."

¹⁵ Metre: Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh).

¹⁶ Metre: Āryā.

¹⁷ Metre: Mālinī.

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38



- 10 mahisham=asahyam vâjinô lôla-nêtrâ madagalita-kapôlâ dantinaḥ sinham=
ugrah | [jvalitapavana?] -kīrṇā vairi-virāḥ Kṛitāntam rapa-sīrasi yam-êkaṁ
mênirê naika-[rûpam ||] [8*]
- 11 ¹Ekô=p-itas=tataḥ kurvann-arâti-[ku]lam=âkulam | châruchâmīkar-ôpê[tô n]ilâ-
rûpam vi(bi)bha[r]ti yah ||[9*] ²[Prâpt-ôchchhaya?] ~ ~ ~ ~ ~
prakampâ[n]-mukt-âli[bh]ih svamahima-pratipâdanâya | [dêśa?]nta[râny=u]-
- 12 pagatâ vikalâ disâsu yasya dhvajâ iva sadâ ripa[vô] bhramanti ||[10*]
Tasy-âtma-jô ripuva(ba)l-â[nta] ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ h³ śrī-Karkkarâja iti
samtyati lavdha(bdha)-kīrttiḥ | P[ârth-âgras?]i-
- 13 r=iva va(ba)bhûva⁴ nirasta-śalyô duḥśāsanâriva(ba)la-śāsana-bhīmasê[na]h ||
[11*] ⁵Vi[kshipta?]-[vai?]ri- ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ nâ | ya[t-ka]rêṇa
raṇāmbhōdhi-mathanê⁶ Mandarâyatam ||[12*] ⁷Vidhvasta[vai]-
- 14 riva[nitâ]-nayanaprapāli-samsakta-kajjalayutâs-ujala-pra[vâhai]h | sêshichyamānam=api
chandramarīchi-[hâri sphitam] va(ba)bhûva [nann] yasya yasô=tichittam ||[13*]
⁸Durvârârâti-mattadvi[rada]-
- 15 ghanaghatâtpasamghatâ-chaṇḍê samgrâmê [hṛishṭa-yô]dhê [tura]gakhurarajas-
chhanna-dikchakkrav[âlê] | [valga?]t-pâlidhva[â]lau kshatarudhi[rasa]ritprâjya-
sāmantachakrê chakrê Nâgâvalôkam [jha]ṭiti ~⁹
- 16 lav[a]nê¹⁰ yah parāvṛitta-mûrtim ||[14*] ¹¹Durvâravairivaravâraṇa-
kumbha[mukta]-muktâphalapra[kara]-nirmmaladantamâlâ | Nâgâvalôkanripa-
[vêśma]ni viprakīrṇê yasy-ôddhatam prahasat=iva kripâna-p[âli] ||[15*]
- 17 ¹²Śakalikṛita-sarvvāṅgâ nânâbharanabhûshitâḥ | drīṣyantê ripavô yasya
nânâbharanabhûshitâḥ [16*] ¹³Yasy-ôtpalachchhavi[mu]shâ s[v]ajal-ônmatêna¹⁴
khaḍgêna turgatara-bhû[mibhri]-
- 18 [tām] śi[rassu] | dhârânipâta-janitair-asrijâm¹⁵ pravâhair=yuddhê
mahâpralaya[kâla?]ghana-[pratitih?] ||[17*] ¹⁷Ahimakara iv=âdya tyakta-
dôshânushamgô himakara iva jâ[ta]h
- 19 suddha-mûrttiḥ kalâvân | parava(ba)ladalan-ôgrô=nugra-chakshuḥ pratâpi
Parava(ba)la iti puttras=tasya [sâst]=iha bhû[mim] ||[18*]
¹⁸[Tyaktvâ?]mâyâm=adam̐bhañ=cha sakta-kârttasvarâḥ sadâ | bhu[m]j[atê] śrī.¹⁹

¹ Metre: Ślôka (Anushtubh).

² Metre of verses 10 and 11: Vasantatilakâ.

³ The original possibly has 'lântaka éva mûrttiḥ'.

⁴ Originally vîbhâva or vâbhâva was engraved.

⁵ Metre: Ślôka (Anushtubh).—I am unable to restore the first half of this verse with any confidence, but the meaning probably is that the king's hand in battle took away fortune from his adversary. Compare *Gupta Inscr.* p. 203, l. 7.

⁶ Originally raṇāmbhōdhi- was engraved.

⁷ Metre: Vasantatilakâ.—Compare *Śisupâlavadhâ* XV. 90.

⁸ Metre: Sragdharâ.

⁹ The *akshara* which is missing here I am unable to restore with confidence.

¹⁰ Of these three *aksharas* the first and the last seem to be certain, and the second is either *va* or *vu*.

¹¹ Metre: Vasantatilakâ.

¹² Metre: Ślôka (Anushtubh). See above, p. 250.

¹³ Metre: Vasantatilakâ.

¹⁴ The water of the sword-blade (*asidhârâ-jala*, *khaḍgadhârâ-payas*, *khaḍgadhârâmbhas*) is often spoken of by poets; compare e.g. *Ēkavall*, pp. 64 and 168, and above Vol. II. p. 307, v. 21.

¹⁵ The plural of *asrij* is similarly used in *Śisupâlavadhâ* xvii, 55 (*asrijâ*).

¹⁶ I have little doubt that this is the correct reading; in the original a medial *i* was originally engraved before the *akshara* which I read as *pra*, but it has clearly been struck out.

¹⁷ Metre: Mâlinî.

¹⁸ Metre: Ślôka (Anushtubh).

¹⁹ This word, being repeated at the commencement of the next line, is superfluous here. *Śrîphala* is used in the double sense of 'the fruit of his prosperity' and 'Bilva fruit.'

- 20 śrīphalāny=asya suhṛdō vidviṣhō=py=alam ||[19*] ¹Makarakōtutulā[hṛita]-
sumdarījana-vilō[lita]lōchana-mā[la]yā | [sva]-śuchibhū[śhapa]-va[rshmanī]
linay=ā[ma]rapurēndra-samō bhuvī yō=bha[vat ||] [20*]
- 21 ²Prabhānjanō vairi-mahīruhānām samāśrī(śrī)tānām dhanadō [janā]nām |
[d]in-ā[tu]rānām [sa]kripō nṛipāpā[m=ēkō]=pi yō=bhūch=charitair=anēkāh ||
[21*] ³Vishayēbhyaḥ parityājya [vi]graha[daṇḍa]-li-
- 22 layā | indriyān=iva [yē]n=āsu jītāny=ari-va(ba)lāny=api ||[22*] ⁴Sura-gurur=
iva samya[g=maṁtr]isa[kt-ā ?]vadhā[na]ḥ sura-patir=iva hēlādārit-ārātīgōtrah |
sura-gaja iva ni[tyam] sām[dra-dā]-
- 23 n[ē] pravṛittah sura-girir=iva bhūbhṛinmamāṇdal-ōtkriṣṭabhūtaḥ ||[23*]
⁵Jyārāvakraṣṭadṛiḥhakārmuka-mamāḍalāgra-bhinnēbhakumbhabhava-lōhita-
kīrṇahārā | pālīdhvajān=bhujalatāsita-[vā]ṇamālā [ya]-
- 24 sy=ājigāya rāṇa-mūrdhāni rāja-lakṣmīh ||[24*] ⁶Achīkarad=dēvakulam sa
Śaurār=idam Hi[mō]rvvidharaśrī[mga]-t[ulyam] | [śubhrā ?]gra[vinyasta ?]-
sita[dhvajāl]i vi(bi)bhartti yasy=āmarasindhu-śōbhām ||[25*] Stambh[as=tu
yā ?]-
- 25 [dṛig ?]=Garuḍadhvajā[drau ?]⁷ p[urā] viśālō Garuḍadhvajō=yam | Harēḥ
puras=tādṛi[śa] ē[va] tēna stambhaḥ samuttambhita ōsha rājūā ||[26*]
⁸Vishṇōḥ kim charaṇas=trivikrama-kṛitēḥ stambh-ākṛitē=vā vapuḥ
Sthāpōr=bhū-viva[rā]-
- 26 t=phapīndra-ripuṇā Śēshō=thavā prōddhṛitaḥ | ittham bhūri vi[chāra]yadbhir=
amarair=ālōkya ni[śchī]yatē stambhaḥ śuddhasīlāmayaḥ
Parava(ba)la[kshmā]pāla-kirttipradaḥ ||[27*] ⁹Tasy=āmātyō va(ba)bhūva
[Ksh ?]i ~ ~ ~
- 27 iti yaḥ sarvvadharmm-ādhikārī hēmābhaḥ satyavādī Parava(ba)la-nṛipatēr=
mmū[rddha]-vandyah pra[dhāna ?]ḥ | [tēn=ō]ttuṅga-ā[śmavā(bā)h ?]ur¹⁰=
Mmadhumathana-purō Vainatēy-ōpalakshyaḥ stambhaḥ samstambhit-ārēr=
[upaha ?]-
- 28 [sita ?]-yugah stambha uttambhito=yam ||[28*] ¹¹Prakṛishṭa-varṇṇah ~ ~ ~
[vam ?]śē svabhāva[sam]pādita-[sam]bhramō yaḥ | Ha[rsh]ēṇa [padyai]
rachitā prasastir=mmuktāphalālī-śriyam=ātanōti ||[29*] ¹²Pravi[ṇā]
- 29 [gam]bhīrā vividhapadavinyāsa-chaturā dṛiḥhōdāra-grāmth=[āvivu(bu)dhaja]na-
durjūāna[hṛidayā] | [prasastir=mmādhurya]prabhṛitigūpasam[dō]ha-ruchirā
surastir=iv=ābhāti sphatikavimalastambha-[likhitā] ||[30*]
- 30 ¹³Utkīrṇā sūtradhārēṇa Sāhilēna sphuṭ-āksharā | chitrāṅga[vāgvya ?]gra-varṇṇā
[Sarasyat ?]=iva [bhā]satē ||[31*] ¹⁴[Yāvat]= ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ jītō
Lakṣmīḥ sthit=ōrasthalē dēhārdhē Giri[śasya]

¹ Metre: Drutavilambita.² Metre: Upajāti.³ Metre: Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh).—Instead of *vishayēbhyaḥ* I should have expected the accusative *vishayān*, but this would not have suited the metre.⁴ Metre: Mālinī.—I am somewhat doubtful about the correctness of the first Pāda, and I miss a relative pronoun in the verse.⁵ Metre: Vasantatilakā.⁶ Metre of verses 25 and 26: Upajāti.⁷ Originally *dhvajādri* was engraved, but the sign for *i* has been struck out or altered to *au*. I am not sure about the exact meaning of the first half of the verse.⁸ Metre: Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.⁹ Metre: Sragdharā.¹⁰ Compare *Śisupālavadha* III. 78, *uttuṅga-taraṅgābāhu*.¹¹ Metre: Upajāti.¹² Metre: Śikharinī.¹³ Metre: Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh). I am doubtful about the second half of this verse.¹⁴ Metre: Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.

31 H[aima]giriġā Śēsh-ġttamāṅgō kshitiḥ | chaṁchachchandramarichi-[bbāsura]jalā ?
 yāvad=di[vi] svaṛddhuni [tāvat=kirttir=ana]śva[r-āstu] [nripatēr=
 bhūmyās=ta ?]lā śrīmatī ||[32*] Samvat¹ 917 Chaitra-śudi 6 Śu[kr]ē ||
 32 Ōm² namaḥ ||³

ABRIDGED TRANSLATION.⁴

(Verse 5.) There was formerly a king whose hands were marked with auspicious discs, who was endowed with fortune, and who, harassing haughty foes and powerful adversaries, was the support of the earth; who with his arm overthrew princes, who warded off hell and destroyed huge elephants,⁵ and who, although thus like Kāṁsa's enemy (Kṛishṇa) [whose hand bears a choice disc, who is united with Lakshmi, who harassed haughty foes and powerful adversaries, and supported the earth; who lifted up with his arms the mountain (Gōvardhana), slew (the demon) Naraka, and destroyed (Kāṁsa's) huge elephant], did not bear Kṛishṇa's body,⁶—the glorious Jējja, praised by the noble.

(V. 6.) While he was king this glorious Rāshṭrakūṭa family was prosperous, a family in which there is pleasing progeny, which is without blemish, noble, large, and free from trouble being like the bamboo, which has pleasing shoots, is free from flaws, high, broad, and without thorns].

(V. 7.) His elder brother, having defeated in battle thousands of Kārṇāṭa soldiers whose might was increased by arrays of enormous elephants, obtained the broad Lāṭa kingdom.

(V. 11.) Jējja's son⁷ was the glorious Karkarāja, who, (causing) the destruction of the forces of adversaries, acquired fame in battle; who removed trouble [and was therefore] like (Yudhisṭhira) the foremost of Prithā's sons [who annihilated Śālya]; and whose armies were terrible in chastising the forces of enemies difficult to be chastised [so that he was like Bhīmasēna⁸ subduing the strength of his enemy Duḥśāsana].

(V. 14.) In a battle which was terrific by the collision with the multitude of the close arrays of the furious elephants of the irresistible enemy, where warriors rejoiced and the circuit of the regions was hidlen by the dust from the hoofs of horses, where rows of *pālidhvaja*⁹ banners were fluttering and the crowd of feudatories was inundated with streams of blood issuing from wounds, he at¹⁰ caused Nāgāvalōka quickly to turn back.

(V. 15.) The blade of his sword, with rows of spotless teeth formed on it by the mass of pearls that were shed by the frontal globes of the choice elephants¹¹ of the irresistible adversary, exultingly laughs as it were in the devastated home of king Nāgāvalōka.

¹ Read *samvat*.² Denoted by a symbol.³ On the second part of the inscription, lines 32-38, see above, p. 249.⁴ I consider it sufficient to translate here those verses of the original text only which refer to historical events. The other verses will interest Sanskrit scholars only, to whom they will present no more difficulties than any ordinary classical text. A brief summary of the contents of the inscription has been given above.⁵ In the case of the king the words *tuṅga-dvīpa* might possibly have to be translated by "the elephants of (king) Tuṅga," where the name Tuṅga would perhaps have reference to one of the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Mālkṣēd who had *birūdas* ending in *tuṅga* (Śāhasatuṅga, Śubhatuṅga, Jagattuṅga, etc.).⁶ For the figure *virōdha* or *virōdhābhāsa*, 'seeming contradiction,' used here by the poet, see above Vol. VI. p. 246, note 18.⁷ The original has 'his (i.e. Jējja's) son.'⁸ The word *bhīmasēna* is similarly used in a double sense, e.g. in the *Vāsavadattā*, p. 122, l. 5.⁹ For this word which occurs also in verse 24, see e.g. above, Vol. VI. p. 170 and Vol. VII. p. 227.¹⁰ Here the original probably has the name of a place containing four syllables and ending with *lavana* or *lavana*.¹¹ Compare in *Journ. Bo. As. Soc.* Vol. XVI. p. 107, l. 5: *nistrīṁtaghātavidalat-karikumbha-mukta-mukṭāphalaprakara-*; also e.g. *Śiṣupālavadha* V. 12.

(V. 18.) Now his son Parabala rules here the land, he who has discarded addiction to sin and is therefore like the sun which has severed its connection with the night; who is born of pure body and is versed in all arts, and is therefore like the moon when she has risen with a bright form and with all her digits; who, terrible in cutting up the forces of adversaries, is gentle-looking, and full of prowess.

(V. 24.) At the head of battle the fortune of royalty—her garland of pearls covered with the blood streaming from the temples of elephants that were split by the round-pointed shafts of her strong bow drawn with a twang of the string, and with rows of arrows resting on her creeper-like arms—conquered for him *pālidhvaja* banners.

(V. 25.) He caused to be built this temple of Śauri,¹ resembling the peak of the mountain of snow, the white flag on the bright top of which bears the lustre of the river of the gods.

(V. 26.) And like the pillar which was formerly (erected?) on the mountain of Garuḍadhvaṇa(?),² exactly so was this large Garuḍa-bannered pillar caused to be erected by that king before (the temple of) Hari.¹

(V. 27.) Repeatedly deliberating whether this is Viṣṇu's foot making three strides, or the body of Sthāṇu³ shaped like a post, or (the serpent) Śeṣha pulled out of a hole in the ground by the enemy of the serpent-king,⁴ the gods on viewing it find out that it is a pillar of pure stone proclaiming the fame of king Parabala.

(V. 28.) His prime minister was [Kṣh ?]i . . ., administrator of all laws, bright like gold and true of speech, to be saluted with (bowing of) the head by king Parabala. He set up before (the temple of) the destroyer⁵ of Madhu this Garuḍa-marked pillar, which with its stone arm raised aloft defies all ages—a pillar of him who has paralyzed his foes.⁶

(Line 31.) The year 917, Friday, the 6th of the bright half of Chaitra.

No. 35.—ANMAKONDA INSCRIPTION OF PROLA;

The Chalukya-Vikrama year Forty-Two.

By H. KRISHNA SASTRI, B.A.

On a hillock to the south of Hanumkoṇḍā⁷ (Anmakonḍa) near Warangal in the Nizam's State, stands the small temple of Padmākṣhī which, unlike other buildings attributable to the Kākatiya period,⁸ is devoid of any architectural pretensions. The rock close to which the temple stands, bears on a portion of its dressed surface, sculptures of

¹ I.e. Viṣṇu.

² I am not sure about the meaning of these words, the text of which is doubtful in the original. *Garuḍa-dhvajādri* might be equivalent to *Kṛṣṇagiri*.

³ I.e. Śiva.

⁴ These words clearly indicate that there was a figure of Garuḍa on the top of the pillar.

⁵ I.e. Viṣṇu.

⁶ In my opinion, this might refer either to the king or to the god Viṣṇu.

⁷ This is the form given in Mr. Cousens' *Lists of Antiquarian Remains in H. H. the Nizam's Territories*, p. 46.

⁸ The thousand-pillared temple in the middle of the village of Anmakonḍa was built by Prôla's son Rudra in or about A.D. 1162-63 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 9 f.) and contains some excellently sculptured door-posts. The four gateways which now stand in the open air at Warangal might have belonged to the palace of the Kākatiya kings at that place (*Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1901-2, p. 4). Mr. Cousens, however, thinks that the gateways must have belonged to a great temple in the centre of Warangal (*Lists of Antiquarian Remains in H. H. the*

some Jaina images seated in a row. In front of the temple is an inscribed quadrangular pillar of black granite bearing in relief within a countersunk square, at the top of each of its four faces, the figure of a squatting Jaina ascetic with his arms folded over his lap crosswise. On the east face of the pillar this figure is flanked by a cow and calf on one side and a dagger and shield (?) on the other. The north face of the pillar bears representations of the sun and moon on the right and left sides, respectively, of the squatting Jaina figure. From these sculptures and from the inscription on the pillar, which is published below, it appears that the Padmākshī temple was originally dedicated to the Jaina¹ goddess Kadalalāya and that the pillar was set up there by the lady who built the *basadi* (Jaina temple). At present the Brāhmanas of Anmakonḍa, who have somehow got possession of the temple, worship the goddess in it under the name Padmākshī, which they believe to be synonymous with Durgā.² It is not clear how or when the ownership of the temple passed from the Jainas to the Brāhmanas.

Anmakonḍa, or, as it is called in the subjoined inscription, Anmakundā (l. 16) or Ammakunde (l. 75), was originally the capital of the Kākatiya kings and was situated in the Andhra country.³ The neighbouring town of Warangal (Ōrūṅgallu in Telugu or Ēkaśilānagara in Sanskrit) became the seat of government about the end of Gaṇapati's reign and continued as such until the collapse of the Kākatiya family.⁴ Anmakonḍa and Warangal are now stations

Nizam's Territories, p. 47). The temples near the Rāmappā Lake in the Warangal district are (*ibid.* p. 49) of the same type as the great temple at Hanumkonḍa, but more profusely sculptured. The principal temple of this group appears to have been built in A.D. 1213-14 by Rudra of Rēcharla, who was a dependant of the Kākatiya king Gaṇapati. The village Uparpalle in the Yelgandal district, is also reported to contain some ruined temples attributable to the Kākatiya period (*ibid.* p. 74). The *vimāna* of the Tripurāntakēśvara temple at Tripurāntakam in the Kurnool district was constructed in A.D. 1254-55 under the orders of the Kākatiya king Gaṇapati (Epigraphical collection for 1905, No. 169). The Padmākshī temple at Anmakonḍa is the earliest known structural monument of the Kākatiya period and this may account for its being plain and devoid of the display of art which is quite characteristic of the later structures of the dynasty.

¹ Jaina remains are mostly to be seen in the western portion of the Nizam's Dominions, which borders on the Bombay Presidency. Anmakonḍa is almost on the eastern border; see the map accompanying Mr. Cousens' *Lists of Antiquarian Remains in H. H. the Nizam's Territories*.

² *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1901-2, paragraph 7. The goddess Padmākshī to whom the temple is dedicated must be one of the twenty-four Śāsana-devīs of the Jaina mythology. Ambā or Ambikā, the Śāsana-devī of the 22nd Tirthaṅkara Neminātha, is supposed to be a form of Durgā. Padmāvati was the Śāsana-devī of Pārśvanātha (Dr. Burgess' *Archæol. Surv. of Western India*, Vol. V. p. 45 f. and p. 46, note 2). It might, therefore, be supposed that the goddess consecrated by Mailama in the *basadi* at Anmakonḍa was either Ambikā or Padmāvati—called, in Kanarese, Kadalalāya, the meaning of which I have not been able to trace.

³ Above, Vol. III., p. 82, and footnote 4.

⁴ The Gaṇapēśvaram inscription of the time of Gaṇapati states (v. 9) that Rudra, son of Prōla, destroyed many towns and founded quarters named after these towns in the city of Ōrūṅgallu and peopled them with their respective inhabitants; while in the devastated towns he built celebrated temples of Rudrēśvara and settled fresh inhabitants. If there be any truth in this statement, it may be inferred that Warangal, which was already in existence as an important city (see l. 95 of the subjoined inscription also), was greatly improved by Rudra. Rēcharla Rudra, a general of Gaṇapati (see above, p. 256, note 8) is said to have put to flight king Nāgati and founded the temple of Rudrēśvara at the city of Orugallu (Warangal)—perhaps after his own name. Ōrūṅgallu or Orugallu, which was thus improved by the Kākatiya king Rudra, appears to have occupied only a subordinate position in the time of Prōla, Rudra and Gaṇapati, while Anmakonḍa was the capital. No. 273 of the Epigraphical collection for 1905-06 which belongs to the time of Rudra and is dated in Śaka-Saṁvat 1107, Viśvāvasu (= A.D. 1185-86) states that the *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Kākatiya Rudradēva-Mahārāja was "the lord of Anumakonḍa, the best of towns." Nos. 195 and 223 of the same collection belong to Gaṇapati and are both dated in Śaka-Saṁvat 1174, Paridhāvin (= A.D. 1252-53). The former refers to Gaṇapati as "the lord of Anumakonḍa, the best of towns." In Śaka-Saṁvat 1175 Gaṇapati still called himself the lord of Anumakonḍa (Mr. Butterworth's *Nellore Inscriptions*, O. 28). But No. 231 of the Epigraphical collection for 1905, dated in Śaka-Saṁvat 1176, Ananda, distinctly states that Gaṇapati was ruling with Orugallu as his capital. Whether his successor Rudramadēvi (or, as she is called in inscriptions, Rudradēva-Mahārāja) reigned from the newly established capital Warangal or not, it is difficult to say. Her successor Pratāparudra ruled over almost the whole of the Telugu country and portions even of the Tamil country from his throne at Ōrūṅgallu. He is generally known as Ōrūṅgaṇṇi Pratāparudra-lēva, i.e. Pratāparudradēva of Ōrūṅgallu.

on the Hyderabad-Bezvada section of the Nizam's State Railway and seem to have been included about the beginning of the twelfth century A.D. in the district of Sabbi-sâyira 'the Sabbi one thousand,' which formed part of the Western Châlukya empire, and to have been conferred by Tribhuvanamalla-Vikramāditya VI. on his feudatory the Kâkatiya chief Tribhuvanamalla-Bêta.¹ Sabbi-sâyira is not mentioned in other published records and, consequently, its extent cannot be defined until more lithic records from that part of the Nizam's Dominions are published.²

The subjoined inscription³ engraved on the four faces of the pillar above referred to, is written in bold and clear Kanarese characters of the twelfth century A.D. The written surface measures roughly in breadth 1' 3½" on the east and west faces and 1' 2½" on the north and south faces, while in height it is 3' 6", 3' 5½", 3' 7", and 3' 3½" respectively, on the east, north, west and south faces. The sculptures which the four faces of the pillar bear have been noted already. Verse 1, which contains the invocation, and the imprecatory verses (11 and 12) are in the Sanskrit language. Lines 89 to 91 contain an incomplete Sanskrit verse which is evidently meant to be a quotation. The rest of the inscription is in Kanarese prose (ll. 6 to 24, 70 to 88, 91 to 99, and 111 and 112) and poetry (verses 2 to 10). The writing calls for very few remarks. The *anusvâra* is sometimes, as in ancient records, written at the top of the right side of the letter (ll. 1, 3, and 4), and sometimes, as at present, written on the right side of the letter (ll. 86, 98, 100 and 102). The *virâma* occurs once in l. 62 where it is marked by a wavy vertical line added to the top of the letter. The *ê*-sign, which is almost similar in form to the *virâma*, is also attached to the top of the letter, but is horizontal. In ll. 40 and 55, however, the *e* of *de* in the word *perggade* and *ê* of *yê* in the word *hridayêsvari*, are marked differently by a curved line attached to the left bottom corner of the letter and drawn horizontally to its right. In other cases this sign along with the *ê*-sign first described, marks the *ai*-sign. An attempt is made to distinguish the long *î* from the short *i* but it is not throughout kept up. Among consonants it may be noted, that the length of the horizontal stroke in the middle, which in the case of *pa* ought to be shorter than in that of *sha*, is in some instances lengthened so far as to make *pa* look almost like *sha*. The forms *krimâ*² for *kramâ*² in l. 20 and *yējñâ*² for *yajñâ*² in l. 103 are due to the peculiarities of Kanarese pronunciation.

The record begins with an invocation addressed to the feet of Jinêndra (v. 1) and refers in ll. 6 to 24 to the reign of the *mahârâjâdhirâja*, *paramêśvara* and *paramabhaktâraka*, the [Western] Châlukya king Tribhuvanamalladêva [Vikramāditya VI.] and his feudatory the *mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Kâkati Bêta (l. 19), who had acquired the five great sounds (*pañchamahâśabda*) and who was 'the lord of Anmakundâ (l. 16), the best of towns.' The hereditary minister of Kâkati Bêtarasa (l. 30) was the *daṇḍâdhinâtha* Vaija (v. 2). Verse 3 states that Vaija brought his master the *maṇḍalika* Kâkati Bêta (ll. 32 and 37) to the feet of the Châlukya (l. 33) emperor⁴ (*chakrin*) (*viz.* Vikramāditya VI.) and made him rule the district of

¹ See verse 3 below.

² Sebbi or Chhebbi thirty, a small district over which the Western Gaṅga king Pañchaladêva was ruling in A.D. 971, and which took its name from the village of Chabbi or Chhabbi in the Hubli taluka of the Dharwar district (Dr. Fleet's *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 307) seems to be different from the Sabbi-sâyira district which was ruled by the Kâkatiya chief Bêta.

³ No. 106 of the Epigraphical collection for 1902. Mr. Cousens refers to this as No. 4 of the inscriptions at Hanumkonḡā and Warangal (*Lists of Antiquarian Remains in H. H. the Nizam's Territories*, p. 48).

⁴ In footnote 7 on p. 91 of Vol. VI. above, Professor Lüders questions the propriety of the title *chakrin* (*chakravartin*) as applied to Vikramāditya VI. in an inscription at Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa, dated in Śaka-Samvat 1081. He presumes that the title *chakrin* is based on the analogy of the epithets *sarvajñachakravartin*, *pratâpachakravartin* and *Châlukyachakravartin* assumed respectively by three of Vikramāditya's successors, *viz.* Sômêśvara III., Jagadêkamalla II. and Taila III. The title *Châlukya-chakrin* applied to Vikramāditya VI. in the subjoined inscription leaves no doubt that this imperial *virûda* originated with him;

Sabbi-sâyira (l. 34 f.) as a feudatory of that monarch. According to verses 4 and 5 Vaija's son by Yâkamabbe (l. 38 f.) was the *pergaḍe* Bêta, who became the minister of Kâkati Prôla (l. 43). The only act of this Bêta which the inscription records, is that he constructed ten houses for gods (i.e. temples) in his native village (v. 5). The wife of this minister Bêta—the son of Yâkamâmbikâ (l. 53 f.)—was Mailama (vv. 6, 7 and 8). Lines 70 to 87 state that she built the Kadalalâya-basâdi on the top of the hill (v. 9) and that—in the Châlukya-Vikrama (l. 76) year forty-two, which corresponded to the cyclic year Hēmalamba, on the occasion of the Uttarâyana-samkrânti, which fell on Monday, the 15th day of the dark half of Paushya, while the king Kâkatiya Pojalarasa (l. 73), son of the *maṇḍalika* Tribhuvanamalla (l. 72) was ruling at Ammakunde (l. 75),—she gave for the benefit of that temple six *mattar* (l. 86) of land below the tank built and named after herself, by her husband Bêtana-*pergaḍe* (l. 81).¹ The pillar that bears the inscription was also set up by Mailama on the same occasion (l. 87). Lines 88 to 99 register a gift of ten *mattar* (l. 98 f.) of land to the same temple by the *mahāmaṇḍalêśvara* Mēlarasa of Ugravâdi (ll. 92 to 94), a member of the family of Mādha[va]varman (l. 91) ' (who possessed a fabulous army) of eight thousand elephants, ten crores of horses and numberless foot-soldiers.' The land which Mēlarasa granted was situated below the Kūchikere tank, which belonged to Orangallu (l. 95). This town was under the control of Mēlarasa at the time of the grant. Lines 111 to 112 record the assignment of a *pāga* (*hāga*) coin to the temple sweeper Bôya-Padda, to be paid, apparently from the proceeds of either of the two grants mentioned above.

The late Professor Kielhorn kindly contributed the following remarks on the date of the inscription:—"Ch. V. 42= Ś. 1039 exp.= Hēmalamba. The date regularly corresponds to Monday, the 24th December A.D. 1117. On this day the Uttarâyana-samkrânti took place 14 h. 55 m. after mean sunrise, during the 15th *tithi* of the dark half of Pausha, which commenced 0 h. 33 m. after mean sunrise, and ended 0 h. 13 m. before mean sunrise of the following day."

Seven inscriptions of the Kâkatiya dynasty have been published so far.² The earliest of these belongs to the time of Rudra,³ five to that of Gaṇapati,⁴ and one to that of Pratāparudra. The first of these and the Kāñchi inscription of Gaṇapati⁵ supplement one another in supplying the full name of the first historical person of the Kâkatiya dynasty, viz. Tribhuvanamalla Betma. The Chêbrôlu record of Gaṇapati⁶ and the subjoined inscription give, instead of Betma, the form Bêta. The former of these two records and the unpublished Pâkhâl inscription of about the time of Gaṇapati⁷ mention a certain Durjaya in the Kâkatiya ancestry—the one, as the father of Bêta and the other as the father of Prôla. The Pâkhâl inscription further states that

chakrin is also used in the sense of 'provincial chief;' above, Vol. IV., p. 96.

¹ This tank is, perhaps, to be identified with the one at the foot of the hillock on which the Padmâkshi temple is situated.

² Nos. 534 to 539 and No. 1066 of Appendix to Vol. VII. above.

³ This is his Anmakonda inscription of Śaka-Samvat 1084, published in *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XI. pp. 9 ff. An unpublished record at Tripurântakam in the Kurnool district (No. 273 of the Epigraphical collection for 1905) gives for him the date Śaka-Samvat 1107. The initial date of the next king Gaṇapati being now fixed at Śaka-Samvat 1121 (*Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1905-06, Part II., paragraph 43) it follows that Rudra must have ruled from at least Śaka 1084 to 1121. However, the events recorded in the Anmakonda inscription of Rudra presume a much earlier date for his accession than Śaka 1084.

⁴ These range in date between Śaka 1135 and Śaka 1172. The earliest inscription of Gaṇapati found at Tripurântakam is dated in Śaka-Samvat 1131 which was probably his 10th year. He must have been ruling the country round Bezvâḍa already in Śaka 1123; see below, p. 262, note 2.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXI. p. 197 ff.

⁶ Above, Vol. V. p. 142 ff.

⁷ No. 82 of the Epigraphical collection for 1902-03. This is not dated, but records the construction of the (Pâkhâl) tank by Jagadâla-Mummaḍi, son of Bayyana-Nâyaka, a minister of the Kâkatiya king Gaṇapati. One is tempted to connect Jagdalpur, the capital of the Bastar State in the Central Provinces, with the chief Jagadâla-Mummaḍi. The tradition that the kings of Bastar trace their descent from the Kâkatiya king Pratāparudra (above, p. 164 f.) lends further support to the chief's connection with Jagdalpur.

Karikāla-Chôla of the solar race was one of the predecessors of Durjaya. The Kāñchī epigraph quoted above, which also traces the Kākatiyas, as the Chêbrôlu and the Pākhāl inscriptions do, to the Sun, Manu, Ikshvāku, and other mythical kings of the Raghu family, does not give the names of either Karikāla-Chôla or of Durjaya. The appearance of these two names in the Kākatiya genealogy is at present difficult to explain satisfactorily. But two facts which may be of some use in this connection have to be registered before passing on to the historical portion of the genealogy. As regards the mention of the mythical king Karikāla-Chôla as an ancestor of the Kākatiyas, attention may be drawn to the fact that the Telugu-Chôḍas who invariably claim connection with this mythical Chôla king, became feudatories of the Kākatiyas in the time of Gaṇapati.¹ With regard to Durjaya, the name occurs among the ancestors of two of the contemporary local families of the Telugu country.² The first historical ancestor of the Kākatiya family was Tribhuvanamalla-Bêta. He appears to have been a powerful chief who held sway over some portions of the Andhra country before he became a feudatory of the Western Chālukyas and the governor of the Sabbi one thousand district. The surname Tribhuvanamalla which occurs here as well as in the Kāñchī and Anmakonḍa inscriptions, was probably borrowed from his overlord Tribhuvanamalla Vikramāditya VI.

Bêta's son and successor was Prôla, Prôlerāja, Prôḍarāja or Poḷalarasa, whose surname Jagatikêśarin is known to us from the Kāñchī inscription of his grandson Gaṇapati. The importance of the subjoined epigraph consists in its being the earliest Kākatiya record and the only one of Prôla found so far. Like his father Bêta, Prôla appears to have continued as a feudatory of Vikramāditya VI.³ The Anmakonḍa inscription of his son⁴ Rudra and the Gaṇapêśvaram record of his grandson Gaṇapati, mention in detail the military exploits of Prôla. These have been fully discussed by Dr. Fleet and Professor Hultzsch.⁵ One of the opponents of Prôla was Tailapadêva called "the crest-jewel of the Chālukyas" in the Anmakonḍa inscription. Dr. Fleet has identified him with the Western Chālukya king Taila III. (A.D. 1150-51 to 1162-63). This implies a pretty long reign for Prôla from at least the Chālukya-Vikrama year 42 (= A.D. 1117), the date of the present record, to at least A.D. 1150-51, the first year of Taila III., unless we suppose that Prôla fought with Taila while the latter was yet a prince.⁶ That Rudra, son of Prôla, successfully averted a usurpation of the Chālukya throne after the death of Taila III., by a certain Bhîma

¹ See *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1899-1900, p. 18, Genealogical Table of the Chôḍas of the Telugu country, remarks under Ôpilisiddhi II and paragraph 53.

² The Konḍapaḍmaṭi chief Buddharāja and the *mahāmaṇḍalêśvara* Nambaya—two petty chieftains of the Telugu country on the southern side of the Kṛishnâ river—bore the surname 'the lion of the mountain—the Durjaya family' (above, Vol. VI. p. 268 and footnote 6, and p. 269). We know from Telugu records that a family of chiefs known by the name Châgi was contemporaneous with the Konḍapaḍmaṭis. Nos. 253 and 271 of the Epigraphical collection for 1897 give two or three names in the ancestry of this family and call it the Durjaya-kula born from the feet of Vishṇu. No. 255 of the same collection, which is dated in Śaka-Saṃvat 1148 and which belongs to the time of Châgi Gaṇapaya-Mahârāja who was probably a member of this Châgi Durjaya-kula, quotes a verse at the beginning in praise of the king which is almost identical with verse 7 of the Yenamadala inscription describing the Kākatiya king Gaṇapati (above, Vol. III. p. 97 f., text ll. 31 to 36). Unfortunately the inscription is seriously damaged; otherwise, it might, perhaps, have been possible to prove that the local chiefs of the Châgi Durjaya-kula were borrowing from the royal Kākatiya family of Warangal not only names, but sometimes even the description of the members of its family.

³ This may be inferred from the use of the Chālukya-Vikrama era in the date portion of the subjoined record.

⁴ The Pākhāl inscription referred to above, states that Rudra was born in the family of Prôla, which is quite against the testimony of other Kākatiya inscriptions.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 10 and above, Vol. III. p. 83.

⁶ The second alternative seems to be the more probable one, for Prôla is actually stated to have captured Taila in battle and to have released him out of 'loyalty and love' (*bhakti-anurâgât*). This may imply the existence of a sovereign on the Chālukya throne different from Taila. *Chālukya-châḍmaṇi* seems to have been a title of Western Chālukya princes who, before succeeding to the throne, generally served as governors of provinces.

whose capital was at Vardhamānanagari,¹ shows the extent of the power wielded by this feudatory family in the last days of the Chālukyas. Prīla's other enemies referred to in the Anmakonda inscription were Jagaddēva, Gōvinda (or Gōvindadaṇḍēsa, as he is called in the Gaṇapēśvaram inscription), Guṇḍa and Udaya or Chōḍōdaya. Jagaddēva has been identified with Tribhuvanamalla Jagaddēva, the Śāntara chief of Paṭṭi-Pombuchchapura, who was a feudatory, first of Tribhuvanamalla Vikramāditya VI. and then of his grandson Jagadēkamalla II. He must have "stood encompassing the city of Anumakonda" on behalf of the Chālukya emperor in order to avenge himself upon Prīla, who, it may be supposed, was trying to throw off his allegiance to the Chālukyas. It was, probably, as the first step in this direction, that Prīla inflicted the defeat on prince Taila III. as stated above. Indeed, Prīla appears to have extended his military operations into the modern Kistna district as well. For, the next opponent of his was Guṇḍa, the lord of the city of Manthana or Mantrakūṭa which is probably identical with the village of Mantena² in the Nuzvid Zamindāri of the Godavari district. Gōvinda or Gōvindadaṇḍēsa, I would identify with the Gōvindarāja of the Ablūr inscriptions,³ who was the nephew of Anantapāla, the general of Vikramāditya VI.—and with the *daṇḍanāyaka* Gōvindarasa, who in the Chālukya-Vikrama year 51, corresponding to A.D. 1126-27 was ruling the Koṇḍapaḷli three hundred district according to an unpublished inscription at Tripurāntakam.⁴ Here we are told that this *daṇḍanāyaka* Gōvindarasa "burnt Beṅgipura (Vēṅgi?)" and conquered Goṅka.⁵ This Goṅka is apparently identical with the Velanāṇḍu chief Goṅka II., father of Rājendra-Chōḍa.⁶ Udaya or Chōḍōdaya, whom Prīla first defeated and then reinstated in his dominions, is according to Professor Hultzsch perhaps "to be connected with Kulōttuṅga-Chōḍa-Goṅka

Vira Nalamba Pallava Permāṇḍi Jayasīṅghadēva, younger brother of Tribhuvanamalla-Vikramāditya VI, had such a biruda. Perhaps Taila's defeat by Prīla took place while the former was yet a prince, somewhere in the latter part of the reign of Jagadēkamalla II.

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 11. Vardhamānanagari is said to have been burnt by Rudra after marching 'a few steps' from his capital Anmakonda. Dr. Fleet suggests, accordingly, that it should be looked for somewhere in the Nizam's dominions not far from Anmakonda. There are two places with either of which Vardhamānanagari may be identified. One is Vardhanapet, about 20 miles south-west of Anmakonda and the other is Waddamarri, about 50 miles south-west of Anmakonda in the direction of Kalyāṇa. A later chief of Vardhamānanagari is mentioned in an inscription engraved on the fort wall at Raichur, as a feudatory of Pratāparudra. The record is dated in A.D. 1294 which is the earliest date for Pratāparudra derived from inscriptions (*Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1905-06, Part II, paragraph 44). I quote this from a brief note on the inscription made by the Officer in charge of Archaeological Researches in Mysore in his Annual Report for the year ending 30th June 1907, paragraph 56.

² There is a place called Mantani in the Yelgandal district of the Nizam's State which is about 50 miles north of Anmakonda.

³ Above, Vol. V. p. 213 ff.

⁴ No. 258 of the Epigraphical collection for 1905.

⁵ *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1905-06, paragraph 40.

⁶ Above, Vol. IV. p. 35. On p. 38 of the same volume, Professor Hultzsch refers to the biruda *Chālukya-rājya-bhavana-mūlastambha* of Goṅka II. and states that he was a tributary to one of the two branches of the Chālukya dynasty. I think that, in spite of the fact that the Velanāṇḍu chiefs became the feudatories of the Western Chālukyas subsequent to the death of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḍa I. (*ibid.* p. 37), the title borne by Goṅka II. was a formal hereditary title and did refer only to the Eastern Chālukya dynasty. No. 227 of the Epigraphical collection for 1905 at Tripurāntakam in the Kurnool district records a gift by Velanāṇḍi-Goṅka in Śaka-Saṃvat 1028 (= A.D. 1106-07). This Goṅka is identical with Goṅka I. in the Genealogical Table of the Velanāṇḍu chief s. The inscription states that he bore the title *Chālukya-rājya-bhavana-mūlastambha*, but does not mention the overlord to whom he was subordinate. No. 151 of 1897, however, which is dated in Śaka-Saṃvat 998, the cyclic year Nala, corresponding to the [7]th year of Vishṇuvardhana-Mahārāja [Kulōttuṅga-Chōḍa I.] registers a grant by Velanāṇḍi-Goṅkaya (i.e. Goṅka I.), the commander of all forces (*samasta-sēnādhipāti*) of the king. This shows that the title *Chālukya-rājya-bhavana-mūlastambha* assumed by Goṅka I. when he had become more or less independent in the Telugu country, meant that he was a supporter of the Eastern Chālukya kingdom. We also learn from No. 151 of 1897 that Goṅka I. was the son of Guṇḍāmbikā. He was a *triśatōttara-sahasrāvānt-nāḥa* 'the lord of the one thousand and three hundred country' (No. 277 of 1905), while his grandson Goṅka II. was a *triśatōttara-ṣoṭṣahasrāvānt-nāḥa* 'the lord of the six thousand and three hundred country' (No. 274 of 1893).

of Velanāṇḍu.¹ Thus Prôla who, in his early career, was a Châlukya feudatory, appears to have gradually grown powerful and to have thrown off the imperial yoke in the latter part of the reign of the Western Châlukya king Jagadêkamalla II., preparing, thereby, the way for Rudra's extensive conquests, which according to the Annakonḍa inscription, reached in the east to the shore of the salt sea and in the south as far as Śrīśaila.²

The other facts mentioned in the subjoined inscription do not call for any remarks. Mēlarasa of Ugravāḍi who belonged to the family of Mādhavavarman, is not known from other inscriptions. A feudatory family of the time of the Vijayanagara king Krishnarāya, whose members claim to have been lords of Bezvāḍa and were ruling a portion of the Udayagiri-rājya, traces its origin to a certain Mādhavavarman of the Solar race and the Vasishthagotra.³ It is doubtful if this Mādhavavarman could be connected with the mythical Mādhavavarman referred to in the subjoined inscription as an ancestor of Mēlarasa of Ugravāḍi.

TEXT.⁴

East Face.

- 1 Śrīmaj-Jinêndra-pada-padman-a-
- 2 śêsha-bhavyân=avyât=trilôka-nri-
- 3 patîndra-munîndra-varîdyam | niḥ-
- 4 śêsha-dôsha-parikhândana-chamḍa-kâ-
- 5 ṇḍam ratna-traya-prabhavam=udgha-

¹ Above, Vol. III. p. 83. If this surmise of Professor Hultzsch is granted, Chôḍôlaya may be identified with the Velanāṇḍu chief Kulôṭṭunga-Chôḍa-Gonka III (No. 17 of the Genealogical Table of the Velanāṇḍu chiefs on p. 35 of above, Vol. IV.) whose inscriptions range between A.D. 1138 and A.D. 1157. And the word *Chôḍôlaya*, which literally means '(one who is) born of Chôḍa' may very aptly be applied to Kulôṭṭunga-Chôḍa-Gonka III, whose father Velanāṇḍi-Rājendra-Chôḍa is called Chôḍa of Velanāṇḍu in one of his inscriptions at Pālakôl, dated in A.D. 1136 (No. 524 of the Epigraphical collection for 1893) and is referred to as king Chôḍi in an inscription at Niḍubrôlu, dated in A.D. 1132 (No. 163 of the Epigraphical collection for 1897, text line 27 f.), and probably also in the Gaṇapêśvaram inscription as king Chôḍi, the overlord of the Ayya chief Nārāyaṇa I. who was the grandfather of Jāyana, the general of Gaṇapati. This identification of Chôḍôlaya with Gonka III, whose latest date as stated above, is A.D. 1157, if correct, would render probable the statement made in the Annakonḍa inscription that Chôḍôlaya died out of fear of Prôla's successor Rudra, who burnt his city.

² This is no boast so far as the southern boundary of Rudra's dominions is concerned. The existence of an inscription of his time at Tripurāntakam in the Kurnool district (No. 273 of the Epigraphical collection for 1905) clearly shows that the actual southern boundary of his kingdom extended even beyond Śrīśaila. Rudra appears to have strengthened his position in the Telugu country by a political intermarriage in the race of Kandôḍôlaya-Chôḍa (above, Vol. III. p. 83). Gaṇapati did likewise by taking to wives Nārāmbā and Pêrāmbā, the two sisters of his general Jāyana (*ibid.* p. 84). A Tripurāntakam inscription (No. 204 of the Epigraphical collection for 1905) states that Gaṇapati's sister Mēlāmbikā married Vakkāḍimalla Rudra, the second son of Buddha 'lord of Nātavāṇi-vishaya.' The same relationship is established by an inscription at Bezvāḍa which is dated in Śaka-Saṁvat 1123 (above, Vol. VI. p. 159, text line 8) where Nātavāḍi Rudra (not his father Buddha as Professor Hultzsch takes it) is called the *marāṇḍi* 'brother-in-law' of Gaṇapati. Gaṇapati's daughter Gaṇapāmbā was given in marriage to the Kôṭa chief Bêta of Amarāvati (above, Vol. III. p. 94). The Kôṭa chief Kêta II., whose mother Sabbamā was the sister of the Velanāṇḍu chief Gonka III. (above, Vol. VI. p. 148), had five queens who were selected from the several petty families which at that time appear to have divided among themselves the country south of the Kṛishṇā river. Two unpublished inscriptions from Amarāvati in the Guntur district (Nos. 261 and 262 of the Epigraphical collection for 1897) give the names of these five queens as Viñjamā of the family of the chiefs of Oṅginimārga (perhaps identical with Oṅgêṇumārga over which Nambaya of the Durjaya family was ruling; see above, Vol. VI. p. 224); Sabbamā of the family ruling the country "to the west of the hill," i.e. the Koṇḍapaḍmaṭis; Pārvaṭi of the family of the chiefs of Kôṇa-Kaṇḍravāḍi; Nāgamā of the family of the chiefs of Kākati and Komaramā, another princess of the Koṇḍapaḍmaṭi family. It is doubtful if the Kākati family here mentioned has to be connected with the Kākatiyas of Warangal or if it has to be distinguished as a purely local family which adopted the name Kākati in consequence of its relationship with the Kākatiyas either directly or indirectly.

³ *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1906-07, Part II., paragraph 73.

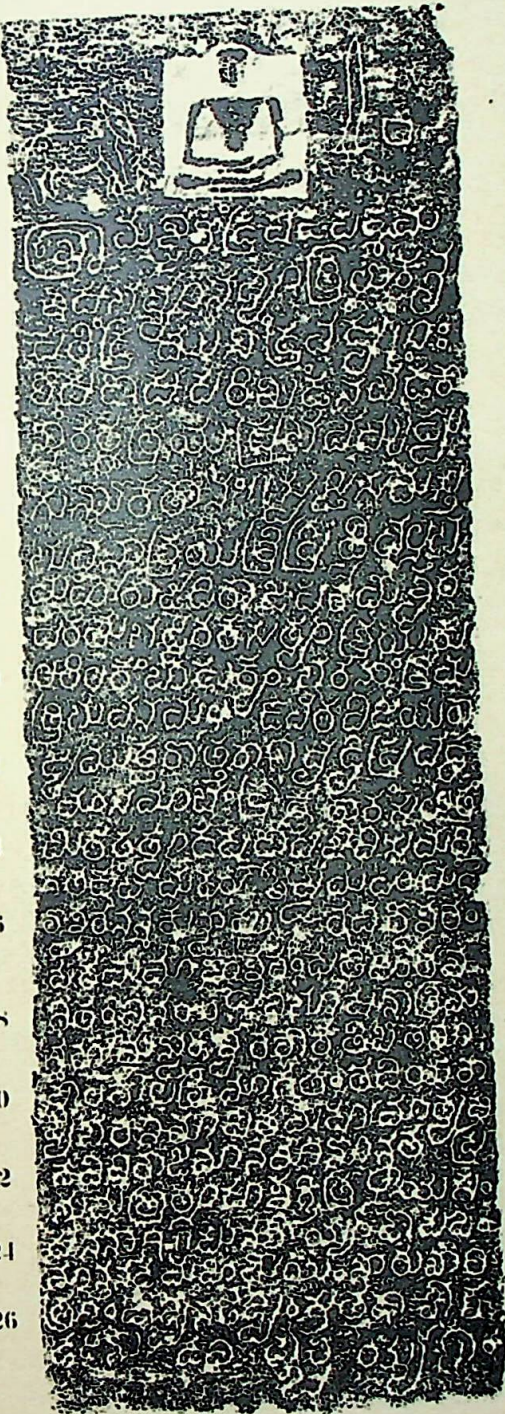
⁴ From two ink-impressions prepared by me in 1902.

Anmakonda inscription of Prola. — Chalukya Vikrama 42.

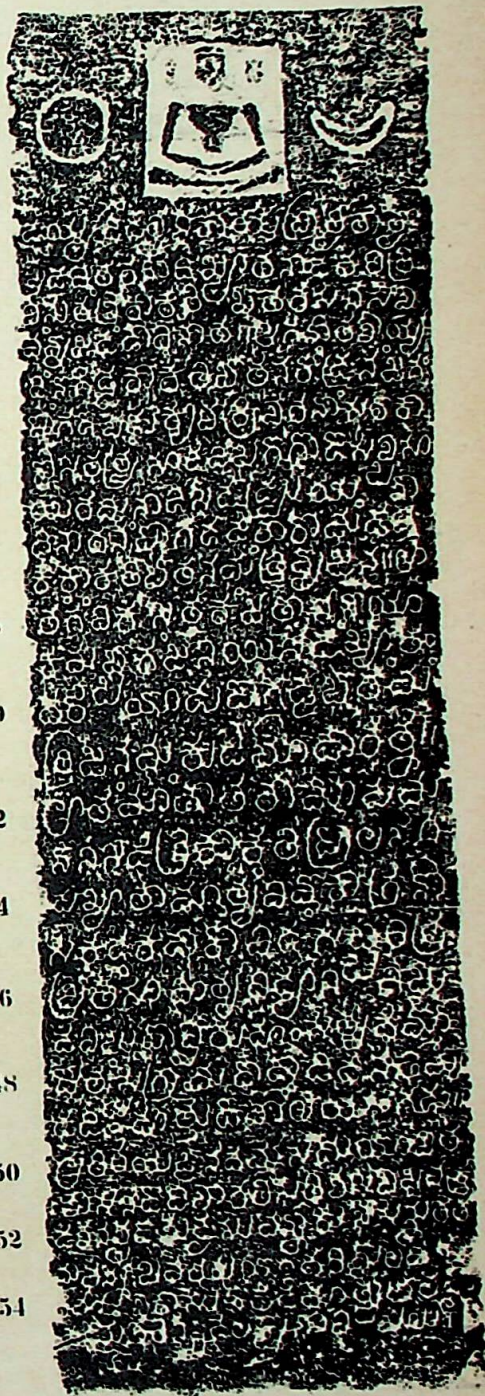
East face.

North face.

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Sten Konow.

Scale .15

Collotype by Gebr. Plettner.

West face.



South face.



55
90
92
194
196
198
100
102
104
106
108
110
112

- 6 guṇ-aikatānam || [1*] Svasti samasta-
 7 bhuvanāśraya śrī-pri(pri)thvivallabha
 8 mahārājādhirāja paramēśvara
 9 paramabhaṭṭāraka Satyāśraya-ku-
 10 la-tilakam Chālukya-ābharanam śrīma-
 11 t-[T]ribhuvanamalladēvara vijaya-rā-
 12 jyam=uttar-ōttar-ābhivṛddhi-pravarddha-
 13 mānam=ā-chamdr-ārka-tāram salutta-
 14 m=ire || [2*] Tat-pādapadm-ōpajivi samadhi-
 15 gatapamchamahāśabda mahānam[da]-
 16 lēśvaran=Anmakundā-puravar-ēśvaram
 17 parama-Māhēśvaram pati-hita-cha-
 18 ritam vina[ya]-vibhūṣanam śrīma-
 19 n-mahāmaṇḍalēśvara[m] Kākati-Bēta-[bhū]-
 20 pāla-kula-kri(kra)māgataṁ tadīya-rā-
 21 jya-bhara-nirūpita-mahāmātya-pa-
 22 davi-virājamāna mān-ōnnata pra-
 23 bhu-mamtr-ō[t]sāha-śakti-traya-sam-
 24 pānnan-ā[gi] || Ghana-sauryy-ātōpa[di]m
 25 māntanāda mahimeyam chāru-chāri-
 26 tradim[d=ō]pina telpim sat-kalā-kausa-
 27 ladi[n=ō]david=āścharyya-[sau]m-

North Face.

- 28 daryyadiṁd=a[rtthi]nikāya-prārthit-ārttha-
 29 [pra]da-vitarana-[vi]khyātan=ādam dharitri-
 30 [vi]nutam śrī-Kākati-Bētarasana sachi-
 31 vam Vaija-damḍādhinātha || [2*] Aganita-sauryya-
 32 diṁ negaḍḍa[da] Kākati-Bēta-narēndranam jaguṁ
 33 poṁgaḷe¹ Chālukya-chakri-charanam sale kā-
 34 ṇisi tat-prasādadiṁ bagegoḷe Sabbi-sā-
 35 yiraman=āḷisi[d=u]dgha-yaśō-
 36 dhināthanam pogaladar=āro māṇḍa[li]-
 37 ka-Kākati-Bētana mamtri Vaijana || [3*] Â-
 38 tamgam vikasita-kamjāt-ānane Ya-
 39 kamabbegam janiyisidam khyātam
 40 dhareyoḷu pergaḍe Bētam mam-
 41 tri-jana-makuṭa-chūḍāratna || [4*]
 42 Âtam Mām[dh]āta-Rām-ōpama-
 43 n=enisida śrī-Kākati-Prōla-bhū-
 44 pa-khyāt-āmātyam vivēk-āgrani²
 45 sakaḷa-kalā-kōvidam sach-charitra-
 46 pritam sâhitya-vidyâ-ni[dhi] bu-
 47 da(dha)-vibudh-ōrvviruham satya-dharmm-ō-
 48 pētam sva-grāmadōḷ-māḍidan=ati-ma-
 49 dadim hattu dēvālayamga³ || [5*]
 50 Atisaya-Jaina-dharmma-samay-ōchita-
 51 Śāsanadēvi Bhārati-sati śasi(śi)-bimba-va[ktra]-

¹ Read *pogale*.² In the translation I have taken this word to be synonymous with *virāgy-agraṇi*.³ About the *u* here and ll. 55, 68, and 69, which Dr. Fleet thinks to be a form of the *virāma*, see above, Vol. V. p. 237.

- 52 daśana-chohhade śuddha-suvarṇa(ṇṇa)-kuṁbha-sannuta-ta-
 53 nuvarṇa(ṇṇa)-pīvara-[pa]yôdhari Maila[ma Yā]-
 54 [ka]māmbikā-su[ta]-tad-amātya-[Bē]ta-[hri]-
 55 day-ēśvari niśchala-Lakshmi bhāvisalu[||][6*]

West Face.

- 56 Padadimḍ-ā-luḷit-ālakam barega[m=am]g-ô-
 57 pām̐gamam̐ paṁcha-ratnadin=am̐g-ôchitam-āge
 58 nirm̐misi sura-stri-bh[ā]gya-saubhāgya-
 59 samma[da]-saum̐[da]r̐yaman-āydu t̐vi
 60 padedaṁ Kam̐jāta-sam̐jātan=i su[dati]-
 61 ratnaman=em̐du Mailamanan=āv=ār=bbaṇuisa-
 62 r=llôkadoḷ || [7*] Nuta-rūpavati kalā[va]-
 63 ti rati-Rati Śrī-sati Ghaṭantaki-sati Vā-
 64 ṇi-satiy=em̐d=amātya-Bētana satiyam̐
 65 kshitiy=ellam=eyde nutiyisut=irkku[m̐ ||] [8*]
 66 Mudadimḍ=ene negaḷda [Ra]m-āspade Mai-
 67 lama bhaktiyim̐de māḍisi tanag=abhyuda-
 68 yakaram=āgiralu beṭṭada [mē]gaṇa
 69 Kadalalāya-basadiyan=eseyalu[||][9*]
 70 Adarkke nitya-pūjegaṁ dhūpa-dīpa-[ni]vēdya-
 71 kkaṁ pūjārig=āhā[ra]¹-vastrādigaḷgaṁ
 72 śrīmat-[T]ribhuvanamalla-maṁḍalika-bhū[pā]-
 73 la-putran-appa Kākatiya-Poḷalarasana rā-
 74 jyam=utta[r]-ôttar-ā[bhi]vri(vri)ddhi-pravaraddhamānam-ā-
 75 g=Ammakum̐deyal=ā-cham̐dr-ār̐k[ka]-tāram̐ sa-
 76 luttum=ire śrīmach- Chālukya-Vikrama-va[r]sha-
 77 da nālvatt-erade(ḍa)neya Hēmaḷambi-[sam]-
 78 vatsara Paushya-bahula 15 Sōmavā-
 79 rad-am̐din=Uttarāyana-sam̐krānti-nimi-
 80 ttaṁ dhārā-pūrvvakam-āgi tan[na] vallabhan-appa
 81 Bētana-perggade tanna pesarim̐daṁ māḍi-
 82 sida keṇey-ēriya keḷagan=eraḍum̐
 83 hās-are-ga[l*]lugala nadu(ḍu)vaṇa gardhde(rdde)[ya]
 84 mattar=eraḍum̐ mattam=ā-keṇeya pa-
 85 du(ḍu)vaṇa nela doṇeya teṁkal=ereya
 86 mattar=nnālukum̐ karam̐bam̐ ma[tta]r=āḷu(ru)-
 87 maṁ koṭṭu nirisidaḷ=i-sā[sa]na-gambha ||

South Face.

- 88 Mattam=i dharmmakke tellatiy-āge[||*]
 89 A[shṭau] danti-sahasrāṇi daśa-kô-
 90 ṭi cha vājinām=[l*] anantaṁ pāda-sam̐-
 91 ghātam=ity=ētē Mādha[va*]varmma-
 92 varṇs-ôdbhavar-appa śrīman-mahā-
 93 maṇḍalēsvaran=Ugravā[ḍi]-
 94 ya Mēlarasam̐ tann=ā[li]ke-

¹ In the original the syllables *gāhāra* look like *gōhānta*.

- 95 y=Oruṅgalla Kūchikere-
 96 y=ēriya keḷag[e] kâluveya
 97 modala garddeya mattar=ond=â sa-
 98 mîpadale karaṁbam matta-
 99 ru hattuman=itta || Nirutam=i-
 100 dan=aḷidavaṁ sāsira-kavi[le]-
 101 yan=aḷi[da] pāpamaṁ [po]rddu-
 102 gum=ādaradiṁ rakshi[si*]daṁ sâ-
 103 sira-ye(ya)jñada paḷaman=eydi
 104 śubha[ma]ṁ paḍegu[m*] || [10*] Sva-da-
 105 ttāṁ para-dattāṁ vâ yô harêta
 106 vasuṁdharāṁ [*] shashṭir=vvarsha-sahasr[â]-
 107 ṇi viśṭhāyāṁ jāyatê kṛimih || [11*]
 108 Bahubhir=vvasudhâ dattâ rājabhis=Sa-
 109 gar-ādibhiḥ [*] yasya yasya ya-
 110 dâ bhūmis=tasya tasya tadâ phalaṁ || [12*]
 111 Alli basadiya kasam ge(ga)ḷeva Bô-
 112 ya-[Pa]ddaṁge pāga voṁdu ||

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1.) May the lotus-foot of the blessed Jinēndra, which (like the lotus) is worthy of being praised by the lords of kings and the lords of ascetics (*residing*) in the three worlds, whose powerful doctrine completely destroys (all) sins (just as the powerful stem of the lotus completely cures the patient of his *dōsha*¹), which is the origin of the *ratna-traya*² (as the lotus is the birth-place of gems³) (*and*) which has its attention fixed on excellent virtues (*guṇa*) only (as the stock of the lotus is made up entirely of delicate fibre), protect all Bhavyas !⁴

(Line 6 f.) Hail ! While the victorious reign of the glorious Tribhuvanamalladēva,—the asylum of the whole world, the glorious *Prithvīvallabha*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*, *Paramabhāṭāraka*, the front ornament of the Satyāśraya family, the jewel of the Chāḷukyas,—was flourishing with perpetual increase (to last) as long as the moon, sun, and stars.

(L. 14 f.) A dependent on his lotus-feet (was) the prosperous *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*, the chief Kākati Bētarasa who had acquired the five great sounds, (who was) a *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*, the lord of Anmakundā—the best of towns, a great devotee of Mahēśvara (Śiva), (one) whose actions were (directed) for the good of (his) master (and) whose ornament was modesty.⁵

(L. 20 f.) Resplendent in (his) position as the hereditary prime minister (*mahāmātya*) entrusted with the administration of the kingdom of that king (*i.e.* Bēta), great of self-respect (and) possessing the triple qualifications of pre-eminence, counsel and energy,

(V. 2.) the *daṇḍādhinātha* Vaija, minister of the glorious king Kākati Bēta, worshipped by (all the people of) the world for (his) liberality which bestowed desired objects on crowds

¹ *Dōsha* is a medical term and means, according to Dr. Kittel, 'black or red spots on the tongue foreboding death.' It may be that according to Indian medical science, the lotus-stem is a powerful agent in removing this *dōsha*.

² See above, Vol. VIII. p. 134, note 3.

³ These are the lotus seeds which as sacred beads are worn round the neck and are called *tāvare-maṇi* (lotus-gems) in Kanarese.

⁴ *I.e.* the Jaina community; see Mr. Rice's *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. II., p. 59, paragraph 6.

⁵ The original appears to have *vinayi-* in which case the phrase may be translated "the jewel among the well-behaved;" but as *vinaya-vibhāṣaṭaya* is the form which generally occurs in inscriptions, I prefer to read *ya* instead of *yi*.

of supplicants, for (his) surpassing beauty which amazed (those who saw him), for his high proficiency in the sciences, for (his) refined goodness, for (his) charming behaviour, for the greatness of (his) pride¹ (and) for the display of (his) dauntless heroism,—became famous.

(V. 3.) Who does not extol the minister of the *maṇḍalika* Kākatî Bêta, Vaija, that master of prodigious fame, who by (his) immeasurable prowess made, amidst the applauses of the world, the renowned king Kākatî Bêta to successfully visit the feet of the Chālukya emperor (*chakrin*), (and) to rule by the favour of that (emperor) the Sabbi (one) thousand (district) (in such a way) as to attract the attention (of the world).

(V. 4.) To him and to (his wife) the blooming lotus-faced Yākamabbē was born *pergaḍe* Bêta who, famous (as he was) in the world, was a head-jewel in the diadems of the minister-class.

(V. 5.) He (Bêta), the exalted minister of the prosperous king Kākatî-Prôla, who was counted as equal to Māndhātā and Rāma, the foremost among the wise, proficient in all sciences, an admirer of good behaviour, a mine of literary lore, a celestial tree to learned men possessing truth and virtue, built, with great delight, ten houses for gods (*i.e.* temples) in his own village.

(V. 6.) The wife of the minister Bêta, the son of [Yā]kamāmbikā, (was) Mailama, whose face was (as pleasant as) the moon (and) whose lips were (red like) the *bimba* (fruit), the colour of whose body was praised as being fair (and her) full breasts as being golden pots, (who was) the (veritable) lady Bhārati, a Śāsanadēvi (*par excellence*) acceptable to the doctrines of the Jaina religion (and) decidedly, (the goddess) Lakshmî (but) without (the latter's) fickleness.

(V. 7.) Who, who in this world does not extol Mailama saying: "The lotus-born (Brahman) having produced, out of the five gems (such) as best suited the portion of the body (under creation), the (several) limbs with (their) adjuncts from the feet right up to those tremulous curls, (and) having filled (them) with happiness, grace, joy (and) beauty (which he) culled from among the celestial nymphs,—(he) loved (to see) this gem of womankind (—his own creation)."

(V. 8.) The whole world would praise deservedly the wife of the minister Bêta saying: "She possesses praiseworthy beauty; she is full of lustre; (she) is a Rati in dalliance; (she) is the lady Śrî (*i.e.* Lakshmî), (she) is the lady Ghaṭāntakî;² (she) is the lady Vāṇî (*i.e.* Sarasvatî)."

(V. 9.) The thus-praised abode of Ramā (*i.e.* Lakshmî)—Mailama—having caused to be built with delight and devotion the resplendent Kadalalāya-basadi (temple) on the top of the hill in order that it may bring prosperity to her—

(L. 70.) for the daily worship, incense, lights (and) oblations (in the temple) (and) for food, clothing, *etc.*, of the temple priest,—

(L. 72.) while the reign of Kākatīya Poḷalarasa, son of the glorious king, the *Maṇḍalika* Tribhuvanamalla, was continuously prosperous and successful, at Ammakunde, (to last) as long as the moon, sun and stars—in the forty-second year of the prosperous Chālukya-Vikrama years, corresponding to the Hēmaḷambi-saṁvatsara; on account of the Uttarāyana-saṁkrānti

¹ The word *māntana* is not found in Dr. Kittel's *Kannada-English Dictionary*. Perhaps it is a poetical form for *mānatana*.

² The Jaina saint Akalaṅka is said in the Mallishēpa epitaph (above, Vol. III. p. 200) to have overcome, along with the Bauddhas, the Buddhist goddess Tārā who had secretly descended into a pot as dwelling place. According to the *Rājavalī-katike* (Mr. Rice's *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. II. p. 45) Akalaṅka was helped in his disputation against the Bauddhas by the Jaina goddess Kūshmāṇḍinī and eventually kicked over the pot with his left foot and smashed it. In the present inscription Mailama is apparently compared to the goddess Kūshmāṇḍinī who helped Akalaṅka to smash the pot in which the goddess Tārā had taken her abode.

(which happened) on Monday, the 15th day of the dark fortnight of Paushya (of that year)—

(L. 80.) gave to that (temple), with libations of water, two *mattar* of wet land (lying) between two flat slabs below the *band* of the tank built in her name by her husband Bêtanapergade, and four *mattar* of black-soil land (lying) south of the pond (*done*) on the west side of the same tank and six *mattar* of uncultivated land,¹ (and) set up this inscribed pillar.

(L. 88 f.) And as a (subsidiary) gift to this charity the prosperous *mahāmaṇḍalésvara* Mēlarasa of Ugravāḍi, who was born in the family of Mādha[vav]arma, (whose army consisted) of "eight thousand elephants, eight crores of horses and endless crowds of foot (soldiers) etc.," gave one *mattar* of wet-land at the head of the canal below the *band* of Kūchikere (tank) which belonged to Oruṅgallu (included) within his rule, (and) ten *mattar* of miscellaneous land close to the same (land).

(V. 10.) He that destroys this (charity) shall always incur the sin of having killed thousand tawny cows; (and) he that carefully protects it, shall ever enjoy (that) happiness (which is) acquired as the fruit of a thousand sacrifices (*yajña*).

[Ll. 104 to 110 contain two of the usual imprecatory verses.]

(L. 111 f.) One *pāga*² (is assigned) to Bōya-Padda who removes the sweepings in that temple.

NO. 36.—BALAGHAT PLATES OF PRITHIVISHENA II.

By the late Professor F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

These plates were sent in May 1893 by the Deputy Commissioner of Bālāghāt, a district in the Nāgpur Division of the Central Provinces, to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, to which they now belong. In the letter which accompanied them, it was stated that they had been found in the district, 'some time ago, hanging to a tree in the jungle.' They were entrusted to me by Dr. Hoernle in 1905, with the request that I should edit the inscription which is engraved on them. Other work has prevented my doing so before now.

The plates are five in number, each between $6\frac{1}{8}$ " and $6\frac{1}{2}$ " long by between $3\frac{7}{8}$ " and 4" high; two of them contain no writing whatever, while of the three others (here described as plates i, ii and iii) the second is engraved on both sides and the first and the third on one side only. Though the plates have no raised rims and are not fashioned thicker near the edges, the engraving on them is throughout in a perfect state of preservation. The five plates are strung on a ring, which passes through a hole about $1\frac{1}{4}$ " distant from the middle of the proper right margin of each plate. This ring is circular, about $\frac{1}{4}$ " thick and between 3" and $3\frac{1}{4}$ " in diameter. The ends of it are flattened off and joined by a bolt, which had not been cut when the plates came into my hands. On the ring described there slides a smaller ring, made of a band of copper, the ends of which are fastened by a rivet which also passes through, and firmly holds, a flat disc of copper about $2\frac{3}{8}$ " in diameter. Undoubtedly this disc was meant to serve as a seal and to bear some writing, but nothing has been engraved on it.³

The plates clearly were intended to record a grant of the Vākāṭaka king Prithivishēna II., but they actually give only the genealogy of the king and break off at the point where his order

¹ I have taken *karambam* to be synonymous with Tamil *karambu*, which, according to Dr. Winslow, means 'hard and sterile ground.'

² This small coin, more popularly pronounced *hāga*, is equal to 'one-fourth of a *laṇa*.'

³ Compare the descriptions of the three sets of plates of Pravarasēna II. in *Gupta Inscr.* pp. 255 and 248 and above, Vol. III., p. 258.

commences. The four inscribed sides contain 35 lines¹ of well-engraved writing. The size of the letters is between $\frac{1}{4}$ " and $\frac{3}{8}$ ". The characters belong to the 'box-headed' variety of the southern class of alphabets and are similar to, but less angular than, those of the Dudia plates of the Vākātaka Pravarasēna II., published with a facsimile above, Vol. III. p. 260. They include the subscript sign of the rare *jh*, in *Ajjhita*^o, l. 31, the sign of the *jihvāmūliya*, in *sūnōh=Kuntalā*^o, l. 30, and forms of the final *t*, in *samrat*, l. 4, and of the final *t* (which does not show in the facsimile), in *vachanāt*, l. 35.² The conjunct *nn* is everywhere written by a sign which is really the sign for *nn* (in *sannivēsita*-, l. 6, *utpannasya*, l. 23, and elsewhere); *visarga* is denoted by two hook-shaped lines (e. g. in *sūnōh*, ll. 11 and 20); the signs for *ḍ* and *ḍ* are well distinguished, e. g. in *-vāsakād*-, l. 1, and *shōḍaśy*-, l. 2; and there are two forms of the letter *v*, e. g. in *-vāsakād*-, l. 1, and *vachanāt*, l. 35.—The language is somewhat ungrammatical Sanskrit, and the text is all in prose. In line 10 a passage of no less than 27 *aksharas* has through carelessness been omitted by the writer. As regards orthography, the rules of *saṁdhi* are constantly neglected (as in the three cognate grants); the (long) *ā* is several times written where the vowel should be short, and (the short) *i* is throughout employed for both *i* and *ī*; the vowel *ri* is used instead of *ri* in *-pauriṇah*, l. 16, and *-śriyāh*, l. 27, and instead of *ri* in *śri*-, ll. 17 and 25. Besides, the dental and lingual nasals are confounded in *kārunya*-, l. 12, *maṇō*-, l. 13, and *-ānūsūriṇah*, l. 20; the word *aṁsa* is written as *ansa* in line 6, and *vaṁsa* as *vaṁsa* in lines 8, 24, 27 and 33; *sh* is doubled after *r* in *varshsha*-, l. 14, and *dh* before *y* in *-addhyaksha*, l. 35. With *°patir-abhya*^o for *°paty-abhya*^o in line 28, where the *r* of *°patir*- looks like a *saṁdhi*-consonant, we may compare *-bbalam-aśvarya*- for *-bbalaiśvarya*- in line 15 of the Dudia plates, above, Vol. III. p. 261, where *m* is used in a similar way.³

With two exceptions, the text down to the word *Pravarasēnasya* in line 26 is practically identical with that of the three published grants⁴ of the Vākātaka king Pravarasēna II.; like those grants, it gives the genealogy of this king, commencing with Pravarasēna I., and enumerating after him his son's son Rudrasēna I., his son Prithivishēna I., his son Rudrasēna II., and his son (from Prabhāvatiguptā, the daughter of the *Mahārājādhirāja* Dēvagupta) Pravarasēna II. Of the exceptions referred to, one is that our inscription commences with *Vēmbāra-vāsakād*-, 'from (his) residence Vēmbāra,' in the place of which the Chammak and Dudia plates of Pravarasēna II. have *Pravarapurāt*-, 'from Pravarapura.' Our grant therefore was to have been issued from Vēmbāra, a place which I have not been able to identify. The other point of difference is that, while the grants of Pravarasēna II. commence with *ḍrīṣṭam*, or *ḍrīṣṭam svasti*, or *ḍrīṣṭam siddham*, this inscription contains no such expression, but at the beginning of line 1, before the word *Vēmbāra*-, leaves an empty space just where one would have expected something like *ḍrīṣṭam*. The omission and the vacant space, in my opinion, are rather significant. Contrary to what I have said in my remarks on the Dudia plates, above, Vol. III. p. 259, I am convinced now that *ḍrīṣṭam* (and the Prākṛit *dīṭham* of the Mayidavōlu and Hiraḥaḍagalli plates⁵) must really be taken in its ordinary sense of 'seen,' and that it is similar to the modern 'true copy' or 'examined' of official letters or Government orders.⁶ Such a remark

¹ In preparing the accompanying facsimile, the last line on the first side of the second plate unfortunately was at first overlooked; it is really line 18, and the lines marked in the facsimile as lines 18–34 are really lines 19–35.

² There is a final *m* in line 27 (line 26 of the facsimile), but it seems to be out of place where it stands.

³ Other passages where *m* looks distinctly like a *saṁdhi*-consonant are *tēna manēka*- for *tēnānēka*- in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX, p. 309, line 10, and *pravāsāyitavyā manyathā* for *pravāsāyitavyā anyathā* in *Gupta Inscr.* p. 257, line 18.

⁴ See above, p. 267, note 2.

⁵ Nos. 617 and 618 of my *Southern List*.

⁶ Compare the remarks of the late Prof. Bühler, above Vol. I, pp. 9 and 10, and of Prof. Hultzsch above, Vol. VI, p. 88. Sir W. H. Sleeman, speaking of certain kings of Oude, in his *Journey through the Kingdom of Oude*, Vol. I, p. 179, says that to their orders a seal was affixed in their presence bearing the inscription *mohalīza shud*, 'it has been seen.' Like *ḍrīṣṭam*, *jūṭam* is used in the body of an inscription in *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, Vol. LXIX, Part I, p. 92, l. 21 (*jūṭam*=*mahāmantri-śrī-Mahakēna*).

could of course have been affixed or prefixed to a document only when it was finished, and it is missing here because our grant was not completed. The engraver apparently acted just as a writer or copyist of the grant would have done.

After Pravarasēna II. our inscription in lines 26-35 mentions his son, the *Mahārāja* Narēndrasēna, and after him his son — born from the queen (*mahādēvī*) Ajjhita-bhaṭṭārikā,¹ a daughter of the lord of Kuntala — the *Mahārāja* Prithivishēna [II.], a devout worshipper of Bhagavat (Vishṇu). Narēndrasēna, 'from confidence' in the excellent qualities previously acquired by him, took away (or appropriated) the family's fortune; his commands were honoured by the lords of Kōsala, Mēkala and Mālava, and he held in check enemies bowed down by his prowess. Prithivishēna II. is described as 'being a receptacle of splendour and forbearance, who raised (his) sunken family.' The name *Prithivishēnasya*, in line 35, is followed by *vachanāt*, 'at his command'; but of the king's order only the words 'all superintendents' are given by these plates.

In the Vākātaka stone inscription published in *Archæol. Survey of W. India*, Vol. IV. p. 124 ff., the verses 10 and 11, which would have given the names of the successors of Pravarasēna II., are unfortunately much mutilated. The name of Pravarasēna's son and successor, 'who, having obtained the kingdom when eight years of age, ruled well,' has quite disappeared, and the son of that unknown king according to the published text was Dēvasēna. As has been stated above, according to our grant Pravarasēna's son Narēndrasēna took away the kingdom (probably from an elder brother), married a daughter of the king of Kuntala, and was succeeded by his son Prithivishēna II. The stone inscription in verse 8 records the defeat of a lord of Kuntala by apparently Prithivishēna I., and in verse 18 speaks of Kuntala, Avanti, Kalinga, Kōsala, Trikūṭa, Lāṭa, Andhra . . . [as having been subjected by one of the later Vākātakas]. According to the present inscription Narēndrasēna had his commands honoured (or obeyed) by the lords of Kōsala, Mēkala and Mālava. The first and last of these three countries are well known. The situation of Mēkala (according to the Topographical List of the Brihatsamhitā in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII. p. 185, a mountain or a people) is indicated by the fact that the river Narmadā is called *Mēkala-kanyā*, 'the daughter of Mēkala, and that that river springs from the hill Amarakanṭak (in Long. 81° 48' and Lat. 22° 40') in the ancient Chēdi country.³

Here and in the cognate plates the Vākātaka kings have the title *mahārāja* followed by the word *śrī* prefixed to their names, and before the title there stands in each case the genitive *Vākātakānām*; e.g. *Vākātakānām mahārāja=śrī-Pravarasēnasya*. Such passages have been hitherto translated as if the genitive *Vākātakānām* were governed by the title *mahārāja*: 'the illustrious Pravarasēna, the great king of the Vākātakas,' or 'the *Mahārāja* of the Vākātakas, the illustrious Pravarasēna.' The matter is not of great importance, but it may be as well to state that from the grammarian's point of view such a construction would be objectionable. In my opinion, the genitive must be taken to qualify, not the title *mahārāja*, but the whole phrase *mahārāja-śrī-Pravarasēna*, and more especially the word *Pravarasēna*, the chief component of the phrase, so that the meaning would be 'the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious Pravarasēna of the Vākātakas,' i.e. 'of the family of the Vākātakas.'⁴ I have already had occasion to point out that we similarly have the genitive *Maitrakānām* in the Valabhi plates, where there is no title by which this genitive could be governed; *Vishṇukunḍinām* above, Vol. IV. p. 195, l. 2; and

¹ The name *Ajjhitadevī* we also find in the Kāritalāi plates of the Mahārāja Jayavātha; *Gupta Inscr.* p. 118.

² The reading of the original text is not absolutely certain here.

³ Compare *Archæol. Survey of India*, Vol. XVII., Plate I., and the verse cited by Dr. Bhandarkar above, Vol. IV., p. 280.

⁴ The same remark applies to the genitive *Bhārasivānām* in line 10 of the inscription.

Kadambânâm in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 26, l. 5 and Vol. VII. p. 35, l. 4, and above, Vol. VI. p. 14, l. 4, and p. 18, l. 5.

The inscription, not having been finished, contains no date of any kind, but it may be assigned with probability to about the second half of the 8th century A.D.

TEXT.¹*First Plate.*

- 1²Vēmbāra-vāsakād=agnishtëm-âptōryyām-ôkthya-
- 2 shôḍaśy-atirātra-vājapēya-brīhaspatisava-sāḍya-
- 3 skra-chaturaśvamēdha-yājinaḥ³ Vishṇuvriddha-sagôtra-
- 4 sya samrāt⁴ Vākātākānām=mahārāja-sri-⁵Pravarasē-
- 5 nasya⁶sūnōs=sūnōḥ atyanta-Svāmi-Mahā-
- 6 bhairava-bhaktasya⁷ ansa-⁸bhāra-sannivēśita-⁹Śiva-
- 7 liṅg-ôdvahana-Śiva-sūparitushta-samutpādita-
- 8 rājavanśānām¹⁰=parākram-ādhigata-Bhāgiratthy-āmala-¹¹
- 9 jala-¹²mūrdhnanābhishiktānām=daśāśvamēdh-āva-

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 10 bhṛitha-snātānām-Bhārasivānām-¹³mahārāja-sri-¹⁴Rudrasē-
- 11 nasya sūnōḥ atyanta-māhēśvarasya saty-ārjjava-
- 12 kārunya(nya)-śauryya-vikrama-naya-vinaya-māhā-
- 13 tmya-dhimatva-pātragatabhaktitva-dharmmāvijayitva-¹⁵maṇ[ô]-¹⁶
- 14 nairmmāly-ādir-¹⁷guṇa-samuditasya varshsha-śata-
- 15 m=abhivarddhamāna-kōśa-daṇḍa-sādhana-santāna-putra-
- 16 pautri(tri)ṇaḥ Yudhishṭhira-vṛittēr-¹⁸Vākātākānām=mahā-
- 17 rāja-sri(sri)-Prithivishēnasya sūnō[h*] bhagavata-
- 18 ś=Chakrapāṇē[h*] prasād-ôpārjjita-sri-¹⁹

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 19 samudayasya Vākātākānām=mahārāja-sri-²⁰Rudra-
- 20 sēnasya sūnōḥ²¹pūrvvarāj-ānuvṛitta-mā[r*]gg-ānu(nu)sā-

¹ From the original plates.

² At the commencement of this line there is an empty space sufficient for about three *aksharas*. One would have expected here the word *drishṭam*, with which the three grants of Pravarasēna II. begin.

³ This sign of *visarga* is clearly visible in the original. Here and in other places below the rules of *sandhi* have not been observed.

⁴ The plates of Pravarasēna II. have *samrād* (?), *sashraṭ*, and *samrāṭaḥ*. Read *samrājah* (or *samrājō*).

⁵ Read -sri-.

⁶ The *akshara* *sū* is clear in the original.

⁷ Here is a mark in the original which looks like the upper half of a *visarga*.

⁸ Read *ansa*.

⁹ In this word and everywhere below the conjunct *nn* is denoted by a sign which is really the sign for *nn*.

¹⁰ Read *vanśānām*.

¹¹ Read -Bhāgiratthy-āmala-.

¹² Read *mūrdhābhī*; compare *Gupta Inscr.* p. 237, l. 6.

¹³ Here the words *mahārāja-sri-Bhavanāga-dauhitṛasya Gautamiputrasya putrasya Vākātākānām* of the cognate plates have erroneously been omitted.

¹⁴ Read -sri-.

¹⁵ Read *dhīmattva-pātragatabhaktitva-dharmmāvijayitva*.

¹⁶ Read -maṇō-.

¹⁷ Read *nairmmāly-ādi*.

¹⁸ Originally *vṛi*²⁰ was engraved.

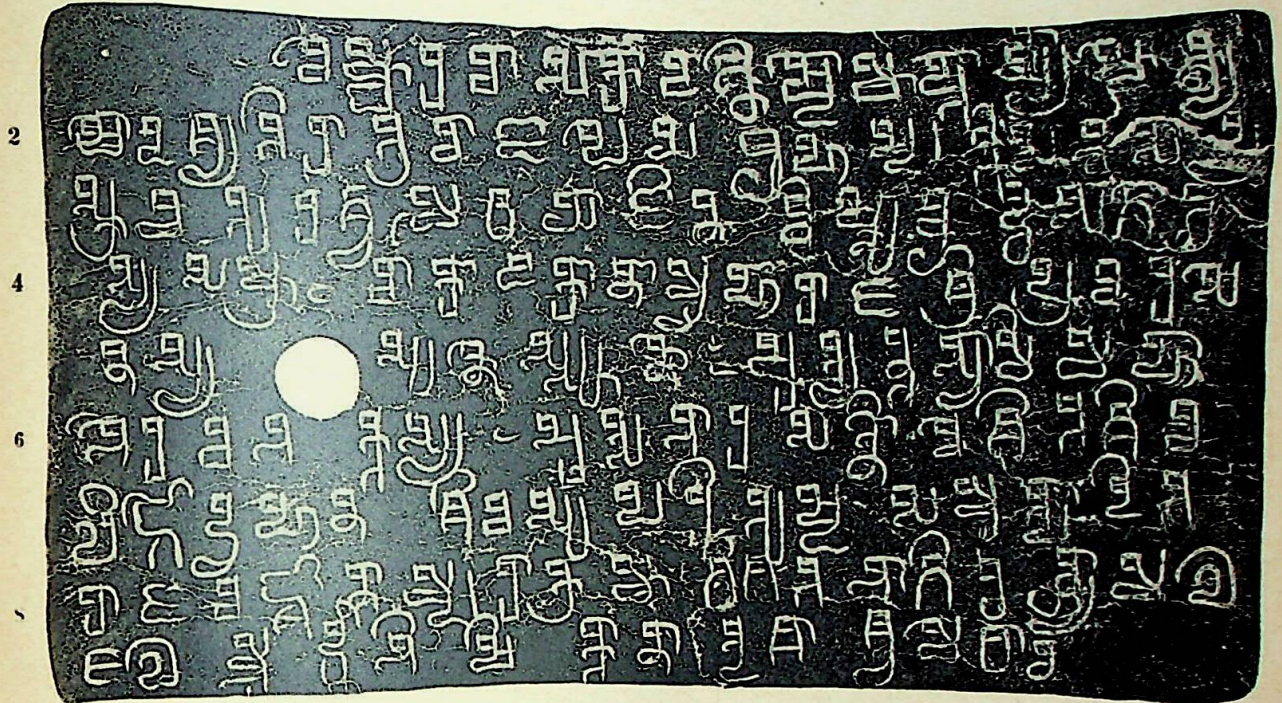
¹⁹ One would have expected *prasādd=upā*.—Read: -sri-.

²⁰ Read -sri-.

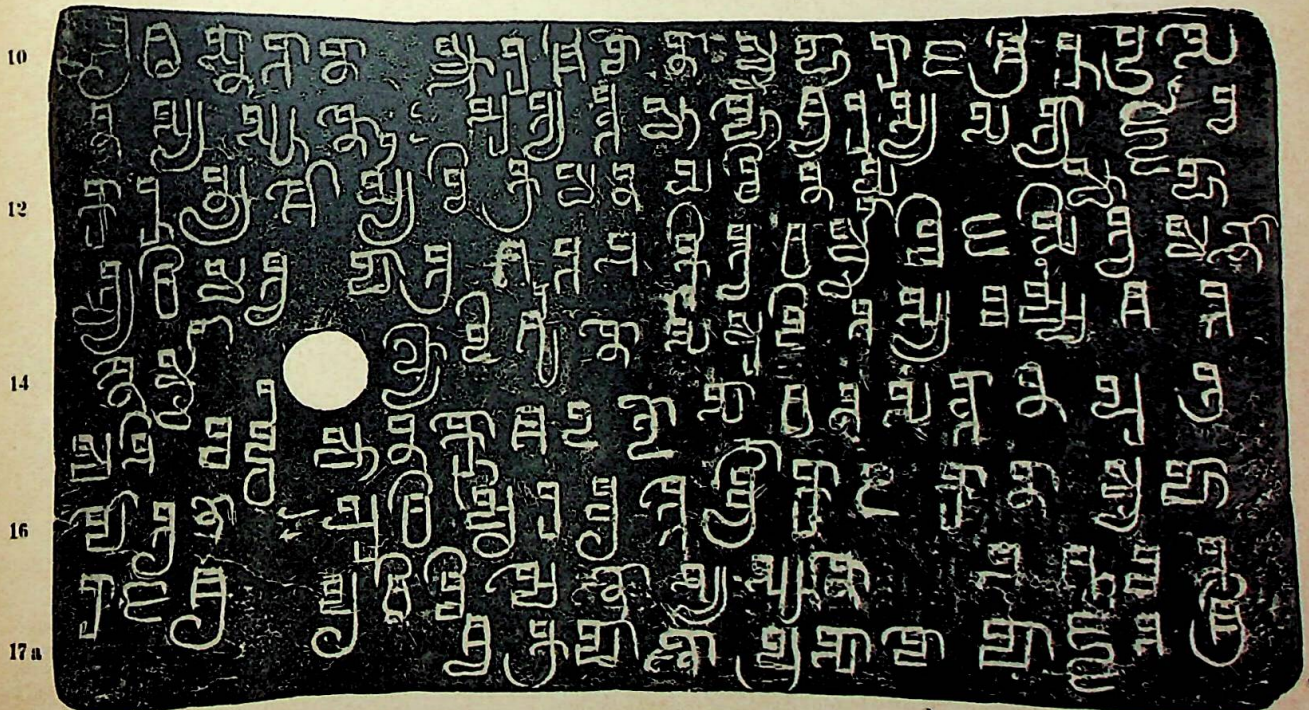
²¹ Of the three grants of Pravarasēna II., only the Siwani grant has the passage from here to *°dvishah*; see *Gupta Inscr.*, p. 246, lines 14 and 15.

Balaghat plates of Prithivishena II.

i.

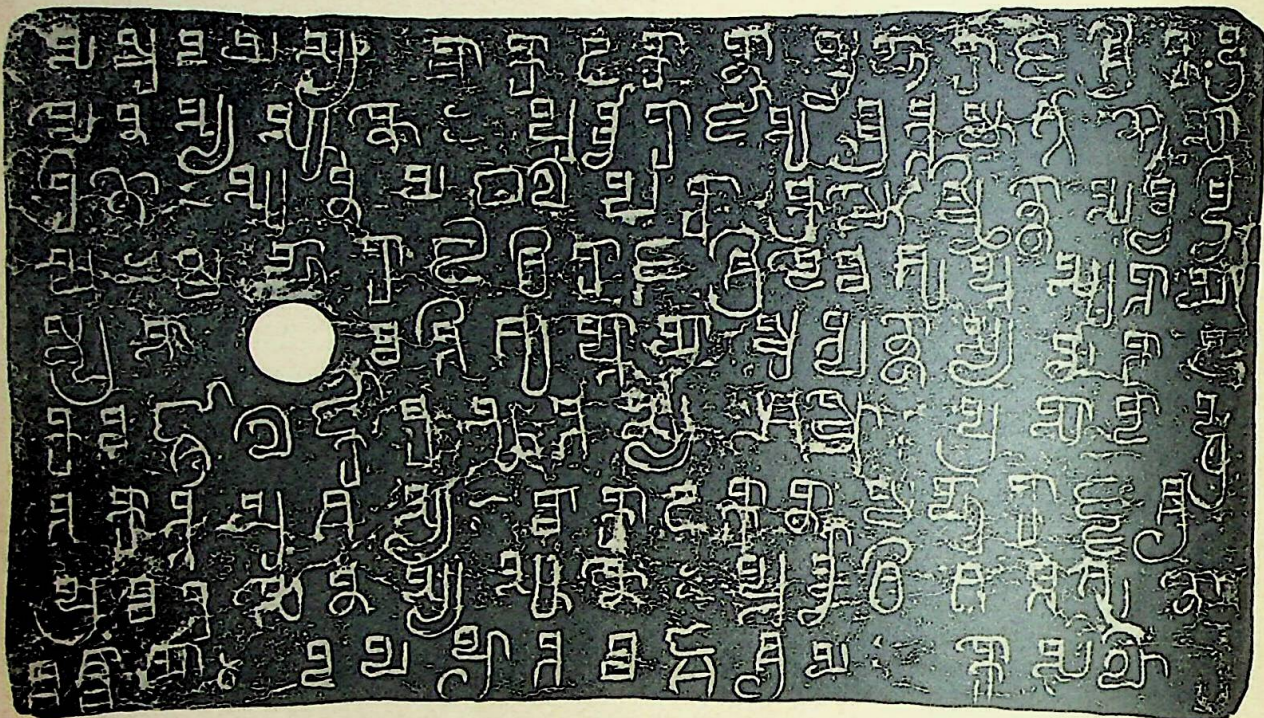


ii a.



ii b.

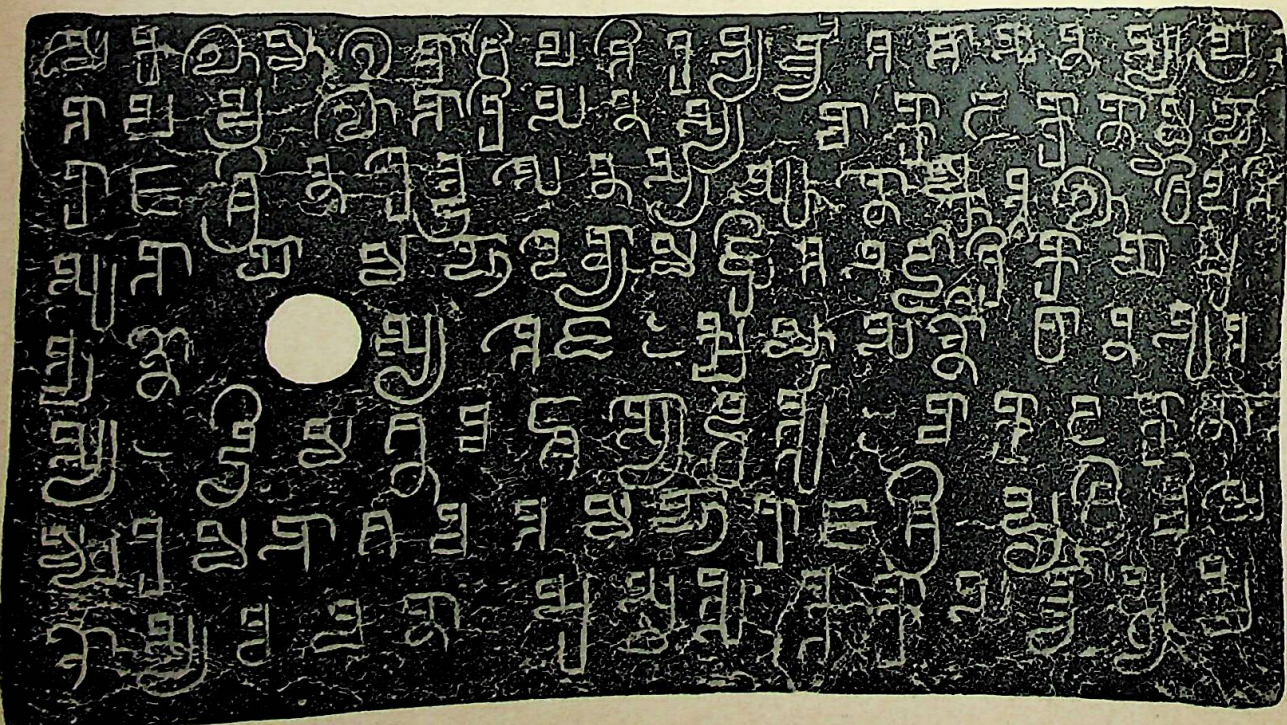
18
20
22
24
26



18
20
22
24
26

iii a.

28
30
32



28
30
32

- 21 riṇaḥ sunaya-bala-parākram-ōmchhinna-¹sarvvaḍvi-
 22 shah mahārājādhirāja-śrī-²Dévagupta-sutāyā-
 23 m=Prabhāvatiguptāyām=utpannasya Vākāṭa-
 24 ³kavaṇś-ālaṇkārabhūṭasya Sambhōḥ prasādād=dhṛa(dhṛi)-
 25 ⁴ta-kārttayugasya ⁵Vākāṭakānā[m*]=mahārāja(ja)-śrī(śrī)-
 26 Pravarasēnasya sūnōḥ pūrvvādhigata-guṇa-
 27 ⁶vi]śvā[sā ?]d=pahṛita-vaṇśaśriyaḥ⁷ Kōśalā-⁸

Third Plate.

- 28 Mēkalā⁹-Mālav-ādhipatir-abhyarchchata-¹⁰śāsanasya pra-
 29 tāpa-pralātārisanasya¹¹ Vākāṭakānām=mahā-
 30 rāja-śrī-¹²Narēndrasēnasya sūnōḥ=Kuntalādhipati-
 31 sutāyā[m*]=mahādēvyām=Ajjhita-bhaṭṭārikāyām=u-
 32 tpannasya tējah-kṣhamā-sannidhānabhūta-¹³
 33 sya¹⁴ dvimagna-vaṇśasya¹⁵ōddharttuh Vākāṭakānā-
 34 m=paramabhāgavata-mahārāja-śrī¹⁶-Prithivishē-
 35 ṇasya vachanāt¹⁷ asmatsantakā¹⁸ sarvv-āddhyaksha-

No. 37.—ORISSA PLATES OF VIDYADHARABHANJADEVA.

By the late Professor F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

There is no information as to where or when these plates were first obtained. In 1887 they belonged to Mr. C. T. Metcalfe, Commissioner of the Orissa Division, and the inscription which is engraved on them was published in that year, with a facsimile, by the late Dr. Rājēndralāl Mitra, in the *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. LVI. Part I. p. 154 ff. In November 1895 the plates were presented by the Commissioner of Orissa, through Mr. C. L. Griesbach, to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and they have now been entrusted to me by Dr. Hoernle, with the request to re-edit the inscription.

There are three substantial copper-plates, the edges of which are slightly raised, and of which each measures between $6\frac{1}{8}$ " and $6\frac{3}{8}$ " long by between $3\frac{3}{8}$ " and $3\frac{1}{2}$ " high. They slide on a copper ring, which passes through a hole, which is about $\frac{5}{8}$ " distant from the middle of

¹ Read -ōchchhinna-.² Read -śrī-.³ Read -kavaṇś-.⁴ Instead of this *ta*- the Chammak and Siwanī grants of Pravarasēna II. have *ti*-, which seems to me preferable.⁵ Here some *akshara* (perhaps the initial *t*) was engraved, but has been erased.⁶ The reading is doubtful. The first *akshara* of the line is *vi*, the superscript *i* of which, though faint, is distinctly visible in the original; and the second appears to be *śvā*. The third *akshara* looks more like *yā* than *śā*, and is followed by a sign which looks like a form of final *m*, and has probably been struck out. The *da* and what follows is clear.⁷ Read -vaṇśaśriyaḥ.⁸ Read Kōśalā-.⁹ Perhaps *Maikālā*- has actually been engraved; read *Mēkalā*-.¹⁰ Read *paty-abhyarchchita*-.¹¹ Read -pranāidrīśsanasya (?).¹² Read -śrī-.¹³ Read *bhūta*-.¹⁴ Here again there is a mark which looks like part of the *visarga*.¹⁵ Read *ni(?)magna-vaṇśasya*-.¹⁶ Read -śrī-.¹⁷ This final *t*, the sign for which is very small, is really visible in the original plate. In *Gupta Inscr.* p. 237.1. 17, the text has *vachanāt* [*t**].¹⁸ Read *santakāś*-, and compare above, Vol. III. p. 261, l. 13.

the proper right margin of each plate. The ring, which had already been cut when the plates came into my hands, is between $\frac{3}{16}$ " and $\frac{3}{8}$ " thick and about 3" in diameter, and on to it is soldered a roughly circular metal seal, between $1\frac{1}{8}$ " and $1\frac{3}{8}$ " in diameter. The seal contains in relief on a countersunk surface, in the upper half, a couching lion facing to the proper right, and in the lower half the legend

*śrī-Vidyādhara-
bhañjadēvasya*

in northern characters which are between $\frac{1}{16}$ " and $\frac{1}{4}$ " high.

Before the plates were used for the grant now engraved on them, they had already served for another grant, the four last lines of which, though faint, are almost completely legible on the first side of the first plate, and of the writing of which more or less distinct traces remain also on the other sides of the plates. The characters of this earlier grant belong to what I have elsewhere¹ called the Gañjām variety of the northern alphabet; and the lines with which it ended, compared with the end of the Gumsūr grant² of Nētribhañja, published in *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. VI. p. 669 f. and Plate xxxiii., would seem to show that the grant was issued by a chief of the same family. The four lines (on the first side of the first plate), so far as I am able to read them, are:—

- L. 1. Svayam-ādishtō rājñā dūtako=tra [Mār]tandah || Likhitañ=cha³
sāndhivi-
2. grahika-Arkka[dēvēna]⁴ || Lāñchhitam [rā]jñī-śrī-Māpikya-mahādē-
3. vyā || Utkirṇam ch=āksha[sā]li-Kumāra[dattēna] || ⁵samvat . . .
4. di⁶ . . . ||

The grant now recorded on these plates is engraved on the second side of the first plate and on both sides of the two others. The engraving is deep and well done, and in a perfect state of preservation. In three places (in lines 10, 22 and 35) there is some doubt about the actual wording of the text, either because the engraver altered what he had originally engraved, or because portions of the letters of the earlier grant spoken of above are mixed up with the new writing; the rest may be read without any difficulty. The size of the letters is about $\frac{3}{16}$ ". The characters belong to that variety of the northern alphabet which we find, e.g. on the Buguḍa plates of Mādhavavarman, treated of above, Vol. VII. p. 101 f. Of the consonant signs the most characteristic are those for *h*⁷ (e.g. in *Harasya Śēshāhēr*, l. 4), *t* and *tt* (e.g. in *prakaṣa*, l. 9, and *-vighattitā*, l. 6), and *ṇ* (e.g. in *-vāṇa-prāṇa*, l. 1), of which the last, in combination with palatals, also serves for the palatal nasal (e.g. in *Bhañjāmala*⁸, l. 14, =*uktañ=cha*, l. 27, and *lāñchhitam*, l. 35). Among other conjuncts attention may be drawn to the signs for *ksh*, *gg*, *gbh*,

¹ See above, Vol. VII., p. 101.

² The published text, which was furnished to Mr. Prinsep by Kamalākānta Vidyānāthkara, is quite untrustworthy. According to Mr. Prinsep's lithograph of Lieutenant Kittoe's copy, the passage with which we are concerned here, so far as I can make it out, would be *svayam-ādishtō rājñā dūtako=tra bhañja-śrī-Stambhadēvaḥ likhitañ=cha sāndhivigrāhikā Kā[kka]kēna utkirṇa[m] ch=ākshaśāli-Durggadēvēna || lāñchhitam . . .*

³ Read *likhitañ=cha*.

⁴ Read *grahik-Arkka*.

⁵ Read *samvat*; the three *aksharas* by which this word is followed are illegible.

⁶ This *di* is followed by a sign which possibly is a letter-numeral for 10; and before the sign of punctuation there is another sign which looks like the symbol for *ōm*. The two signs show fairly well in the accompanying facsimile. I may add that there are letter-numerals also in the last line of the Bāmaṅghāt grant of Raṇabhañja, published with a facsimile in *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. XL. Part I. p. 165 f., and in lines 35 and 36 of one of the Gañjām grants of Daṇḍimāhādēvi, above, Vol. VI. p. 139 and Plate.

⁷ The same sign for *h* (which is not given by our palaeographic Tables) we find in the Buguḍa plates of Mādhavavarman, in the Gumsūr plates of Nētribhañja, and on the second side of the plate of Daṇḍimāhādēvi, above, Vol. VI. p. 138. It was also used in the grant originally engraved on these plates. A similar form of *h* we find in several varieties of the southern alphabet.

dbh and *mbh* (e.g. in *-vikshôbha-daksham*, l. 1, *°vargga*, l. 10, *-Digbhañjadévasya*, l. 12, *=udbhā* at the end of line 4, and *-Stambhadéva*, l. 36). There is a special sign for final *t*, in *-ānyat*, l. 18, *nyat*, at the commencement of line 19, *°jāvat*, l. 21, and *°rādhāt* for *°rôdhāt*, l. 22. Of initial vowels the text contains only *a* (for *ā*), *i*, *u* and *ê*, in *achandrā°*, l. 21, *iva*, ll. 5 and 6, *iti*, l. 33, *Upamany[u]*-, l. 23, *urtkirṇṇa*, l. 38, and *ētaḍ°*, l. 19. As regards medial vowels, *ā* is sometimes denoted by a short superscript stroke or by a small hook on the right of the consonant-sign, as in *lābhañja°* at the commencement of line 13, and in *Bhañjāmala°*, l. 14; and there are two signs¹ of the subscript *u*, one of which may be seen e.g. in *jayatu*, l. 1, and *bhuvana°*, l. 2, and the other in *-sura°*, l. 7, *-ripu°*, l. 10, *Vaṇjulkakā*-, l. 8, and *-vrahubhir*-, l. 27, etc.; the former of the two signs is used also to denote medial *ū*, for which there is no separate sign in these plates. Two forms of medial *ê* may be seen e.g. in *Śēshāhēr=a(i)va yē*, l. 4, and *pra(prā)lēyāchala*-, l. 5; and similarly two forms of medial *ô*, e.g. in *kirttayô vilô°*, l. 35. The sign of *anusvāra* is sometimes placed after the consonant-sign, as in *°padaṁ yathārham*, l. 17. The signs of *virāma* and *avagraha* do not occur, and a sign of punctuation is found only in lines 20 and 25 (where in either case it is out of place) and at the end of the grant. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. There are two verses in lines 1-8, and four imprecatory verses in lines 27-35; the rest of the text is in prose. As regards orthography, the sign for *r* denotes both *v* and *b*; *visarga* at the end of a word is ten times omitted; and single consonants are used instead of double ones in *chatusimā-* for *chatussimā-*, l. 19, *=anurôdhā chz* for *=anurôdhāch=cha*, l. 26, and five or six times in the words *data* and *dati* for *datta* and *datti* (lines 25, 28, 29, 31, 32 and perhaps 23). There is besides some confusion of the short and long vowels, especially in the case of *i* and *î*, where *î* is used instead of *i* no less than nine times (e.g. in *nīkasha*, l. 3, *ripu*, l. 10, *salila*, l. 21, etc.); and *ū*, as has been already stated, is everywhere written by the sign for *u*. A few times the writer or engraver has omitted an *akshara*, as in *Vidyādhahhañja°* for *Vidyādharabhañja°*, l. 15, the chief name of the inscription which is correctly given on the seal; and altogether the grant has been written rather carelessly.

The inscription is one of the devout worshipper of Mahêsvara (Śiva), the ornament of the spotless family of the Bhañjas,² the Mahārāja Vidyādharabhañjadéva, also called king Dharmakalaśa (P), who was a son of Śilābhañjadéva,³ grandson of Digbhañjadéva,⁴ and great-grandson of Raṇabhañjadéva; and its object is to record a grant which was issued by the king from Vaṇjulkakā.⁵ Like the Gumsûr grant of Nêṭribhañjadéva Kalyāṇakalaśa, it opens with two verses which glorify the (third) eye of Hara (Śiva) and invoke the protection of the waves of the divine Gaṅgā. In lines 15-27 the king informs the *Sāmantas*, *Bhōgins*⁶ and others, the [lords of] *vishayas*, and the people generally who dwell in the Ramalavva, *vishaya*, that with pouring out of water he gave the village of Tuṇḍurāva in that district,

¹ Which of the two signs is used, depends on the consonant to which the sign is attached; thus, *k* and *ṣ* always take the curve-shaped sign and *p* and *s* always the straight or hook-shaped sign. In line 17, where the curve-shaped *u* is attached to *p*, the *akshara* intended to be denoted is *pū* (of *pūjayati*), not *pu*; the same remark applies to the *u* of *nīrddhuta°* (for *nīrddhūta°*) in line 11. But in the case of *bhu* and *bhū*, *u* and *ū* are both denoted by the same (curve-shaped) sign.

² Compare e.g. *Gaṅgāmalakulatilaka*, above, Vol. III. p. 18, l. 12, and *Kadamvā(mbā)malakulatilaka*, *ibid.* p. 223, l. 22.

³ In line 5 of the Gaṅjām plates mentioned in Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. II. p. 33, No. 218 (and of which Dr. Fleet has given me an impression), the name is spelt *Śilābhañjadéva*. Above, Vol. III. p. 353, l. 33, a place *Śilābhañjapāṭi*, which was in *Ôḍra-dēsa* (Orissa), is mentioned.

⁴ The name *Digbhañja* also occurs in the Bāmaughāṭi plates of Raṇabhañja, where there can be no doubt about the reading of it.

⁵ The original has *vijaya-Vaṇjulkakāt*.

⁶ Compare e.g. above, Vol. VI. p. 298, l. 18: *-sāmanta-bhōgika-vishayapati-*; *ibid.* p. 142, l. 25 (in one of Daṇḍimahādēvi's grants) we have the term *bṛihadbhōgin*.

rent-free,¹ to the *bhaṭṭa* Dārukhaṇḍī—a son of Śūridēva(?) and grandson of Gaurichandra—of the Upamanyu *gōtra* and Bahvricha *sākhā* (of the Rīgvēda); and he enjoins future kings (*rājaka*) to protect this gift, and (in lines 27-35) quotes four imprecatory verses from the *dharmasāstras*.

The inscription (in lines 35-38) ends with four statements, introduced severally by the participles *lāñchhitam*, *pravēṣitam*, *likhitam*, and *utkirṇam*. About the meaning of the two last there can be no doubt: the grant was written by the *sāndhivigrahika* (or minister of peace and war) Khambha, and engraved by the *akṣhaśālin*² (or goldsmith) Kumārachandra. The term *pravēṣitam* I have not found in similar surroundings in any other grant; but since this word takes the place here of the phrase *svayam=ādishṭō rājā dātakō=tra* of the Gumsūr grant of Nēṭṭribhaṇḍa and of the earlier grant on these very plates³ (where that phrase in both cases appears in company with *lāñchhitam*, *likhitam* and *utkirṇam*), I think that it must likewise be taken to refer to the business of the *dātaka* and that the words *pravēṣitam Kēśavēna* must be translated 'brought (to the donee's) home by (the messenger) Kēśava.' The passage commencing with *lāñchhitam* I am unable to explain properly. According to Dr. Fleet, above, Vol. VII. p. 227, *lāñchhana* denotes the device used on the seals of copper-plate charters, etc., and *lāñchhita* therefore probably means 'furnished with such a device' or 'marked with a seal' (*mudrayā mudritam*).⁴ We find the word in the Buguḍa plates of Mādhavavarman, above, Vol. III. p. 46, l. 50, *lāñchhitam Jayasiṅghēna*; in the Gañjām plates of Prithivivarmaḍeva, above, Vol. IV. p. 201, l. 35, *lāñchhitam nīcha śrī-mā(ma)hādēvyā*; in the grant which was originally engraved on these plates, above, p. 272, *lāñchhitam [rā]jā-śrī-Māṇikyamahādēvyā*, 'marked with a seal by the queen, the glorious Māṇikyamahādēvi'; and it occurs also in the Gumsūr grant of Nēṭṭribhaṇḍa, where the words by which it is followed cannot be made out with confidence.⁵ In the present case our text appears to give us *lāñchhitam śrī-Trikaliṅga-mahādēvyā*, 'marked with a seal by the glorious Trikaliṅga-mahādēvi,'⁶ which would be similar to what we find in the earlier grant on these plates; but these words are followed by *tējadikēna*, which may be corrupt and the meaning of which is quite obscure, and after that again we have the instrumental *śribhaṭṭa-Stambhadēva-mantriṇā*, 'by the minister, the *bhaṭṭa* Stambhadēva,'⁷ which, for want of the meaning of the obscure word, I see no way of connecting with what precedes. It is curious that in at least two of the passages where the word *lāñchhitam* occurs the marking with the seal is stated to have been performed by a queen.

Our inscription contains no date of any kind, and for the present it seems impossible to fix its age even approximately, because we know nothing that is certain about the chiefs of the Bhaṇḍa family during the Middle Ages,⁸ and possess no dated inscriptions with the same alphabet. With all due reserve I would say that the inscription may perhaps be assigned to the 12th or 13th century A.D.

¹ In the wording of the grant the expressions which are characteristic of the locality to which the grant belongs are *sambandha* (in line 19, used in the sense of *sambaddha*), *saliladhārā-puraḥsarēṇa vidhinā*, and *akaravēna* (for which by mistake *karavēna* has been engraved). Compare e.g. above, Vol. III. p. 45, l. 36, and Vol. VII. p. 101.

² On this word, which in Sanskrit is generally spelt *akṣhaśālin* (e.g. in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 276, l. 24, and Vol. XVIII. p. 145, l. 26), see now Prof. Hultsch, above, Vol. VII. p. 107, note 4.

³ See above, p. 272 and note 2.

⁴ According to Yājñavalkya I. 319, the *śāsana* of a king should be *svamudrōparichikṇitam* (i.e. *sva-mudrayā Garuḍa-varāhādī-rūpayōpari bahis=chikṇitam=aḥkṇitam*). And above, Vol. III. p. 302, l. 74, there is a verse according to which a charter becomes faultless when it is *mudrā-suddha*, 'faultless as regards the seal,' etc.

⁵ See above, p. 272, note 2.

⁶ Similar names are *Chōḷa-mahādēvi* and *Gaṅga-mahādēvi*.

⁷ In the Gumsūr grant of Nēṭṭribhaṇḍa the *bhaṭṭa*, the illustrious Stambhadēva, is mentioned as *dātaka*.

⁸ A traditional date in the Śaka year 754 (A.D. 832) is given for one of the Bhaṇḍa (Bhuanu) chiefs in Mr. Sewall's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I, p. 3.

As regards the localities, the inscription mentions Vañjulvaka, from where both this grant and the Gumsûr grant of Nêtribhañja were issued, the Ramalavva *vishaya* and in it the village of Tunḍurâva. I have not found the names of these places on the sheets of the *Indian Atlas* where I have looked for them.

TEXT.¹*First Plate ; Second Side.*

- 1 Om² [||*] ³Jayatu Kusumavâ(bâ)pa-prâpa-vikshôbha-daksharî svaki-
 2 ⁴raṇaparivêshôrjijityâ-⁵jirṇnêndulêkham [||*] tribhuvanabhavan-â-
 3 ntar=dyôtabhâsvat-pradîpam⁶ kanakanî(ni)kasha-gauram vibhrû⁷ nêtram
 4 Harasya [||*] ⁸Sêshâhêr=ava⁹ yê phanâ[h*] pravilasanty-udbhâ-
 5 svarêndu-tvisha[h*] pra(prâ)lêyâchala-śringakôṭṭa(ṭa)ya iva tva-
 6 ṅanti ya(yê)=tyunnatâ[h*] [||*] nṛittâṭôpa-vighaṭṭitâ iva bhujâ râ-
 7 janti yê Sâ[m]bhavâs=tê sarvvâgha-vighâtina[h*] surasa-
 8 rit[t*]ôy-ôrmmayah pânt[u] vah [||*] Svasti [||*] Vijaya-Vañjulvakâ-¹⁰

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 9 d=astî¹¹ śrî-vijaya-nîlayah prakâṭaguṇagaṇa-gra-
 10 sta-samastarî(ri)puvargga[h*]¹² ¹³[śrî-Dharmma ?]kalâśa-nâmâ râ-
 11 jâ nirdhuta¹⁴-kalikalushakalmasha[h*] śrî-Raṇabhañjadêva-¹⁵
 12 sya prapautra[h*] śrî-Digbhañjadêvasya¹⁶ naptâ śrî-Śi-
 13 lâbhañjadêvasya sutah paramamâhêśvarô mâtâpi-
 14 tri-pâdânudhyâtô Bhañjâmalakula¹⁷-tilakô mahârâ-
 15 ja-śrî-Vidyâdha[ra*]bhañjadêvasya¹⁸ kuśâlî Ramalavva-¹⁹

¹ From the original plates.² Denoted by a symbol.³ Metre : Mâlinî.⁴ Originally *raṇapiri* was engraved, but the *i* of *pi* has been struck out.⁵ Read **shaurjijitya*.—Compare *Raghuvamśa* v. 74 : *svakirāṇaparivêśhêdâ-sūnyâḥ pradîpâḥ*.⁶ Read *-pradîpah*.⁷ Read *babhrû*; this word is synonymous with *piṅgala*, and Śiva is *piṅgalâksha*. Compare also above, Vol. VI. p. 200, l. 1 of the text.—The Gumsûr grant has *chêru*. [In a letter which never reached the author I suggested that *vibhrû* is correct and should be translated "brow-less."—S. K.]⁸ Metre : Śârdûlavikrîḍita.⁹ Read *=iva*.¹⁰ These four *aksharas* are quite clear in the original. Dr. Râjêndralâl's text has *Valjalvakâ*. The Gumsûr grant appears to have *Vañjulvakât*, which by Kamalâkânta was misread *Vâchalikâstu*.¹¹ Read *t* | *Astî śrî*.¹² The *visarga* which I have added here and below before *śrî* is not absolutely necessary.¹³ The words in these brackets are conjectural. As will be seen from the facsimile, four *aksharas* were originally engraved here, but they were partly struck out or altered; and the difficulty is enhanced by the fact that remnants of letters which were originally engraved on these plates are mixed up with the new letters. I consider it certain that the first *akshara* is intended to be *śrî* (for *śrî*), and that the last contained the conjunct *mm*.—The corresponding passage of the Gumsûr grant is : *Astî jayaśrî-nîlayah prakâṭaguṇa-grasta-sarvarîpugarvâḥ śrî-Kalyâṇakalâśa-nâmâ râjâ*.¹⁴ Read *nirdhûta*.¹⁵ In the facsimile the first *akshara* (*ra*) of this name might be read *vra* (and was read so by Dr. Râjêndralâl), but in the original it is distinctly *ra*, and what looks like *v* is a remnant of what was originally engraved on the plate.¹⁶ This name is clear in the original; and so is the next. Dr. Râjêndralâl read the two names *Dicabhañja* and *Śilbhañja*.¹⁷ Dr. Râjêndralâl read *Bhañjanala-kula*.¹⁸ Read **dêvas=sa*.¹⁹ The first three *aksharas* of this name are clear in the original; the last might be read *rdhâ*. Dr. Râjêndralâl read *Vamalabhañja*; but regarded the letters as doubtful.

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 16 viśhay-ê yathānivāsi-sāmanta-bhōgi-bhōgyādi¹-vi-
 17 śhaya-janapadaṁ yathārham mānayaṭi pu(pū)jayati vō(bō)-
 18 dhayaty=ādisati ²ch=ānyat sarvvataḥ ³sivam=asmākam=a-
 19 nyat⁴ étad[v]ishaya-samvandha-⁵Tuṇḍ[u]rāvagrāma⁶ chatusimā-
 20 paryantaḥ⁷ grāmō=yam || mātāpitṛōr=ātmanaś=cha puṇy-ā-
 21 bhivṛiddhayê ⁸achandrārkkā-samaṁ kālām yāvat salī(li)lādhā-
 22 rā-puraḥsarēṇa vidhinā guṇ-ānurādhāt⁹ karatvēna¹⁰[bhōgya ?]
 23 Upamanya-¹¹gōtrāya datē-pravarāya¹² Ba(ba)hvrīcha-śyākha-¹³

Third Plate ; First Side.

- 24 ya Gōrichandraḥ¹⁴ naptā Śuridēvasya suta bhāṭṭa-Dāru-
 25 khaṇḍi || nāmnē pratipādītō=smābhis=tad=ēshā datī=ddha-¹⁵
 26 rīma-gauravād=asmākam=anurōdhā¹⁶ cha bhaviśhyad-rājakai[h*]
 27 pratipālaniy=ēty=¹⁷uktañ=cha dharmma-sāstrair-vvahuḥbir=vva-
 28 sudhā datā¹⁸ rājābhi[h*] Sagar-ādibhir-yasya yasya yadā
 29 bhu(bhū)mis=tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ [||*] Sva-dattām para-datā¹⁹ vā
 30 yō harēta vasundharām [||*] sa viśṭhāyā[m*] kṛimī²⁰ bhutvā pi-

Third Plate ; Second Side.

- 31 tṛibhi[h*] saha pachyatē [||*] Mā bhu(bhū)d=aphala-śaṅkā vaḥ para-dat=ē²¹
 32 ti pārthivāḥ [||*] sva-dānāt=phalam=āntyaṁ²² paradat-ānupāla-

¹ The akshara *bhō* of *bhōgyādi* has not come out well in the facsimile, but is quite clear in the original. In my opinion, the word *bhōgi* before *bhōgyādi* is superfluous and has been engraved by mistake ; and for the following *viśhaya-janapadaṁ* I should have expected something like *viśhaya-patīn=jānapadānt=cha*.

² Read *cha* | *Anyat*.—The Gumsūr grant apparently has :—*ādisati cha sarvvataḥ sivam=asmākam=anyat viditam=astu bhavādām=étadvishaya*.

³ Originally *sivim*= was engraved, but the *i* of *vi* has been struck out.

⁴ This second =*anyat* is superfluous.

⁵ Read *sambandha*- (for *sambaddha*).

⁶ Read *grāmat=chatusṣṭmā*.

⁷ Read *paryantō*. The following *grāmō=yam* and the sign of punctuation are superfluous.

⁸ Read *ādhyāyā-chandrārkkā-sama-kālām* ; the following *yāvat* is superfluous.

⁹ Read *anurādhāt*.

¹⁰ Instead of *karatvēna*, we require *akarātēna*, which (like *akarīkṛitya*) occurs often in other inscriptions and is quite distinct in the lithograph of the Gumsūr grant (though Kamalākānta's text gives *ākaratnēna*). The following two aksharas are conjectural. In the Gumsūr grant *akarātēna* is possibly followed by *bhūnjadbhiḥ* (for which the text has *bhāmjadri*).

¹¹ Read *Upamanyu*.

¹² As the word *datta* below is several times written *data*, this might stand for *dattē* (or perhaps *datta*)-*pravarāya* ; but I am unable to explain the expression. In *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXI. p. 256, l. 43, we have *Upamanyava-sagōtrāya* | *Āstiyana-savrahmachārīṇ bhāṭṭaprarava-Vihākarātāmisrāya*, where *bhāṭṭaprarava* is equally obscure. The Upamanyavas had three *pravaras* — Vāsishṭha, Ābharadvasu and Indrapramada ; compare M. Müller, *History of Ancient Sanskrit Lit.*, p. 385.

¹³ Read *sākhā*.

¹⁴ *Gaurichandrasya naptre Śūri(?)dēvasya sūtya bhāṭṭa-Dārukhaṇḍi-nāmnē*.

¹⁵ Read *dattir=ādha*.

¹⁶ Read *dhādhā*.

¹⁷ Read *ēti* | *Uktañ=cha dharmma-sāstrair* | *Bahubhir*.—Metre of the verses up to the commencement of line 33 : Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh).

¹⁸ Read *dattā*.

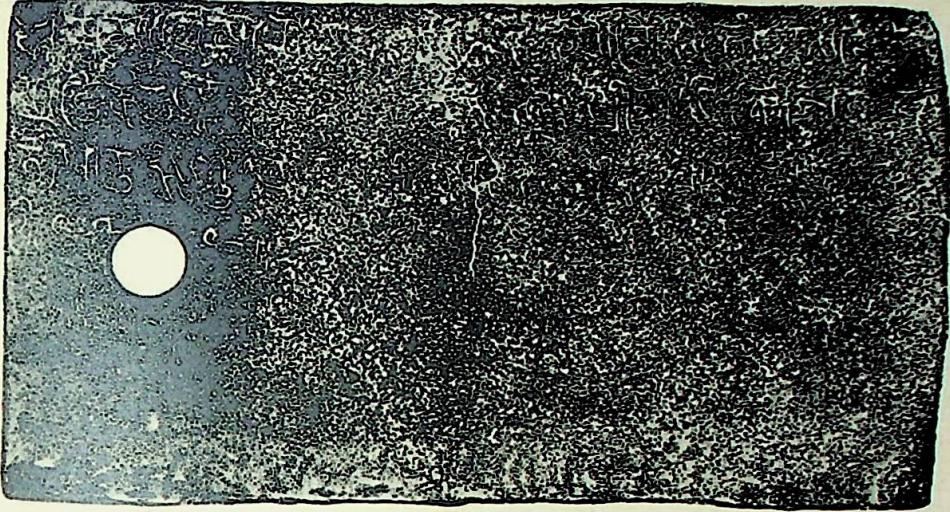
¹⁹ Read *-dattām*.

²⁰ Read *kṛimīr=bhūtvā*.

²¹ Read *-datt=ē*.

²² Read *ānantyaṁ paradat*, as e.g. above, Vol. III, p. 45, l. 48 ; p. 343, l. 26 ; etc. Instead of *ānantyaṁ* other grants have *ānandyaṁ* (above, Vol. III, p. 348, l. 19, p. 353, l. 45), or *anantaṁ* (Vol. III, p. 357, l. 50), or *atyantaṁ* (Vol. VIII, p. 142, l. 25).

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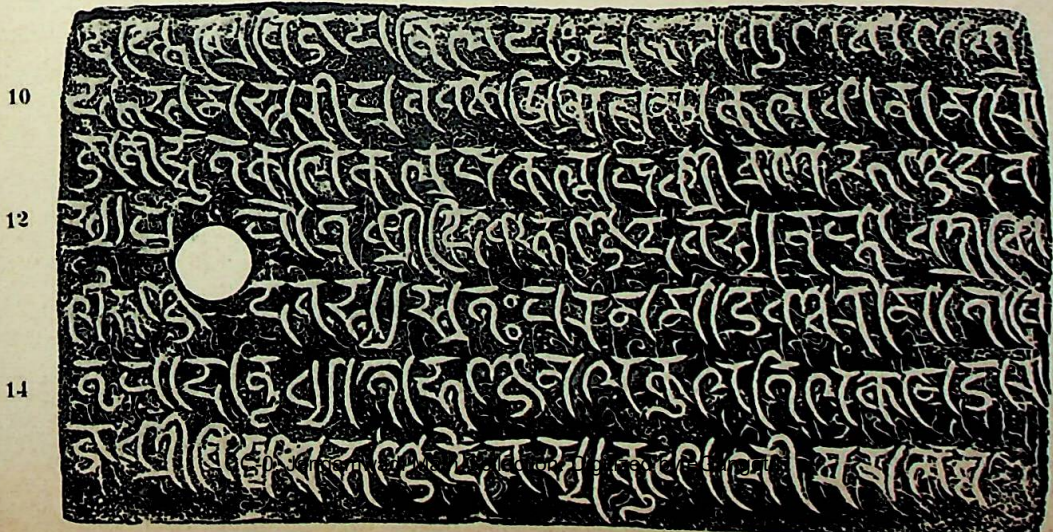


ColloTYPE by Gebr. Plettner, Halle-Saale.

ib.



ii a.



E. Hultzsch.

ii b.

16

18

20

22

iii a.

24

26

25

30

iii b.

32

34

36

3.5

- 33 na(nê)[||*] Iti¹ kamaladalâmvu(mbu)vindu-lôlâ[m*] śriyam=anuchi-
 34 ntya maṇ[u]shya-jivitaṁ=cha² [||*] sakalam=i(i)dam=udâhṛitañ=cha vudhvâ³
 35 na hi [pu]rushaiḥ para-kirttayô vilô[pyâh||*]Lâñchhitam śri-Tri[ka ?]lî-⁴
 36 āga-mâ(ma)hâdēvy[â] tējaḍikēna⁵ śrī-bhaṭṭa-Stambhadēva-mant[r]i(tri)ṇâ⁶
 37 pravêṣita[m*] Kêṣavēna⁷ likhitam ⁸sânddhivigrihi-śrī-Khambhê-
 38 na urtkirṇa⁹ ch=ākshasâli(li)-Kumâracharndēna¹⁰|| tha¹¹ [||]

No. 38.—GHATIYALA INSCRIPTIONS OF KAKKUKA; SAMVAT 918.

By D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A.; POONA.

The subjoined inscriptions are all engraved on a column standing *in situ* in Ghatiyâlâ, twenty-two miles west-north-west of Jôdhpur. The column is not far distant from an old ruined Jaina structure, now called *Mâtâ-kî-sâl*, which contains an inscription edited by Prof. Kielhorn in the *Journ. R. As. Soc.* 1895, p. 516. Further particulars in connection with these ruins will be found in the *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle*, for the year ending 31st March 1907. Inscription No. I is engraved on the eastern, and the remaining ones on the western, face of the pillar. The inscriptions are so weather-worn that it is not possible to take good impressions. With patience and perseverance, however, almost the whole of the inscriptions can be deciphered with certainty on the original stone itself.

Inscription No. I contains 20 lines of writing, which covers a space of 2' 3½" high by 1' 6" broad. The characters agree with those of the inscription found in the *Mâtâ-kî-sâl*. The language is Sanskrit. The first seven lines are in prose. Lines 8—16 contain five verses. Then the date is given in prose in l. 17. Then a verse occurs which is followed by a line in prose. As regards orthography, the letter *b* is only once denoted by the sign for *v*, in *kuṭumvakam*, l. 8; consonants are doubled after *r*; *visarga* followed by *s* has been once changed to that letter in *dēvyâs=sutô*, l. 7; the dental nasal has been used instead of an *anusvâra* before *s* in *°vanśa°*, l. 1; *t* is doubled in conjunction with a following *r*; and *visarga* has been omitted once before the following *sta* in *ayam=ustambhita stambhō*, l. 16.

The inscription opens with obeisance to Vinâyaka (Gaṇapati). Then is set forth in prose a genealogical list of the feudatory Pratihâra family which is brought down to Kakkuka, to whose reign the inscription belongs. It agrees with the lists furnished by the inscription in the *Mâtâ-kî-sâl* and the epigraph of Bâuka found in the Jôdhpur city wall. It is followed up by five verses, the first two of which merely contain conventional praise of Kakkuka without giving any historical information. The third verse says that Kakkuka obtained great renown in the countries of Travani, Va'la and Mâḍa, amongst (the people known as) Ārya, in Gurjjaratrâ, and in Parvata in the Lâṭa country. Most of these names are repeated in verse 16 in the other

¹ Metre: Pushpitâgrâ.² Read *jivitaṁ cha*.³ Read *buddhvâ*.⁴ Read *śrī-Trikali*. A sign of the medial *i*, which was prefixed to the akshara *tri*, has been struck out. In the place of *ka* (?) another letter was originally engraved.⁵ With the exception of the *d* in brackets, the nine *akṣaras* at the beginning of the line are clear in the original.⁶ The *vâ* at the end of the line and the *vâ* at the commencement of the next line, which show in the facsimile, seem to me to be remnants of the inscription which was previously engraved on these plates.⁷ The *akṣaras* *śavē* of this word contain certain marks which were not engraved by the engraver of the present inscription and which were struck out by him.⁸ Read *sânddhivigrahi-śrī* or *sânddhivigrahika-śrī*.⁹ Read *utkirṇam*.¹⁰ Read *°chandrēna*.¹¹ For this mark, which is distinctly *tha*, compare e.g. *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVII, p. 140, note 45.

inscription of Kakkuka in the *Mâtâ-kî-sâl*. Thus, Travaṇi is the same as Tamaṇi there, and also occurs in this unaltered form in verse 18 of the Jôdhpur inscription of Bâuka. Similarly, Valla is mentioned in both these inscriptions. Mâḍa is given in the *Mâtâ-kî-sâl* inscription in conjunction with Maru (*Maru-Mâḍa*). Jêśalmêr is still called Mâḍa, and Maru proper can only be the Sheo, Mallâṇi and Pâchpadrâ districts of the Jôdhpur State. Ârya and Gurjaratrâ are doubtless the Ajja and Gujarattâ of the *Mâtâ-kî-sâl* inscription. Ârya is unidentifiable, but is perhaps the same as that mentioned in Varâhamihira's *Bṛihat-saṃhitâ*, Cap. V, v. 42. Gurjaratrâ, as has been shown by me elsewhere,¹ comprised the districts of Dîḍwânâ and Parbatsar of the Jôdhpur State. Lâṭa, as was also pointed out by me, embraced about this time the larger portion of the present Gujarât of the Bombay Presidency.² Parvata, which is apparently said to be in Lâṭa, is unknown to me. Does Parvata, however, here simply mean a mountain and refer to some such inroad of Kakkuka as that mentioned in the expression *gahîṭṭa gôhaṇâṇi girimmi* in verse 17 of the *Mâtâ-kî-sâl* record? Or perhaps Parvata may be taken to be a distinct country, and connected with the *Pârvatîyas* of the *Bṛihat-saṃhitâ*, Cap. XVII, v. 16.

Verse 4 of our inscription tells us that Kakkuka erected two columns, one at Rôhimsaka and the other at Maḍḍôdara. Exactly the same information is conveyed by verse 21 of the *Mâtâ-kî-sâl* record, excepting that for Rohimsaka we have there Rôhimsakûpa. Rôhimsaka is undoubtedly the same as this Rôhimsakûpa or the Rôhimsakûpaka of our inscription No. 2, and is to be identified with Ghaṭiyâḷâ. Maḍḍôdara, it can scarcely be seriously doubted, is Maṇḍôr, five miles north of Jôdhpur, which is locally believed to have been a seat of Pratihâra power and is full of very ancient ruins, and where a fragment of a Pratihâra inscription was discovered by me last season.³ The next verse informs us that the column on which the inscription has been incised was erected by Kakkuka. Precisely the same information is given by verse 21 of the *Mâtâ-kî-sâl* inscription. Then follows the date Samvat 918 Chaitra-sudi 2 budhê Hasta-nakshatrê, the same as that mentioned in the latter inscription. And further we are told that here a market was established, and the village peopled with *mahâjana*, i.e. big folk. The very same thing is alluded to in verse 20 of the *Mâtâ-kî-sâl* record. The inscription really ends here so far as the purport of it is concerned, but a verse follows which has something of the character of a *subhâshita*. Its chief interest, however, lies in the fact that it was composed by Śrî-Kakkuka himself, as the line in prose at the end informs us.

Inscription No. II contains 11 lines of writing covering a space of 1' 3" high by 1' 2½" broad. Excepting the opening words *Om siddhih*, it is in verse up to l. 9, and the rest in prose. The palæography and orthography do not call for any remarks other than those made in connection with inscription No. I. The first verse invokes the blessings of Vinâyaka (Gaṇapati) who, we are told, was placed on the column to ensure prosperity, and, as a matter of fact, the

¹ *Journ. Bo. As. Soc.* Vol. XXI., pp. 414-415.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 413-414.

³ Another ancient name of Maṇḍôr is Mâṇḍavyapura mentioned in verse 10 of the Jôdhpur inscription of the Pratihâra Bâuka. In the *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle*, for the year ending 31st March 1907, p. 30, I have said that though this inscription stone was found in the city wall of Jôdhpur, it must originally have been at Maṇḍôr, as all stones for the fortification of the fort had been brought from the latter place. This conclusion is confirmed by the first *pâda* of the verse just referred to, which is *Mâṇḍavyapura-durgê-asmin*. The word *asmin* shows that the stone originally was at Mâṇḍavyapura, i.e. Maṇḍôr. Mâṇḍavyapura, again, is spoken of both as a city and fort, and Maṇḍôr remained so till the prince Jôdhâ removed his capital from there to Jôdhpur. Even to this day some of the portions of the ramparts of Maṇḍôr have been preserved. As the verse in question states that certain Pratihâra brother princes erected ramparts round Mâṇḍavyapura fort, it is plain that it was in the possession of the feudatory Pratihâra princes. This is also corroborated by the fact mentioned in the text that last season I found a part of a stone inscription belonging to the Pratihâras. In it the name of Kakkuka could be distinctly read, and some reference to his son made therein could also be traced. But who that son was — whether Kakkuka or Bâuka — is not certain. The name Mâṇḍavyapura occurs even so late as V. E. 1319 in the Sâṇdhâ hill inscription of Châchigadêva (above, Vol. IX., p. 78, l. 36).

pillar is surmounted at the top by a quadruple image of Gaṇapati, facing the cardinal directions. The next verse informs us that the village of Rôhinsakûpaka (Ghaṭiyâḷâ) had formerly become unsafe on account of the Âbhîras (Ahîrs),¹ and had consequently not been a place of residence for good people. Verses 3 and 4 tell us that Kakkuka, the favourite son of Kākka, of the Pratihâra race, constructed a market place decorated with variegated streets, went to the houses of Brâhmaṇas, Kshatriyas (*prakṛiti*)² and Vaiśyas, and, promising them means of livelihood, established the *mahâjana*, the big folk there. We thus fully understand what the *Mâtâ-ki-sâl* epigraph and our inscription No. I mean by saying that Kakkuka established a *haṭṭa* and *mahâjana* at Rohinsaka or Rohinsakûpa. Owing to its being infested by the Âbhîras, whose predatory instincts even to the present day are not quite extinct, the place must have become deserted, but it was re-peopled by Kakkuka by inducing men of the three principal castes to come and reside there, after he had defeated and ousted the Ahîrs. The verse following expresses a wish for the permanence of the prosperity of the *mahâjana*, and of the fame of Kakkuka. Then follows the date Samvat 918 Chaitra Sudi 2 which, though the further details of it are not given, is, it will be seen, identical with that specified in our inscription No. I and the *Mâtâ-ki-sâl* epigraph. Next, we are informed that the inscription was written by a *Maga*, called Mâtriravi, and was engraved by the goldsmith Kṛishnêśvara, doubtless the same who incised the Jôdhpur inscription of the Pratihâra Bâuka. It is followed up by the name of the *sûtradhâra* or mason who probably dressed the stone and erected the column, but the name is lost.

The fact that Mâtriravi is called a *Maga* is very interesting. On the original stone the letters *ma* and *gâ* are quite distinct, and, though *na* is not so distinct, it is clear enough. No reasonable doubt need, therefore, be entertained as to Mâtriravi being spoken of as a *Maga*. *Maga* is another name for the *Śākadvîpiya* Brâhmaṇas, about whom the late Professor Weber wrote a very learned and exhaustive paper. Round about Jôdhpur there is a class of Brâhmaṇas known as *Sêvaks*, most of whom are religious dependants of the Ôsvâl Śrâvaks. They call themselves *Śākadvîpa* Brâhmaṇas, and know that their story is told in the *Nâmagrantha* of the *Sûrya-purâṇa* and also in the *Bhaviṣya-purâṇa*. That the *Śākadvîpiyas* were originally foreigners has been clearly shown by Professor Weber. But it is only our inscription that furnishes a specific date, *vis.* V. E. 918, when we can positively assert that *Magas* lived and were known by this very name in Râjputânâ at least.

Inscription No. III is of two lines containing nothing but verse 5 of Inscription No. I. Inscription No. IV consists of four lines containing two verses. They possess the flavour of *subhâshitas*, and have each one and the same last *pâda*, saying that six things are dear to Kakkuka. What those six things are has been specified in the verses themselves.

No. I.

TEXT.³

- 1 ओं विनायकाय नमः ॥ आसीद्यतीहारवन्धगुरु-⁴
- 2 सहजः⁵ श्रीहरिचन्द्रः [।*] अनेन राज्ञीक्षत्रियभद्राया जा-
- 3 तः श्रीमान्मुतः श्रीरज्जिलः [।*] अस्माच्छ्रीनरभटः [।*] अ-

¹ For some remarks on Ahîrs, see *Journ. Bo. As. Soc.* Vol. XXI. pp. 430-433; for fuller information still, see my monograph contributed to the *Ethnographical Survey of Bombay*.

Prakṛiti, which is the same as *pay-i* in verse 20 of the *Mâtâ-ki-sâl* inscription, here doubtless signifies the Kshatriya class, as it is distinguished both from the *vipra* (Brâhmaṇa) and *vaṇik* (Vaiśya) classes. This is rather an unusual sense of the word, and so far I have not seen it used in this sense anywhere else.

From the original stone.

⁴ Read 'वंश'.

⁵ Read 'सहजः'.

- 4 तः श्रीनागभटः [1*] अतः श्रीतातः [1*] अतोपि श्रीयशोवर्धनः [1*]
 5 अस्माच्छ्रीचन्दुकः [1*] अतः श्रीशोलुकः [1*] अस्माच्छ्री[भट्ट]ः [1*] अतः
 6 श्रीभिक्खादित्यः [1*] अतः श्रीगुणान्वितः श्रीकक्कः [1*] अनेन
 7 राज्ञीश्रीदुर्लभदेव्यास्तुतो जातः श्रीकक्कः ॥
 8 सन्तः कुटुम्बकं¹ यस्य स्थिरः कामः सितं यशः ।
 9 विपुला चपलं² बुद्धिराग्रही गुणसंग्रहे ॥ [1*]
 10 न्यायभंगी भवेत्कीपो रागोपि जनपाल[ने] ।
 11 गुरुभ्यश्च भयं यस्य भूषणं दीनरक्षणं ॥ [2*] येन
 12 प्राप्ता महाख्यातिस्त्रवण्यां वल्लभाडयोः । आर्ये-
 13 षु गुर्जरक्षायां लाटदेशे च पर्वते ॥ [3*] तेन मङ्गोदरे स्त-
 14 भस्तथा रोहिन्सके कृतः । उभावप्युन्नतिं नीती स्वपक्षा-
 15 विव जन्मदौ ॥ [4*] श्रीमत्कक्कवीरेण कुलदीपेन
 16 धीमता । अयमुस्तम्भित³ स्तम्भो यशःस्तम्भ इवोन्नतः ॥ [5*] संव-
 17 त् ८१८ चैत्रशुदि २ बुधे हस्तनक्षत्रे । अत्र हट्टो महाजनस्य
 18 स्थापितः ॥ श्री [1*] यौवनं विविधैर्भोगैर्मध्यमं च वयः
 19 श्रिया । वृद्धभावश्च धर्मेण यस्य याति स पुण्यवान् ॥ [6*]
 20 अयं श्लोकः श्रीकक्केन स्वयंकृतः⁴ ॥

No. II.

TEXT.⁵

- 1 श्री सिद्धिः [1*] दिवा रात्रौ च संध्यायां — — —
 2 — संकुले । सिद्धिं करोतु सर्वत्र स्तम्भधामा वि[ना]-
 3 यकः ॥ [1*] रोहिन्सकूपकग्रामः पूर्वमासीदना-
 4 श्रयः । असेव्यः साधुलोकानां आभीरजनदारुणः ॥ [2*]
 5 विचित्रवीथिसंपूर्णं हट्टं कृत्वा गृहाणि च । विप्रव-
 6 णिग्रक्ततीनां गृहं गत्वा प्रियेण च ॥ [३१] श्रीमत्कक्कस्य पुत्रेण
 7 सत्यतीहारजातिना । कक्केन स्थितिं दत्वा स्थापितोत्त महा-
 8 जनः ॥ [४*] महाजनस्य सद्बुद्धिः लाभः⁷ पूजा सुखं भृतिः । श्री-
 9 कक्कस्य कुन्दाभा कीर्त्तिर्भवतु शाश्वती ॥ [५*] संवत् शते ८१८ चै-

¹ Read कुटुम्बकं² Read सुस्तम्भित.

placed over °kri°.

³ From the original stone.⁴ I do not understand the position of चपलं here.⁵ Read स्वयं कृतः; the *anusvāra* of °yam° must have been inadvertently⁶ Read °लोकानामाभीर°.⁷ Read सद्बुद्धिर्लाभः.

- 10 त्रसुदि २ [*] लिखितं मगे[न] मातृविणा [*] उत्कीर्णं हेमकारिण
[क]ण्णे-
- 11 श्वरेण ॥ सूत्रधारोच्च नि..... विष्णु ॥

No. III.

TEXT.

- 1 श्री[मत्त]कुक्कवीरेण कुलदीपे[न] धीमता । अ-
2 यमुत्तम्भित स्तम्भो यश[*]स्त[म्भ] इवीचतः ॥

No. IV.

TEXT.¹

- 1 श्री[*] वल्लकी काकलीगीतं शरच्चन्द्रश्च मालती ॥
2 विनीता स्त्री सतां गोष्ठी ककुकस्य ²पृयाणि षट् [॥१*]
3 न्यायमार्गो ³गुरोर्भक्ति[*] पुच्छे स्नेहः कृतज्ञता ॥
4 प्रिया वाग्नागरो वेषः ककुकस्य पृयाणि⁴ षट् ॥ [२]

No. 39.—SARANGARH COPPER PLATES OF MAHA-SUDEVA.

BY HIRA LAL, B.A., NAGPUR.

Sarangarh is the capital of a feudatory State of the same name in the Chhattisgarh division of the Central Provinces, 32 miles south of Raigarh, the capital of another State and a station on the Bengal-Nagpur Railway. The chiefs of these two States are Rāj-Gōṇḍṣ. The plates in question are in the possession of the Rāj family and first came to my notice in the beginning of the year 1903 at my last visit to Sarangarh. As they were locked up and the keys were not available at the time, the then Superintendent of the State, Rai Sahib Ālam Chand, promised to send them to me when I asked for them, but my reversion to the executive duties before I could return to head-quarters, followed by Paṇḍit Ālam Chand's retirement from service, left them where they were, until the present Superintendent, Munshī Akbar Khān, took active steps in the matter at the instance of Rai Bahadur Pandā Baijnath, B.A., Diwān of the Bastar State, and sent them on to me on the 7th January 1908. Thus the recovery of the plates first discovered over forty years ago is as much due to the interest of the above gentlemen as to the readiness of Rāja Jawāhar Singh to lend them for examination.

The exact date and the details of the first discovery are not now forthcoming, but the plates are said to have reached the Bengal Asiatic Society on the 7th December 1864.⁵ Dr. Rājendra Lāl Mitra published them in that Society's Journal in 1866, where he stated that they were presented to the Society by Lieutenant G. Bowie of the Sambalpur Police Corps, but when Dr. Fleet wrote his Gupta inscriptions about 1888, and searched for the plates, he could not

¹ From the original stone.² Read प्रियाणि.³ Read गुरोर्भक्तिः.⁴ Read प्रियाणि.⁵ See *Journ. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXV., p. 195 ff.

find them. He then recorded that as the published version was not sufficiently reliable to be reproduced he was unable to include this inscription in his volume.¹

The fact appears to be that the plates were never presented to the Society. They were simply lent by and finally returned to the owner, the Sârangarh family, whose State was in those days included in the Sambalpur district, now transferred to Bengal.

These facts combined with the absence of a facsimile copy of the record in Dr. Rājendra Lal's notice, together with certain misreadings of the text, afford, I venture to think, sufficient reasons for re-editing this inscription.

There are two copper plates, each measuring $6\frac{1}{2}'' \times 3\frac{1}{2}''$, and the weight of the two together is 12 ozs. $5\frac{1}{2}$ drs. About 1" from the proper right margin each plate has a hole, roundish on one side and squarish on the other, the diameter being about $\frac{7}{16}''$. These were intended for stringing the plates on the ring, the loss of which has deprived our inscription of its last portion, which must have been engraved on a third plate. The lost plate must have contained about 5 or 6 lines² which can almost be restored from other inscriptions of the same king, and of Mahā-Jayarāja, all of which are composed in exactly the same wordings, the names of villages granted and the donees being of course different. In our inscription only some of the imprecatory verses are lost as also the date at the end, which of course cannot be restored. Judging from other inscriptions of this king the date must have been in regnal years, so that it could not have been of much help beyond fixing the priority or otherwise of our inscription as compared with others.

The plates recovered are in an excellent state of preservation. One is inscribed on one side and the other on both in characters of the box-headed variety of the Central Indian alphabet. The letters are very neatly and well formed, their average size being about $\frac{1}{4}''$. The accompanying plate gives a facsimile copy, from impressions kindly taken for me by Mr. T. G. Green, Superintendent of the Government Press, Nagpur.

The language is Sanskrit prose except the usual imprecatory verses, here attributed to Vyāsa. As regards orthography, there is very little to be noticed beyond what has been already done by Dr. Konow with regard to another inscription of the same king recently found at Khariar.³ As the composition is almost identical, the peculiarities are common to both. The *upadhmnāya* occurs in line 3 in *-pradaḥ=parama-*. The same sign, viz. 2 dots, has been used for *visarga* and a pause. Ordinarily *mātrās* for *u*, *ṛi* and *ḷi* alone are attached at the foot of letters, but in this inscription there is a curious example in line 12 where the sign for *ḍ* in *anumōditah* is partly exhibited by a top and partly by a foot stroke, all other *ḍ*'s being represented by the top strokes for *ā* and *ē*; compare *vikramōpanata-* of line 1.

The inscription was issued from the town of Śarabhapura and records the grant of a village named Chullaṇḍaraka situated in the *bhukti* or subdivision of Tuṇḍaraka by the Queen and the royal family of Rāja Mahā-Sudēva and assented to by him, to a number of learned priests, viz. Bhāskaravāmi, Prabhākaravāmi, Barbbarivāmi, Bōtasvāmi, Dattasvāmi, Vishṇusvāmi, Phalḡusvāmi, Svāmikīrttisvāmi and Śaṁkaravāmi, all of the Kauśika *gōtra*. One of these, Vishṇusvāmi, is apparently identical with the donee of the Khariar plates. He also belonged to the Kauśika *gōtra* and received a village in the Khariar zamindārī from this king. Neither these two nor the third charter of this king, which was obtained from Raipur, throw any light on the dynasty to which he belonged or on

¹ *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 193, footnote 2.

² Eighteen lines of our inscription remain; the Khariar plates have 23 lines, the Ārang plates of Jayarāja 24, and the Raipur plates of Sudēva 28, but these last ones are much smaller in size than the others. Our plates are slightly bigger than all the three sets.

³ See above, pp. 170 and ff.

2
 4
 6

11a

8

10

12

14 16 18

14 16 18

his date. Dr. Konow has conjectured that the Śarabhapura kings might have been Rāshtrakūṭas. They were ascendant in the Central Provinces about the 8th century to which period the characters of our inscription belong. But Dr. Konow, for reasons pointed out by him, regards the identification as yet very doubtful.

Of the geographical names occurring in the inscription Śarabhapura, which recurs in the other two grants of Mahā-Sudēva, and in the Ārang plates of Mahā-Jayarāja, has not yet been identified. I identify Tundāraka with the present Tūndrā, about 6 miles south of Seorī Nārāyan on the Mahānadi and about 35 miles west of Śārangarh. It is now included in the Balōdā Bazār tahsil of the Raipur district. The village Chullaṇḍaraka must have been somewhere close to Tūndrā, but I am at present unable to trace it. If it exists we would now find the name in a form like Chulāndur, a characteristic Chattisgarhi name, some similar ones which I remember being Machāndur, Palāndur, Kachāndur, etc. It appears to me that another village granted by Mahā-Sudēva in his Raipur charter was not very far away from Tūndrā. It is called Śrisāhikā,¹ which I take to be the present Sirsāhi, also included in the Balōdā Bazār tahsil, and situated about 25 miles south-west of Tūndrā. Mahā-Jayarāja of the Ārang plates, who belonged to the same dynasty, also seems to have granted a village in the same part of his kingdom, viz. Pārvā,² which I identify with Pāngarh,³ about 21 miles north of Tūndrā and included in the Jānjgir tahsil of the Bilāspur district. Pārvā and Śrisāhikā are stated to be included in the Pūrvarāshṭra or Eastern country, and we know from the Khariar plates that to the south the kingdom extended at least up to Khariar. This leads to the inference that the territories of Mahā-Sudēva included a large portion of Mahā-Kōsala, or roughly speaking Chattisgarh division.

TEXT.⁴

First Plate.

- 1 Om⁵ svasti [||*] Śarabhapurād=vikkram-ōpanata-sāmanta-makuṭa-chūḍāmaṇi-prabhā-pra-
- 2 sēkāmbu-dhōta⁶ pādāyugalō ripu-vilāsini-simant-ōddharāṇa-hētur=vvasu-
- 3 vasudhā-gō-pradaḥ=paramabhāgavatō mātā-pitrī⁷ pād-ānuddhyātaś=śrī-Mahā-Sudē-
- 4 va-rājāḥ Tunḍaraka-bhuktiya-Chullaṇḍarakē prativāsi-kṇṭumbinas=sa-
- 5 māñjūpayati [||*] Veditam=astu vō yath=āyam grāmaḥ tridaśapati-sadana-sukha-
- 6 pratishṭhākarō yāvad=ravi-śāsi-tārā-kirāṇa-pratihata-ghōrāndhakāraṇ ja-

Second Plate; First Side.

- 7 gad=avatisṭhatō tāvad=upabhōgyas=sanidhis=sōpanidhir=achātābhaṭapravēśya-
- 8 sarvva-kara-visarjitaḥ rājya-mahādēvi-⁸rōjakulaiḥ mātāpitrōr=ātmanas⁹=cha pu-
- 9 ṇy-ābhivṛiddhayē udakapūrvvaṇ ¹⁰Kōśika-sagōtra-trisahasravidya-Bhāskaravāmi-
- 10 Prabhākaravāmi-Barbharisvāmi-Bōtasvāmi-Dattasvāmi-Vishṇusvāmi-
- 11 Phalgusvāmi-Svāmikirttisvāmi-Śaṅkarasvāminā[m*] tāmbraśāsanēn=ātisṛi-
- 12 shṭō bhūtv=āsmābhir=anumōditaḥ [||*] Tō yūyam=ēvam=upalabhy-aishām=ājñāśrava-

¹ Gupta Inscriptions, p. 197.

² Ibid, p. 192.

³ The adjunct garh seems to have been added when a mud fort, which still exists, was built there.

⁴ From the original plates.

⁵ Expressed by a symbol.

⁶ Read -dhautā-. [It is possible that the sign read as ḍ here and in Kōśika, l. 9, should be read as au. The two mātrās are separated by an interval, which is not the case where ḍ is intended. This remark also applies to the other plates of this king.—S. K.]

⁷ Read -pitri-.

⁸ Read -rājakulaiḥ.

⁹ Read -ātmanas-.

¹⁰ Read Kausika-.

puṇyābhivṛddhayaś in l. 8 with *vṛihadbhōgikādhikaraṇāny=ēva*, l. 7. The *ē* mark is unusual in *-pūrvvakēṇ=ā-* in l. 9.

- (b) It is interesting to note that this Cuttack grant shows a greater affinity to the Muṇḍēśvarī inscription than does the Gañjām grant of Śaśāṅka,¹ while the latter shows a marked affinity to the Bōdh Gayā inscription of Mahānāman of the Gupta year 269.² Thus the *ya* in the Bōdh Gayā inscription and the Gañjām plate is bipartite, while in the Muṇḍēśvarī inscription and the present grant it is of the usual early Gupta type, i.e. tripartite. Similarly the lingual *sha* in our grant and the Muṇḍēśvarī inscription shows a cursive base line unlike the acute angle type of the Bōdh Gayā and Gañjām inscriptions. This form of *sha* is also to be found in the Nepal inscription of the year 316.³
- (c) The presence of the acute angle is noticeable only in the dental *sa* and *ma*, as is also the case in the Muṇḍēśvarī inscription. But some letters show a well-defined acute angle at their lower extremities in alternative cases; cf. the *dha* in *-hārādhigama-* (l. 5) with that in *-dīdhiti-* in l. 3, and *vṛihadbhōgikādhikaraṇāny=* in l. 7.
- (d) The characters of our grant differ from those of the Muṇḍēśvarī inscription in so far as the lingual *na* in the latter is exactly similar to the *na* of the early Gupta type, while the *na* in our grant has larger space between the right and left curves.
- (e) The characters of this grant show a greater affinity to the Gōlmādhītōl inscription of the Gupta year 316 than to the contemporary Nepal inscriptions. The paleography of the epoch beginning with the last half of the 6th and ending with the first half of the 7th century A.D. can nowhere be studied with greater advantage than in Nepal. The inscriptions of the Harsha year 34, the Gupta year 316, the Harsha years 39 and 45 show very clearly the change which came over later Gupta characters in the last half of the 6th century and the 50 years following that. Thus the Gōlmādhītōl inscription of the year 316 shows in its characters very little departure from those of the Mandasōr inscription of Yaśōdharman.⁴ The Patan inscription of the year 34⁵ exhibits a further step onwards, as it is more allied to the Gañjām grant of Śaśāṅka than our grant or the Gōlmādhītōl inscription. The next inscription, that of the Harsha year 39⁶ and the short record of the year 45 of the same era, are inscribed in characters which are very much akin to the Bōdh Gayā inscription of Mahānāman and the Madhuban and Banskhera grants of Harshavardhana.
- (f) The letters *da* and *ta* resemble each other very closely. Thus, *vṛihadbhōgikādhikaraṇāny=*, l. 7, looks like *vṛihaṭbhōgikādhikaraṇāny=*.
- (g) There is little difference between *va* and *cha*. Thus, *-chala-taraṅga-*, l. 1, looks like *-vala-taraṅga-*, while *Śivarājah*, l. 5, looks like *Śicharājah*.

As regards orthography two or three departures are noticeable, such as *-maṅgura-*, l. 1, *-vaṅśa-* and *-āṣṭty-*, l. 2, *gēhattō*, l. 8.

The object of the inscription is to record a grant made by a feudatory chief named Śivarāja to a number of Brāhmanas during the reign of his suzerain Śagguyayyana of southern Tōsali. Śagguyayyana is styled *Paramamāhēśvara-Paramabhāṭṭāraka-Paramadēvatādhidaivata*, which clearly shows his imperial position. The title of the suzerain and the name of the

¹ Above, Vol. VI., p. 143.

² Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 274, pl. XLIA.

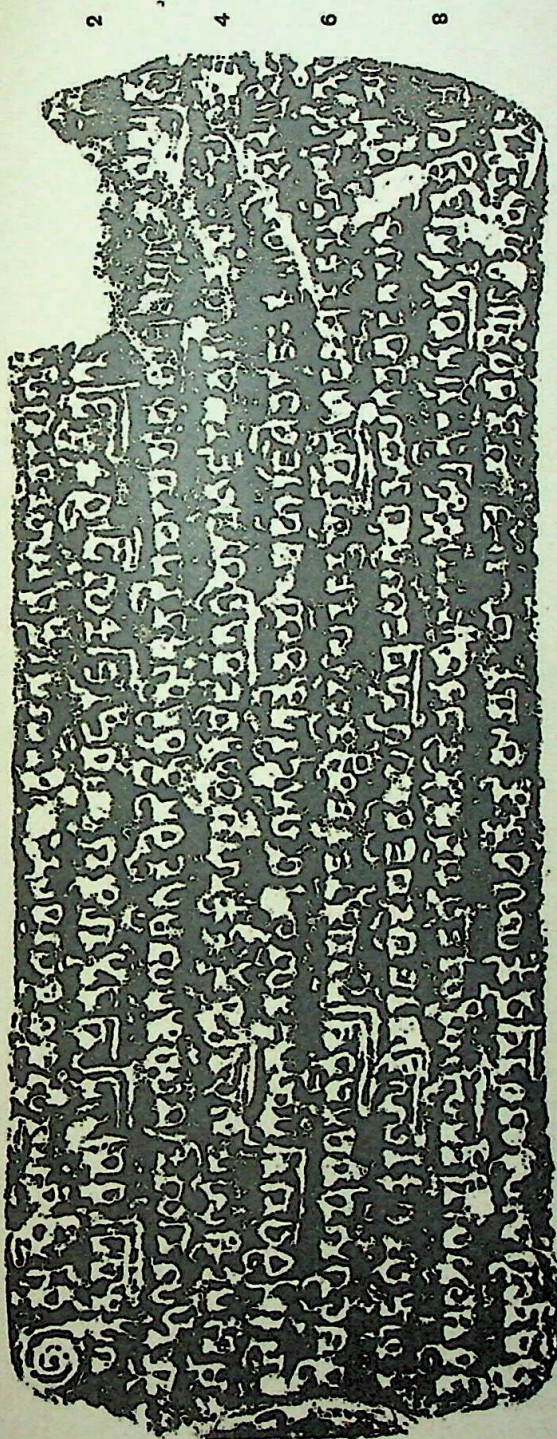
³ Bendall's *Journey to Nepal*, p. 72, pl. VIII.

⁴ Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 150, pl. XXII.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX., p. 169, and Bendall's *Journey to Nepal*, p. 74.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX., p. 170, and Bendall's *Journey to Nepal*, p. 77, pl. X.

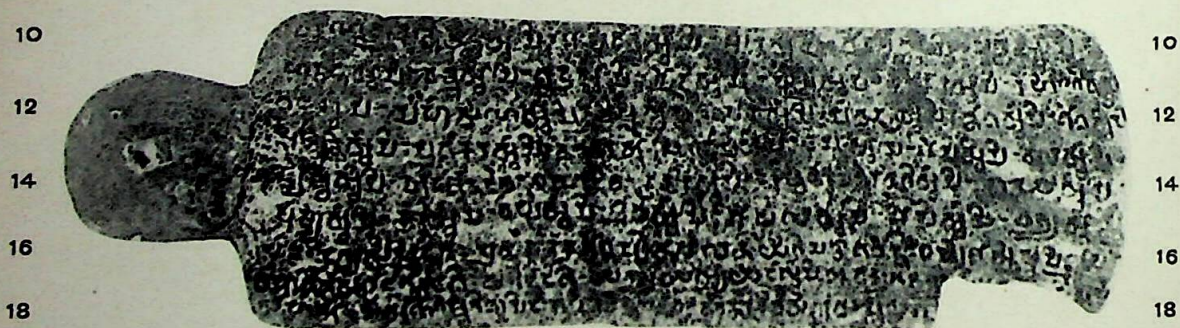
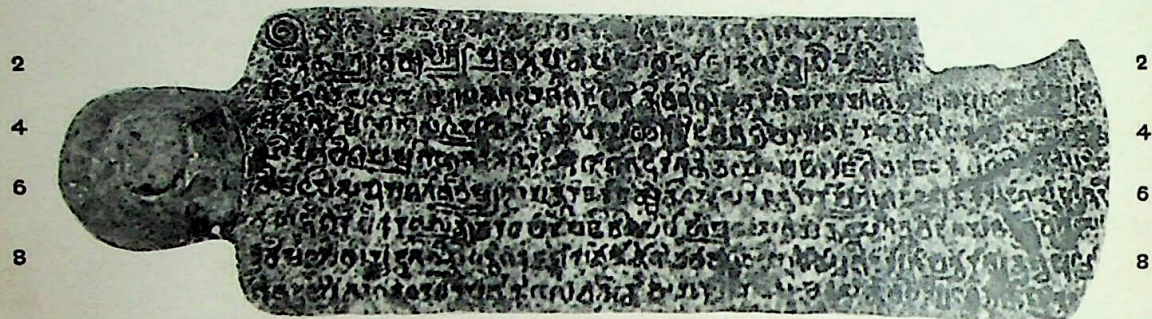
First Side.



Second Side.



Patiakella Plate of Sivaraja.—[Gupta] Samvat [283].



STEN KONOW.

W. GRIGGS. COLLOTYPE.

SCALE 0.57

FROM A PHOTOGRAPH.

donor points to Śaivism, but the names of several donees such as Vishṇusvāmi, Rēvatisvāmi, Gōpālasvāmi, etc., show a Vaishṇava taint. The document was issued from Vōrttanōka, which was the Imperial capital (l. 4) as well as the residence of the feudatory chief (l. 8). The grant consisted in the village Tanḍralvalu. It was given to several Brāhmaṇas belonging to separate *gōtras* and *charaṇas*. The date has already been discussed. There can be little doubt about the fact that it is a Gupta year. Thus our grant was incised after the Bōdh Gayā inscription and before the Gañjām grant, the Nepal inscription of the year 316, and the Muṇḍēsvārī inscription. The second line mentions the kings of the Māṇa race, *Māṇavaṇṣa-rājyakālē*. This dynasty has been mentioned in two 12th century-inscriptions only, *vis.* the Nawādā inscription of the Śaka year 1059,¹ which has been recently purchased by the Archaeological Survey and brought to the Indian Museum, and in the Dudhpani rock inscription.²

I am afraid it is beyond my power to identify the geographical position of the village mentioned in the Patīakellā grant. Neither the *vishaya* nor the *bhukti* or the *maṇḍala* has been mentioned in the grant, but in lines 5-6, we find *asminn=ēva vishayē*, which probably indicates that the name of the *vishaya* was also Vōrttanōka.³ I now edit the inscription from the original plate :—⁴

TEXT.

First Side.

- 1 Om⁵ svasti [!*] salila-nidhi-vēlā-vala[yita-cha]la-taraṅg-ābharāṇa-ruchira-maṅgura
- 2 pattanavatyā[m] vasumatyā[m] prayarttamāna-Māṇa-vaṇṣa-rājya-kālē tryadhik-āsitty-
utta[ra] . . .
- 3 Maudgal-āmala-kulē gagana-tala-śītadīdhitī-nivātē sita-charitē Paramamāhēśvara-
śrī-Śagguyayyanē⁶
- 4 śāsati dakṣhiṇa-Tōsalyā[m] Vōrttanōkāt-paramadēvat-ādihidaivata-śrī-paramabhaṭṭā-
raka-charaṇa-kamal-āmala-kṣhan-
- 5 nī⁷-hār-ādihigama-pratīhata(h)-kalyug-āgata-durita-nichayaḥ(yō) mahārāja-
Sivarājah kuśalī asminn=ēva
- 6 vishayē samupagat-ābhavishyat-sāmanta-rāja-rājasthānīy-ōparika-kumārāmātya-
tadāyuktaka-mahāmahattara-
- 7 vṛhadbhōgikādhikarāṇāny=ēva rājapādōpajīvi yathārha[m] śrāvayati mānayati cha
viditam=a[stu] bhavatām ya[th=ā]-
- 8 ttra vishayē sambaddha-Tanḍralvalu⁸-grāma(mō) Vōrttanōk-⁹[āvavāsa-
gē(?)]hattō=smābbhiḥ mātāpitrōr=ātmanas=cha puny-ā-
- 9 bhiṣiddhayē salila-dhārā-pūrvvakēp=āchandr-ārka-sama-kāliy-ākshayanivi(nīvi)-
dharmamēṇa¹⁰ nānā-gōttra-

¹ Above, Vol. II., p. 333.

² Above, Vol. II., p. 346.

³ [The locality cannot be far from Tōsali, which we know from Aśoka's Dhauli edicts, and which must be located in the neighbourhood of Dhauli. It seems more likely to explain *asminn=ēva vishayē* as *Tōsali-vishayē* than as *Vōrttanōkavishayē*.—S. K.]

⁴ [It has proved impossible to get good impressions of the plate. The subjoined reproductions are the best that could be obtained.—S. K.]

⁵ Expressed by a symbol.

⁶ [I am unable to see *Śagguyayyanē*, but I cannot suggest a satisfactory reading; I think I see *Śambhāya-gyē=nu*.—S. K.]

⁷ [I read *-āmala-śrēṇi*.—S. K.]

⁸ [I see *Tanḍilvaluja-grāma*.—S. K.]

⁹ [I read *Vōrttanōkē ch=advāsa* . . . but cannot make out the rest.—S. K.]

¹⁰ Read *-kālām=akshaya*. Compare above, Vol. VI., p. 189; Vol. VII., p. 101, note 1.

Second Side.

- 10 charaṇēbhya Anuruddhasvāmi-Gōmidēvasvāmi-Śūrasvāmi-Vōppasvāmi-Pitṛisvāmi-
 11 Haruṅgasvāmi-Chandrasvāmi-Bhadrāsavāmi-Chhēdisvāmi-Pushyasvāmi-.karasvāmi-Rōhipī-
 svāmi-
 12 Vu(Bu)ddhasvāmi-Mahāsēpasvāmi-Vishṇusvāmi-Yadusvāmi-Mātraḍasvāmi-Nāgasvāmi-
 Bhōgasvāmi-
 13 Ana[nta?]svāmi-Prabhākarasvāmi-Nāva . . rasvāmi-Dīpisvāmi-Jam[vu]svāmi-Gōmisvāmi-
 Valasvāmi-
 14 Jyēsthāsavāmi-Adarśanadēva-Dhanadēva-Kumārasvāmi-Jyēsthāsavāmi-Rēvatisvāmi-
 Prāya(?)svāmi-
 15 Pushyasvāmi-Chhēdisvāmi-Vappasvāmi-Śravasvāmi-Gōpālasvāmi-Gōmisvāmi-ēbhya s =
 tāmra-
 16 -paṭṭi-kṛitya saṁpradattaḥ [*] Pūrvarājakṛitō dharmm[ō]=nupālaniyaiti(ya iti)
 matvā bhavadbhiḥ[*] Dharmmasāstrēshv=api śruyatē [*]
 17 Va(ba)hubhir=vvasudhā dattā rājabhiḥ Sagarādibhiḥ [*] yasya yasya yadā
 bhūmis=tasya tasya [tadā phalam] [||*] [Shashṭim] varsha-
 18 sahasrāṇi svarggē tishṭhati bhūmidah [*] ākshēptā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=
 ēva narakē vasēt [||*] Samvat¹ 200

TRANSLATION.

In the [two hundred] and eighty-third year of the rule of the Māpa family on the earth, full of cities, which has the shores of the ocean as its bracelet, the moving waves as its trinkets and the radiant *maṅgura* fishes as its In the spotless family of Mudgala, when the great worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva), the illustrious Śagguyayyana, whose character was white and who was undisturbed like the moon in the sky, was ruling in southern Tōsalī, *Mahārāja Śivarāja*, whom the accumulation of sins could not approach on account of his obtaining from the lotus-like feet of the Paramabhaṭṭāraka, the God of Gods, the spotless position of a ruler of the earth, being in good health, from Vōrttanōka honors all present and future feudatory chiefs, *Rājasthānīyas*, *Uparikas*, officers of the heir-apparent, *Tadāyuktakas*, great nobles, tax-collectors and other dependants of the king in this *vishaya* in due form and proclaims:—"Be it known to you that the village Tanḍralvalu, belonging to this *vishaya*, from (the residential house at?) Vōrttanōka, for the increase of the merit of my father and mother and myself, after having poured out water, to last as long as the Sun and the Moon subsists, everlastingly, as a permanent endowment, is given by writing on copper plates to Anuruddhasvāmi, Gōmidēvasvāmi, Śūrasvāmi, Vōppasvāmi, Pitṛisvāmi, Haruṅgasvāmi, Chandrasvāmi, Bhadrāsavāmi, Chhēdisvāmi, Pushyasvāmi, . . karasvāmi, Rōhipīsvāmi, Vu(Bu)ddhasvāmi, Mahāsēpasvāmi, Vishṇusvāmi, Yadusvāmi, Mātraḍasvāmi, Nāgasvāmi, Bhōgasvāmi, Ana(ṇta)-svāmi, Prabhākarasvāmi, Nāvarasvāmi, Dīpisvāmi, Jam(vu)svāmi, Gōmisvāmi, Valasvāmi, Jyēsthāsavāmi, Adarśanadēva, Dhanadēva, Kumārasvāmi, Jyēsthāsavāmi, Rēvatisvāmi, Prāyasvāmi, Pushyasvāmi, Chhēdisvāmi, Vappasvāmi, Śravasvāmi, Gōpālasvāmi, Gōmisvāmi, belonging to various *gōtras* and *charaṇas*. A law laid down by former kings should be observed, thinking so (you should observe my gift). It is heard in the laws (two of the ordinary benedictory verses follow). Samvat 200.

¹ Read *Samvat*.

2

1

6

8

10

12

14

16

18

No. 41.— MUNDESVARI INSCRIPTION OF UDAYASENA.
THE [HARSHA] YEAR 30.

By R. D. BANERJI.

This inscription was discovered among the débris which had accumulated around the temple of Muṇḍēsvari in the Bhābuā subdivision of the Shāhābād district.¹ It seems that sometime after the incision of the inscription some ignorant person sawed it lengthwise in halves. The two halves of the inscription were discovered and brought to the Indian Museum at different dates. The second half seems to have been discovered by the late Babū Purna Chandra Mukhārji so far back as 1891-92. The first half, which is the more important part of the inscription, as it contains the date, was discovered in 1902.² Impressions on tin foils were then sent to Dr. Bloch. The inscription was finally brought to the Indian Museum in the beginning of 1904. The two halves have now been joined together and placed on a masonry pedestal in the Inscription gallery of the Museum.

The stone measures 2' 8" by 1' 1" and contains eighteen lines of well-executed writing. In the first half of the inscription the first fifteen lines are clear, but the sixteenth line has been much damaged and the seventeenth and eighteenth lines have been lost altogether. With the exception of the last two lines, which contain one of the usual imprecatory verses, the whole of the inscription is in prose.

In a previous paper I have fully discussed the palæography of this inscription.³ The only orthographical peculiarities are the substitution of *ba* for *va* in *sambatsara*, and the use of *n̄* instead of *m̄* before *s̄*. Letters with a superscribed *r̥* *pha* have been doubled. Final forms of *m* are to be found in ll. 2, 4 and 18, and of *t* in l. 15. The sign of *avagraha* has not been used at all, though it would have been in its place in ll. 14 and 18. Note also the form *kāritakam̄* in l. 6.

The inscription records a grant of two *prasthas* of rice and a *pala* of oil to the god *Maṇḍal-ēsvara* by a *kulapati*⁴ named Bhāgudalana. It is dated in the year 30 in the reign of the *Mahāsāmanta*, *Mahāpratīhāra*, *Mahārāja* Udayasēna, who is not known from other sources. Judging from the affinity of the characters of this inscription with those of the years 34 and 39 from Nepal,⁵ the era is most probably that established by Harshavardhana. The mutilation of the central portion of the inscription by sawing the stone into two halves has caused a series of gaps. Some of these can be filled up, but lines 11 and 15 are quite unintelligible. I now edit the inscription from the original stone.

TEXT.

- 1 Om⁶ Samba(m̄va)tsarē triṇṣati[tamē] Kārttika-divasē dvāviṇṣatimē
- 2 asmiu=samba(m̄va)tsara-māsa-[diva]sa-pūrvvāyām śrī-Mahāsāmanta-
- 3 Mahāpratīhāra-Mahārāj-[Ōda]yasēna-rājyē kulapati-Bhāgudalana-7
- 4 s=sa dēvanikāyam daṇḍa[nā]yaka-Gōmibhaṣēna prārthayitvā
- 5 mātāpitr̥r̥=ātmanas=cha pu[nyā]bhivṛddhayē Vinītēsvara-maṭhasamā-
- 6 vēsam̄ maṭham=ētāt=kāritakam̄ [śrī-]Nārāyaṇa-dēvakulasya

¹ *List of Ancient Monuments in Bengal* (published by the Public Works Department, 1895) pp. 370—371
Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India (1902-03), pp. 42-43.

² *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey, Bengal Circle*, 1902, p. 20.

³ See above, p. 285 f.

A teacher who maintains ten thousand pupils at his own cost is termed a *kulapati*. See *Vāchaspatyā-bhīḍhānam*.

Bendall's *Journey to Nepal*, pp. 72-73.

⁶ Expressed by a symbol.

The final *na* of this word has been added above the line.

- 7 śrī-Maṇḍalēśvara-svāmi-[pādā]ya kōshthikātaḥ ā-chandr-ārka-sama-
 8 kālīyam=akshayaṁ prati[dinam] naivēdyārttham tapdula-prastha-dvayaṁ
 9 dīpa-taila-palasya ch=ō[pani]bandhaḥ kārītaḥ śrī-Maṇḍalēśvara-
 10 svāmi-pādānām vichchhi[tti-vi]śrānta-tantra-sādhāraṇam pañchāsatām
 11 dīnārāṇām gōba . . . ja-bhaktādy-upakaraṇāni¹
 12 dēvanikāyasya datta[m²=ētaḍ=ō]vaṁ viditvā yathākāl-ādhyā[sibhi]-
 13 r=āpōvanikair³=vā ya[thāni]baddhasya vighātō na kā[rya]
 14 ēvam=abhiśrāvītō yō[=nyathā]kuryāt=sa mahāpātakaḥ=sa[ha]
 15 [nara]kē vasēt ēvam . . . vadhāraṇayā madhya . . .
 16 . . . bhāka . . . tam=iti || Ukta[ñ= cha]
 17 . . . yatnād=raksha Yudhishtira
 18 . . . dānāch=chhrēyō=nupālanam.

TRANSLATION.

Hail. In the year 30, on the twenty-second day of Kārttika, on the above-mentioned year, month and day, in the reign of the great feudatory, the *Mahāpratīhāra*, the *Mahārāja* [Uda]yasēna, the *kulapati* Bhāgudalana, having applied to the Council of gods (?Brāhmaṇas) through the *daṇḍanāyaka* Gōmibhaṭa built this *maṭha* of the *dēvakula* of Nārāyaṇa, to increase the merit of his father and mother and of his own self, near the temple of Vinītēśvara. For the lord Maṇḍalēśvara provision has been made every day, as long as the Sun and the Moon last, everlastingly, to provide two *prasthas* of rice for the votive offering and a *pala* of oil for the lamp from the treasury. Fifty *dīnāras* current up to the frontiers . . . of the Lord Maṇḍalēśvara- . . . with rice and other ingredients. Knowing it to be a gift of the Council of gods, the merchants who trade on the waters(?) and who arrive at the proper time⁴ should not hinder this arrangement. Having heard this, whoever acts to the contrary shall live in hell with great sins . . . O! Yudhishtira, preserve with care . . . preservation is preferable to gifts.

No. 42.—INSCRIPTION ON THE UMBRELLA STAFF OF THE BUDDHIST IMAGE FROM SAHET MAHET.

By T. BLOCH, PH.D.

The stone bearing this inscription was discovered by Rākhāl Dās Banerjī in April, 1908, in the Lucknow Museum. As Dr. Vogel tells me, it is a red sandstone slab, 3' 1" high, 11½" wide, and 4¾" thick. "It is broken off at the top, just where the octagonal portion begins. Here the four corners are provided with an ornament in the Mathurā style. The lower portion of the slab is carved with a seated female figure, apparently unfinished. The back of the column is cut off straight." The photograph of the stone, supplied to me by Dr. Vogel, shows that this carving has been done at a later time, perhaps when the stone was intended to be used for some building. It has destroyed a good many letters in the second half of the inscription, while the first half has become almost entirely obliterated by sharpening knives on it.

However, enough remains to make it absolutely clear that the inscription was identical with the dedicatory epigraph on the pedestal of the large standing Bōdhisattva from Sahet

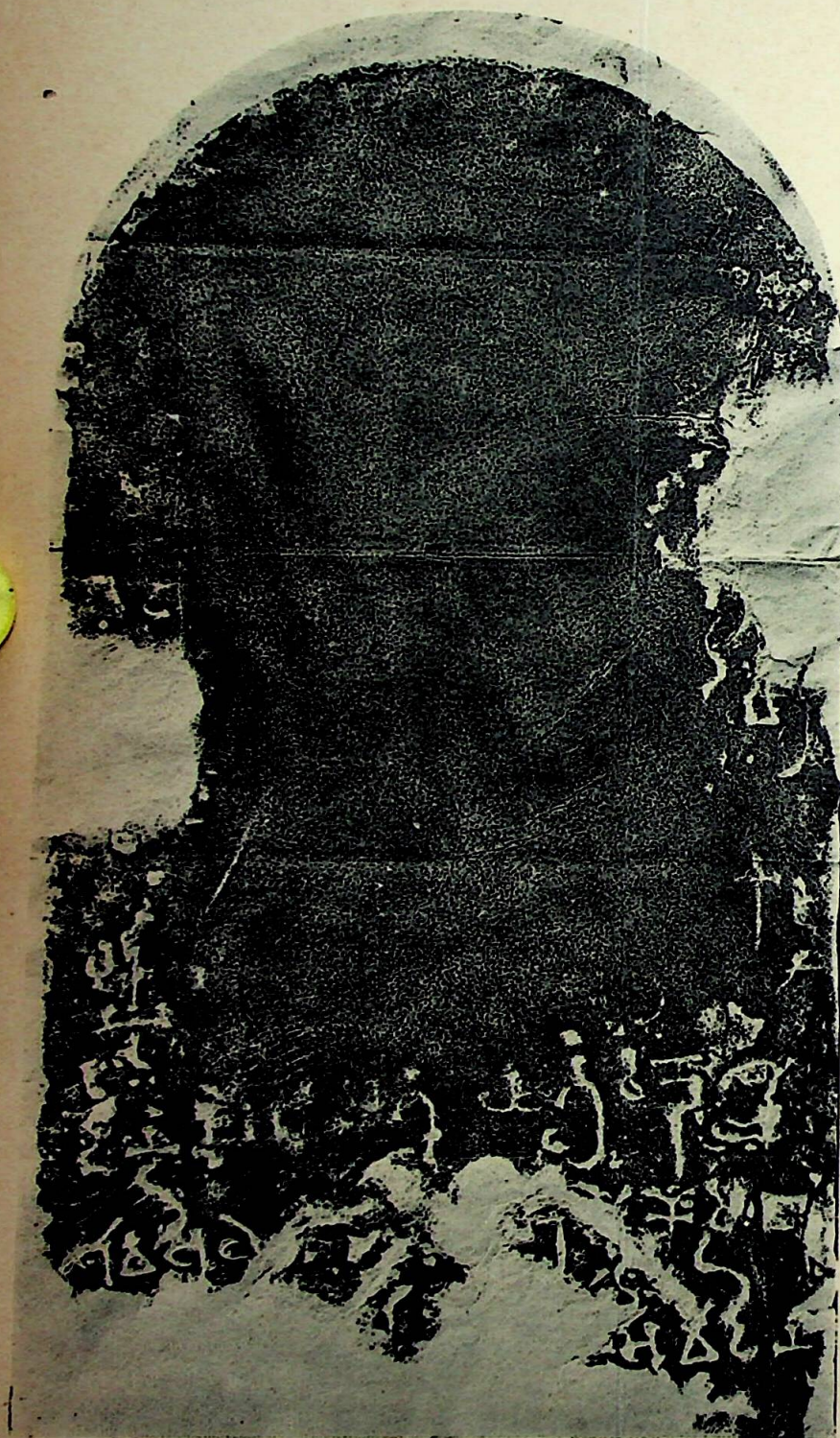
¹ The sign at the end of this line has been added in order to fill up the vacant space.

² [I would read *dattāny=ētaḍ*.—S. K.]

³ [I read *tāpōvanikair*.—S. K.]

⁴ [I would translate: those who come and worship from time to time or the ascetics of the *tāpōvana*.—S. K.]

Buddhist inscription from Set Mahet.



Scale 35

From an impression supplied by Dr. J. P. Vogel.



From a photograph.

Collotype by Gebr. Plettner.

Mahêt, which has been edited by me, above, Vol. VIII. pp. 180-181. This fact is of considerable interest. First it shows that I was right in explaining the word *dāṇḍas=cha* in line 2 of the Sahêt Mahêt image inscription as "a staff for supporting the umbrella over the head of the Bôdhisattva" (l. c. p. 180). Secondly,—and this is by far the most important point connected with this inscription,—we now know for certain that the Sahêt Mahêt statue was found by Cunningham *in situ*, or, in other words, that no possible doubt can be raised against the correctness of Cunningham's identification of Sahêt Mahêt with Śrāvastī.¹ For although the records of the Lucknow Museum are not as clear as one would have expected them to be in regard to the provenance of the stone, Dr. Vogel has pointed out to me some very conclusive evidence, which in my opinion makes it certain that the stone was found by Dr. Hoey during his excavations at Sahêt Mahêt in 1885. The only possible doubt that could be, and has been, raised against the bearing of the Sahêt Mahêt, now Calcutta Museum, statue upon the question of the identity of Sahêt Mahêt with Śrāvastī, turned around this point: did Cunningham find the Bôdhisattva image at Sahêt Mahêt in its original position, or had it been shifted to this place from somewhere else? Strange though such a transportation would appear to us *prima facie*, it still has been, as far as I know, an assumption that seemed to recommend itself to certain scholars. I am afraid their position has now become definitely weakened by the discoveries above referred to.

Unfortunately no further help is given to us by the new inscription for restoring the missing words in the beginning of the inscription on the pedestal of the Bôdhisattva statue in the Calcutta Museum. Only the two letters *vapu* in the beginning of line 2 show that I was right in restoring the second word in the Calcutta inscription as *dévaputrasya*, and further in ascribing the Calcutta statue to the time of either Kanishka or Huvishka. However, this is a very small matter, for which hardly any additional proof was required owing to the occurrence of the name of the *Trépiṭaka* Bala, the donor of the Calcutta image, in a Mathurâ inscription of the year 33 of Huvishka.²

I now edit the inscription from impressions and a photograph, kindly supplied to me by Dr. Vogel.

TEXT.

1.[dâ]
2. vapu[trasya]
3.[v]ihâr[i].....
4. [sya][bhikshu]-
5. sya [Balasya trépiṭa]kasya
6. dānam Bôdhi[sa]tvô chh[a]tram³ dāṇḍas=cha
7. Śāvastiyê [Bhagavatô cham]ka[m]ê Kôsambâ-
8. [kuṭiyê âchâ]r[yy]â[nam Sarvvâ]s[t]ivâdina[m]
9. [pa]r[i]gra[hê].

No. 43.— TWO BUDDHIST INSCRIPTIONS FROM SARNATH.

By STEN KONOW.

During the excavations in Sarnâth in February 1907, I found a fragment of a stone umbrella lying between the bases of two small brick *stûpas* to the west of the main shrine exca-

¹ Dr. Vogel informs me that Paṇḍit Dayâ Râm Sahni has discovered additional proof, that even in the days of Gôvindachandra of Kanauj, the traditional identity of the two places was still alive. See *Journ. R. As. Soc.* 1908, pp. 971 and ff.

² See above, Vol. VIII., p. 182.

³ It is doubtful, if the word was written *chhâtram*, as in the inscription on the pedestal. However, the next word clearly is *dāṇḍas=cha*, and not *dāṇḍas=cha*, as it is spelt on the pedestal of the statue.

vated by Mr. Oertel in 1905. On the inner cavity of the fragment a Brâhmî inscription was engraved in four lines, the fourth running along the rim. The inscription, which is complete, covers the whole inner surface of the fragment, and the umbrella had therefore probably been broken when it was engraved.

The fragment is $17\frac{3}{4}$ " long and $5\frac{1}{2}$ " broad, and the umbrella to which it belongs must have had a diameter of nearly six feet. The letters are deeply cut, and their height varies from $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

The characters are Brâhmî of the second or third century A.D. The forms of *ma* and *sa* are ancient, and the same is the case with *ya*. The shape of individual letters is not, however, constant. Thus the *na* of *imâni*, l. 1, differs from the *na* in *gâminî*, l. 4; the *du* in *dukkha* in lines 2, 3 and 4 has different shapes; the *dha* of *nirôdhô*, l. 3, is angular, while it has been rounded in l. 4, etc. The form of the compound *kkha* is of some interest, the *kha* being open at the bottom. In *bhikkhavê*, l. 1, however, the bottom line has apparently been added by mistake under the following *vê*. The two *kkhas* in l. 2 differ from each other, and, on the whole, the form of this ligature is not the same in any two places.

The language is the Pâli of Buddhist literature, but with several misspellings, and other mistakes. Thus in l. 2, we find *dikkhavê* instead of *bhikkhavê*, and *arâyasachcham*, l. 3 *ariyayachcham*, and in l. 4 *arisachcham*, all instead of *ariyasachcham*. These slips, taken together with the uncertainty in the formation of the individual letters, can only be accounted for by the supposition that the inscription was cut by an engraver who did not understand the original. The occasional introduction of the Sanskrit *samdhî* in *-samudaya ariyaya(sa)chcham*, l. 3, points in the same direction.

The inscription contains a short enumeration of the four *ariyasachchas*, the fundamental doctrines of the Buddhas. These four truths form the essence of the famous Benares sermon, and our inscription is accordingly very appropriate in the spot where the Buddha first "turned the wheel of the law." In this connection it is of interest to note that the great majority of the statues unearthed in Sârnâth represent the Buddha in the *Dharmachakramudrâ*, delivering his first sermon. The enumeration of the four noble truths or axioms is of the same conventional kind which is so common in Pâli literature, and though I have not found the exact quotation, I do not doubt that the passage cut on the stone is meant as a quotation from the Canon. Our inscription, therefore, furnishes a valuable *epigraphical* proof for the existence of a Pâli Canon in the second or third century A.D. It is also of interest as the first old Pâli inscription found in North India. I here take the word Pâli to mean the language of the Southern Canon, the only use of the word which I consider as justified.

TEXT.¹

- 1 Chatt[â]r-imâni bhikkhavê ar[i*]yasachchâni
- 2 katamâni chhattâri dukkha[m] di(bhi)kkhavê arâ(ri)yasachcha[m]
- 3 dukkhasamudaya² ariyaya(sa)chcham dukkhanirôdhô³ ariyasachcham
- 4 dukkhanirôdha-gâminî cha⁴ paṭipadâ ari[ya*]sachcham

TRANSLATION.

Four, ye monks, are the noble axioms. And which are these four? The axiom (about) suffering, ye monks; the axiom (about) the cause of suffering; the axiom (about) the suppression of suffering; and the axiom (about) the path leading to suppression of suffering.

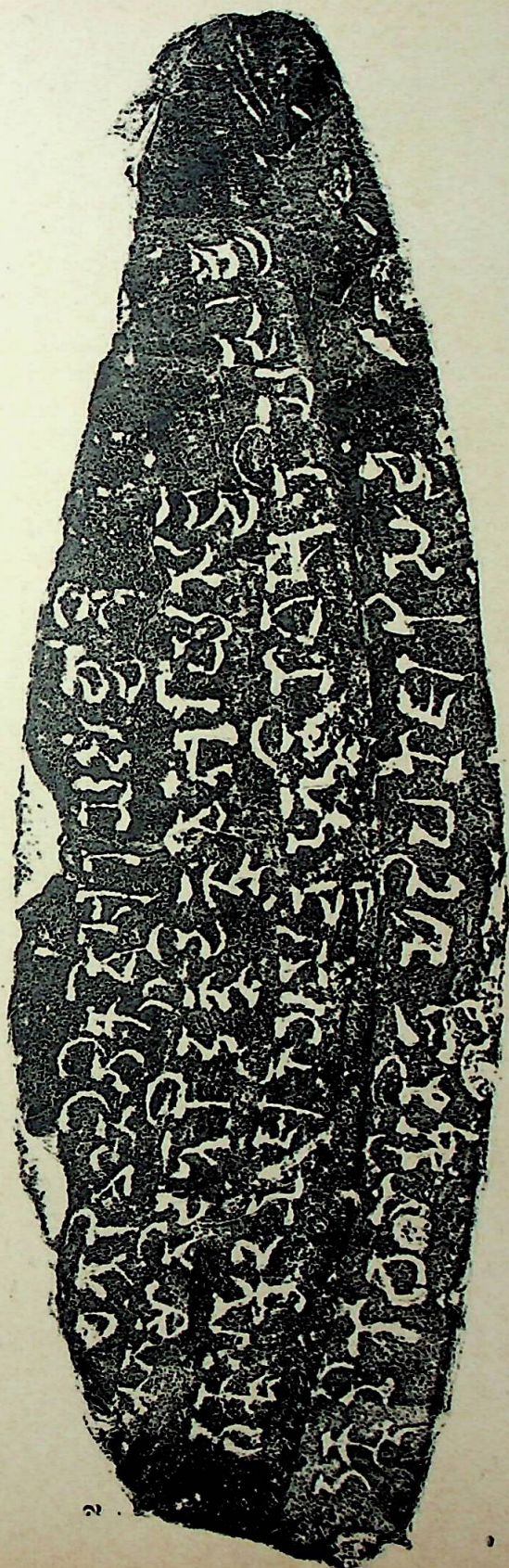
¹ From the original stone.

² The stone perhaps has *-nirôdhâ*.

³ Read *-samudayo*.

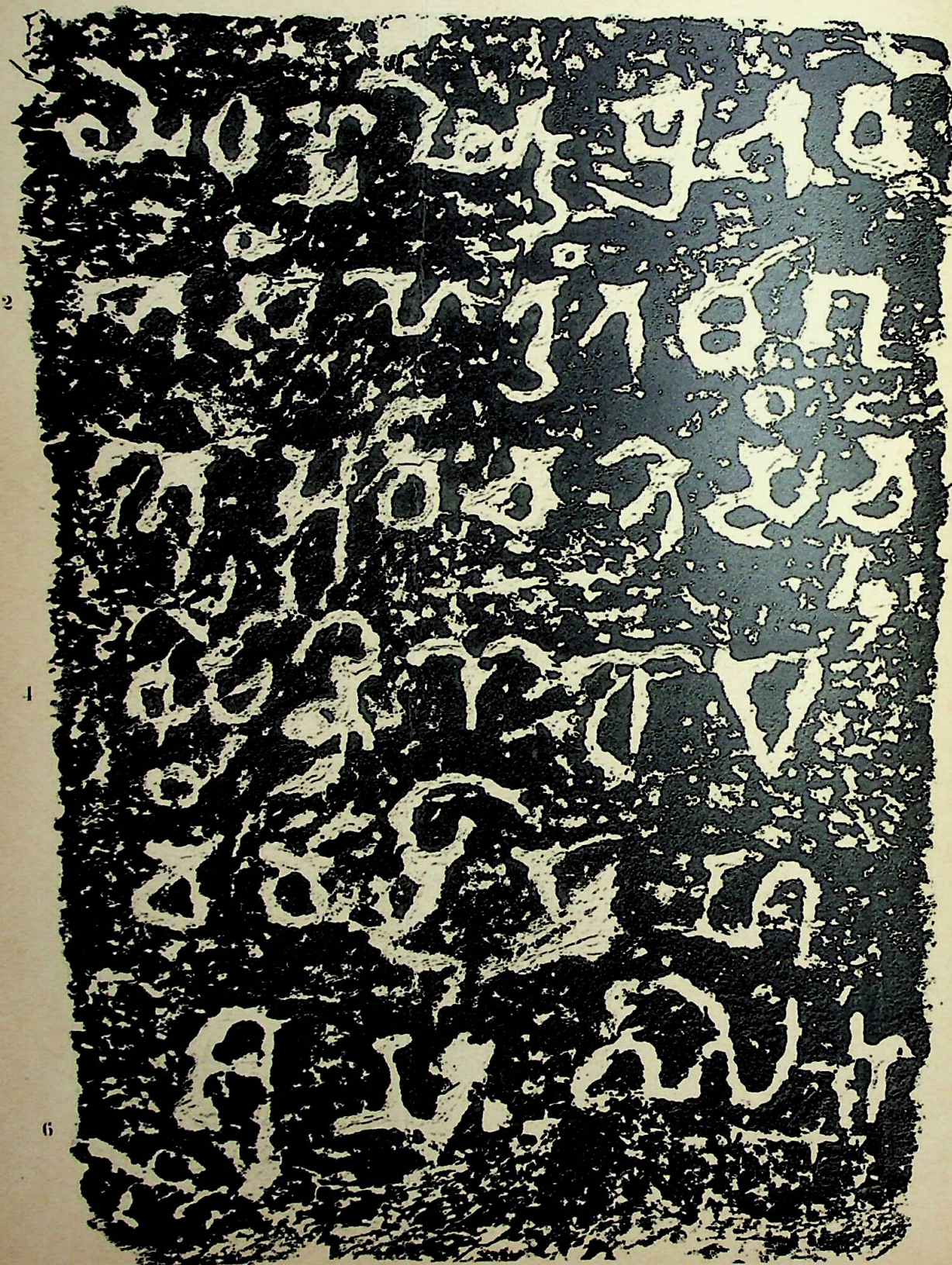
⁴ The actual reading seems to be *chcha*.

Sarnath stone umbrella inscription.



Scale .5

Sarnath Buddhist inscription.



Another inscription written in Pāli was discovered during the excavations carried on by Mr. Marshall and myself in the winter of 1908, on the back of a slab containing conventional representations of scenes of the Buddha's life. I publish it here from impressions prepared in my office. The writing covers a space of 12" × 9", and the height of the individual letters is $\frac{1}{2}$ "-1".

The characters belong to the 4th, or, perhaps, the 3rd century A.D. The tripartite *ya* is almost identical with the *ya* of the Allahābād *praśasti*, while the *sa* has the older form with a hook, and not with a loop. The date of the inscription is of interest for the history of Buddhist iconography.

The language is mixed Pāli, the forms *-prabhavā* in line 1, and *-śramaṇō*, l. 6, not belonging to the dialect. The inscription contains the common formula *yē dhammā*, etc.

TEXT.

- 1 Yē dhammā hētu-prabhavā
- 2 tēsaṃ hētuṃ tathāga-
- 3 tō avōcha tēsaṃ cha
- 4 yō nirōdhō ē-
- 5 vaṃ vādī mahā-
- 6 śramaṇō.

No. 44.—SPURIOUS LAPHA PLATE OF THE HAIHAYA KING PRITHVIDEVA. SAMVAT 806.

By HIRA LAL, B.A., NAGPUR.

At the request of Mr. C. U. Wills, I.C.S., Zamindār Settlement Officer, Bilāspur District, I have examined a copper plate in the possession of a Zamindār at Lāphā, named Dahirāj Singh, who is over sixty years of age and whom I had the pleasure to meet. He was good enough to lend it to me for taking an impression to accompany this note. He informed me that the plate was given to one of his ancestors, who first came from Delhi and took service at Ratanpur as one of the gate-keepers of the Ratanpur Fort and also as a guard of the Rānī's palace. He used to live in the Bhēdimūḍāpārā, one of the quarters of Ratanpur town. This portion of the town was eventually given to him as a *mū'āfi*, and afterwards the present copper plate grant is said to have been given bestowing on him 120 villages belonging to the Lāphā Fort. The present Zamindār contains only 75 villages and the Zamindār informed me that before Mr. Chisholm's settlement in the year 1868, there were only 60 villages in it.

The plate is rectangular, measuring $9\frac{1}{4}$ " × $4\frac{5}{8}$ ", having a smooth surface, inscribed on one side only. There are two small holes on the top. The writing covers $7\frac{1}{2}$ " × $3\frac{1}{2}$ ", leaving out the *Śrī* at the top.

The record consists of 8 lines surmounted by a prefatory one, the middle portion of which is spaced down, apparently for ornamental purposes. This line and the word *śrī* at the top together with *śrī* 5 at the commencement and *śubham=astu* and the date in figures at the end are in prose. The rest is in verse, consisting of 5 *anushṭubh śloka*s which are numbered, except the *ast*. There are altogether 206 letters including 9 figures.

The style of writing is Ōṛiyā, and there are not less than 25 letters which are distinctly borrowed from the alphabet of that language. All the *mātrās* or vowel signs have been marked according to what is in vogue in the present Ōṛiyā writing. The letters *ja*, *da* and *va* have been invariably written in the Ōṛiyā form. The language is Sanskrit with spelling mistakes. Thus in verse 2 we find *sūrasāmanta-* instead of *sūrasāmanta-*.

The inscription purports to record the gift of 120 villages appertaining to the Lamphā (Lāphā) fort to a noble named Luṅgā, who had come from Delhi, by the Haihaya king Prithvī-dēva, on the 1st day of the dark fortnight of Māgha in Śaṃvat 806. For what services the gift was made and on what conditions, is not stated, but it was to be hereditary and it was given because the king's "mind was pleased with the *Kauraviya*"¹ which apparently means that he was pleased with the Kavar tribe, to which the donee belonged, presumably for their military services. What strikes one most at the first glance is the freshness of the metal, the clean cut and the modern characters, and this rouses suspicion. The intermixture of Ōriyā letters is in itself suspicious. They might, however, be old and indicate that the plate is an old one. On looking for the date such an idea gets partially confirmed, but the suspicion again revives as soon as we learn from the Zamīndār that, since the grant was made, only 27 generations have supervened. The Zamīndār thinks the date to be of the Vikrama era, so that the plate would be about 1,159 years old. This would give, on the average, 43 years to a generation, which is absurd. A critical examination of the record affords as easy an evidence of its being spurious. The characters are in reality all modern, having been taken from the Hindī and Ōriyā alphabets. The inscriptional alphabet of the Chhattīsgarh Haihayas has a peculiarity of its own, not easily describable, but which distinguishes it from the modern alphabet. The most distinctive letters are *cha*, *ja*, *dha*, *bha* and *śa*, but in all instances where these letters occur in the present plate, they have no such distinctive features. The style of the record is also modern. I have not come across any Haihaya inscription with a *śrī* at the top, which modern writers usually put in. Again the word *śrī Kṛṣṇachandra*, which is apparently meant as an invocation, is a modernism, similar phrases being *śrī-Rāma*, *śrī-Gaṇḍā*, etc. In all Haihaya inscriptions, the invocation is *Om namaḥ Śivāya*, i.e. I bow down to Siva. The forger, who, I believe, had seen many of the Haihaya inscriptions, forgot the distinctive Haihaya invocation owing to the story of Śrī-Kṛṣṇa being uppermost in his mind, and he thought that as Kṛṣṇa was so well pleased with Mayūradhvaja, the supposed ancestor of the Haihayas, an invocation to that deity would be most appropriate. The next phrase, calling the record *viyaya-lēkha* or the victorious writ, meaning royal record, is another novelty of the Ōriyā type, in which, as in Dravidian languages, the addition of *viyaya* or victory to every act done by a high personage is a matter of etiquette. A *Rāja* does not go, he conquers *viyaya karuchhanti*, he does not eat, he conquers the kitchen, he does not answer the call of nature, he conquers the latrine, and so on. I have not come across any other grant being distinguished as *viyaya-lēkha*. The next phrase refers to a seal, which is nowhere to be found. The prefatory phrases done, the record proper again begins with a modernism, viz. *śrī* 5. This reminds one of a Hindī letter-writer which was used in schools, some years ago, in which there was a couplet to the effect that 6 *śris* should be recorded for a preceptor, 5 for a master, 4 for an enemy, 3 for a friend, 2 for a servant, and 1 for a wife or son. This must have occurred to the writer's mind, more particularly because he was, as I suppose, a school-master himself and was probably teaching the *Paṭtrahitaiṣinī* to his pupils.

Now with regard to the date, the Vikrama year 806 or 749 A.D. is impossible. It goes back to a period when probably the Haihayas had not at all come to Chhattīsgarh. From inscriptions we have a date 1114 of Jājalladēva² I., who was fifth in descent from Kaliṅgarāja, the first Haihaya, who is said to have conquered Dakṣiṇakōśala. Taking then the date of Kaliṅgarāja to be 1000 A.D., the present grant would have been made by the Haihayas 250 years before they began to rule in Chhattīsgarh. Even if we suppose that it refers to the Kalachuri era, it would be equivalent to 1054 A.D., i.e. almost contemporaneous with the commencement of Haihaya rule. Prithvīrāja was fourth in descent from Kaliṅgarāja and was the father of Jājalladēva I. The date of this plate would place a difference of 60 years between

¹ [Perhaps *Kauravāya* is intended.—S. K.]

² *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I, p. 34.

(V. 3-4.) His mind being pleased with the Kauravīyas¹ (Kawars) he gave to the very brave noble named Luṅgā, who had come from Delhi, 120 villages with the Lamphā fort, for maintenance from generation to generation, on the first day of the dark fortnight of the Māgha month in the expired year (symbolically expressed by) flavour (6) sky (0) and eight (8).

Future kings should always respect my gift written on the copper plate by Mādhava Sūri. Let good fortune attend. The first day of the dark fortnight of Māgha in the year 808.

No. 45.—ABHONA PLATES OF SANKARAGANA. KALACHURI SAMVAT 347.

By K. B. PATHAK, PROFESSOR OF SANSKRIT, DECCAN COLLEGE, POONA.

These two plates belong to a Rajput family residing at Ābhōṇa, a village in the Kalavana tāluka of the Nāsik district. I obtained them on loan through my friend Mr. N. C. Kelkar. They are inscribed on one side only, and measure $9\frac{3}{4}'' \times 7''$. The writing is carefully engraved and is in a good state of preservation.

The characters belong to a variety of the southern alphabet which is well-known from the Sarsavṇī plates of Buddharāja edited by Dr. Kielhorn in this Journal, Vol. VI, pp. 294 and ff. They include numerical symbols for 300, 40, 7, 10 and 5 in line 34. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, and with the exception of five imprecatory and benedictive verses in lines 28-33, the text is in prose.

The inscription is one of Śaṅkaragana, the son of Kṛishṇarāja, of the family of the Kaṭachchūris. It records an order of Śaṅkaragana, issued from his camp at Ujjayini, to the effect that he granted a hundred *nivarttanas* of land in the village of Vallisikā situated in the district of Bhōgavarddhana to a Brāhmaṇa named Āhmaṇasvāmin, of the Gautama gōtra, belonging to the Taittirīya śākhā, who was a resident of Kallāvana, at the request of Gōggā. The inscription is dated, in words and numerical symbols, on the 15th day of the bright half of Śrāvana of the year 347,² which must be referred to the Kalachuri era, so that the date corresponds to the 27th July A.D. 595.

The Kaṭachchūri Śaṅkaragana is identical with the father of Buddharāja, who issued the Sarsavṇī grant. The wording of the two inscriptions is practically identical, with the exception of the portion referring to the grants themselves. There is, of course, nothing in our inscription to correspond to lines 14-17 of the Sarsavṇī plates, which refer to Buddharāja.

Of the localities occurring in our inscription, Kallāvana is the modern Kalavana in the Nāsik district. Vallisikā and Bhōgavarddhana I cannot identify.

In line 20 of the present inscription we find the technical expression *a-chāṭa-bhaṭa-prāvṛṣyam*, which so frequently occurs in other inscriptions, and which has usually been rendered "not to be entered by irregular and regular soldiers." I invite the attention of Sanskrit scholars to the following passage, in which Śaṅkarāchārya uses it,³—

*tasmāt tārkika-chāṭa-bhaṭa-rāj-āpravṛṣyam abhayaṁ durgam idam alpabuddhy-agamyam
śāstra-guru-prasāda-rahitaiś cha. Ānandañjāna gives the following explanation,—
advaitā virōdh-āntar-ābhāvā=pi tārkika-samaya-virōdhō=st=ity=āśaṅky=āha tasmād
iti | pramāṇa-virōdh-ābhāvas tach-chhabd-ārthaḥ | āryamaryādām bhindā-*

¹ Or, if we read *Kauravīya*, "he gave to the very brave and noble Kaurava (Kawar) named Luṅgā."

² [In the photo-lithograph 247 has been wrongly printed instead of 347—S. K.]

³ *Bṛhaddravyakōpanishadbhāṣya*, Anandasrama edition, pp. 311 and ff.

वि. सं. ५२५

[illegible]

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

SCALE 0.8

FROM IMPRESSIONS SUPPLIED BY D. R. BHANDARKAR.

STEN KONOW

*nās chātā vivakshyantē | bhātās tu sévakā mīthyā-bhāshīṇas tēshām sarvēśhām
rājānaṣ tārkihās tair apravēśyam anākramaṇīyam idaṁ brahmaikatvam iti
yāvāt.*

TEXT.

First Plate; Second Side.

- 1 श्री¹ स्वस्ति[॥*] विजयस्कन्धवारादुज्जयनीवासकाच्छरदुपगमप्रसन्नगनतलविमल-
विपुले
- 2 विविधपुरुषरत्नगुणकिरणनिकरावभासिते महासत्त्वापाश्रयदुर्लभे गाभीर्यवति
स्थित्य-
- 3 नृपालनपरे महोदधाविव कटञ्चूरीणामन्वये सकलजनमनोहरया चन्द्रि-
कयेव कीर्त्या
- 4 भुवनमवभासयन्नाजन्मन एव पशुपतिसमाश्रयपरक्लृप्तदोषरहितकुलकुमुद-
वनलक्ष्मीविवोधनश्चन्द्रमा इव श्रीकृष्णराजो यस्म्ययविशेषलोभादिव सकलै-
राभिगामिकै-
- 6 रितरैश्च गुणैरुपेतस्सम्पन्नप्रकृतिमण्डलो यथावदात्मन्याहितशक्तिसिद्धिर्धनं च
रुचिरवं-
- 7 शशोभिना नियतमखलितदानप्रसरेण प्रथितबलगरिम्णा वनवारणयूथपेनेवावि-
8 शङ्कं विचरता वनराजय इवावनमिता दिशो यस्य च शस्त्रमापन्नत्रा-
णाय विग्रहः परा-
- 9 भिमानभङ्गाय शिञ्चितं विनयाय विभवार्जनं प्रदानाय प्रदानं धर्माय
धर्मः श्रेयोवा-
- 10 सये तस्य पुत्रः पृथिव्यामप्रतिरथश्चतुरुदधिसलिलास्वादितयशा धनदवरुणेन्द्रा-
न्तक-
- 11 समप्रतापः स्वबाहुबलोपात्तोर्जितराजश्रीः परतावा(पा)तिशयोपनतसमग्रसामन्त-
12 मण्डलः परस्मरापीडितधर्मात्यैकामनिषेवी प्रणतिमात्रसुपरितोषगभीरोन्नत-
13 हृदयस्सम्यक्प्रजापालनाधिगतभूरिद्रविणविश्राणनावामधर्मक्रियश्चिरोत्सन्ना-
14 नां नृपतिवंशानां प्रतिष्ठापयितात्युच्छितानामुन्मूलयिता दीनान्ध-
कृपणसमभिल-
- 15 क्षितमनोरथाधिकनिकामफलप्रदः पूर्वापरसमुद्रान्तादिदेशस्वामी मातापितृ-
16 पादानुध्यातः परममाहेश्वरः श्रीशङ्करगणः सर्वानेव राजसामन्तभोगिकविषय-
17 पतिराष्ट्रग्राममहत्तराधिकारिकादीन्समाप्तापयत्यस्तु वो विदितमस्माभिः

¹ Expressed by a symbol.

Second Plate; First Side.

- 18 भोगवर्द्धनविषयान्तर्गतवह्निसिकाग्रामे उभयचत्वारिंशकनिवर्तनिना(नेन)
 19 भूमेर्निवर्तनशतम् सर्वादानसंग्राह्यं सर्वदित्यविष्टिप्रातिभेदिकापरिहीणं भूमि-
 20 च्छिद्रन्यायेनाचाटभटप्रावेश्यमाचन्द्रार्काण्यवक्षितस्थितिसमकालीनं पुत्रपौत्रान्वय-
 भोग्यं
 21 कल्लावनवास्तव्यगौतमसगोत्रतैत्तिरीयसब्रह्मचारी आह्वयस्वामिने वलिचरुवैश्व-
 देवा-
 22 ग्निहोत्रादिक्रियोत्सर्पणाय मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिहृदये गोमा-
 विज्ञापनया
 23 उदकातिसर्गेणातिसृष्टं यतोऽस्मदंश्चैरन्यैर्वागामिभ्यः पतिभोगपतिभिः प्रबलपवन-
 24 प्रेरितोदधिजलतरङ्गचञ्चलं जीवलीकमभावानुगतानसारान्विभवान्दीर्घकालस्थेयस-
 25 श्च गुणानाकलय्य भोगसामान्यभृप्रदानफलेऽसुभिः शशिकररुचिरं चिराय
 यशश्चिचीर्षुभि-
 26 रयमस्मदायोनुमन्तव्यः पालयितव्यश्च [1*] यो वाज्ञानतिमिरपटलावृतमति-
 राच्छिन्त्यादाच्छिद्य-
 27 मानं वानुमोदेत स पञ्चभिर्भृहापातकैस्संयुक्तस्यादित्युक्तञ्च भगवता
 वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन [11*]
 28 षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः [1*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च
 तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥ विन्याट-
 29 वीध्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः [1*] कृष्णाहयो हि जायन्ते भूमिदायं
 हरन्ति ये ॥ बहुभिर्व-
 30 सुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः [1*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा
 फलम् ॥ पूर्वदत्तां
 31 द्विजातिभ्यो यत्नाद्रक्ष्युधिष्ठिर [1*] महीं महीमतां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छेयोनुपालन-
 मपिच ॥ यानीह
 32 दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्दानानि धर्मात्थयशस्कराणि [1*] निर्बुक्तमात्रप्रति-
 मानि तानि को नाम साधुः
 33 पुनराददेत ॥ संवत्सरशतत्रये सप्तचत्वारिंशदुत्तरके आवणशुद्धपञ्चदश्यां
 महापिलु-
 34 पतिपाशुपतदूतकं लिखितमिदं महासन्धिविग्रहाधिकरणाधिकृतवाट्चलि-
 नेति ॥ सं ३०० ४० ७ आवण शु १० ५

1 The Sarsaygi plates read *sāmānya-bhōga-bhā-*.

TRANSLATION.¹

Line 1. Om! Hail! From the victorious camp pitched at Ūjjayinī. In the lineage of the Kaṭachchūris, which, like the great ocean, is extensive and spotless as the firmament, clear on the approach of autumn, illumined by the mass of the rays of the excellences of many jewels of men (as the ocean is adorned by the rays of its gems); which is difficult to be crossed, because it is the home of men of great vigour (as the ocean is of large animals), full of gravity and desirous of keeping within the bounds of what is proper (just as the ocean is full of depth and desirous of keeping within its shores), there was the glorious Kṛishnarāja, who illumined the world with his fame, as the moon with light, agreeable to all men; who was from his birth solely devoted to Paśupati (Śiva), just as the moon solely rests on Śiva; who (though) free from defects, yet like the moon (who has a spot) revives the beauty (prosperity) of his family resembling a forest of night lotuses; who was resorted to by all virtues which attract² men to a king and by other qualities, as if through a desire to obtain a very suitable abode; who was endowed with all the constituent parts of royalty; who had properly enjoyed the fruits of his regal powers; who resplendent with his illustrious family, the flow of his liberality being ceaseless and the majesty of his power well-known, roaming fearlessly, subdued the regions, as the chief in a herd of wild elephants, with the ceaseless flow of its rutting juice, displaying the greatness of its strength, roaming about fearlessly breaks down rows of forests; whose sword was used to protect the helpless; whose wars were made to humble the pride of his enemies; whose learning aimed at modesty; who acquired wealth to make gifts; who made gifts in order to acquire religious merit, and acquired religious merit in order to obtain final bliss.

(L. 10.) His son, the glorious Śaṅkaragana, a great devotee of Śiva, the lord of countries bounded by the eastern and western ocean, and other lands, who meditated on the feet of his parents; who had no rival in the world; whose fame was tasted by the waters of the four oceans; whose might was equal to that of Kubēra, Varuṇa, Indra and Yama; who acquired the fortune of great kings by the strength of his arm; to whom, by reason of the excess of his prowess, the circle of all feudatory kings bowed; who enjoyed religious merit, wealth and pleasure without allowing them to encroach upon one another; whose profound and lofty mind was satisfied with mere submission; who performed religious acts by giving away, in charity, the immense wealth acquired by properly protecting his subjects; who re-instated families of kings who had long been dethroned; who uprooted those that were too proud; who granted to the afflicted, the blind and the poor, the object of their desires which exceeded their sanguine expectations,—issues this order to all kings, feudatories, *bhōgikas*, heads of provinces, districts, and villages, officers and others:—

Be it known to you. For the increase of the religious merit and fame of our parents and ourselves we have granted, at the request of Gōggā,³ with pouring out of water, a hundred *nivartanas* of land,—by a *nivartana* measuring forty on both sides,—in the village of Vallisikā situated in the province of Bhōgavarddhana, together with all receipts, free from all *ditya*, forced labour, and *prātibhādikā*, according to the maxim of *bhūmichhidra*, not to be encroached upon by rogues and servants who tell lies,⁴ to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons' sons for as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean and the earth endure,—to Āhmapasvāmin, a resident of Kallāvana belonging to the Gautama *gōtra*, and a student of the Taittiriya *śākhā*, for the maintenance of *bali*, *charu*, *vaiśvadeva*, *agnihōtra* and other rites,—wherefore future kings and governors, whether of our own family or others, reflecting that this world of living beings is as unstable as a wave of the waters of the ocean, moved by a strong gale, that

¹ [Compare the translation of the Sarsavā plates and the notes accompanying it, above, Vol. VI. pp. 299 and ff.—S. K.]

Kāmandakīya nītisāra, chap. IV. verses 6-8.

³ Gōggā was probably the name of the queen of Śaṅkaragana.

⁴ See the introductory remarks.

riches are perishable and unsubstantial, and that virtues endure for a long time,—wishing to participate in the fruit of a gift of land, which is an object of enjoyment by all, and desiring to accumulate fame as bright as the rays of the moon for a long time, should consent to this our gift of land and preserve it. Whoever, with his mind covered by the veil of the darkness of ignorance should take it away, or allow it to be taken away, shall be guilty of the five great sins. And it is said by the venerable Vyāsa, the arranger of the Vēdas:—[Here follow five well-known imprecatory verses.]

(L. 33) In three hundred years increased by forty-seven, on the fifteenth day of the bright half of Śrāvaṇa, this edict, the *dūtaka* of which is the *Mahāpilupati* Pāśupata, was written by the *Mahāsandhivigrahādhikaraṇādhikṛita* Vāṭchalin. Sam 300 40 7 Śrāvaṇa śu 10 5.

No. 46.—ARIGOM SARADA INSCRIPTION.

LAUKIKA SAMVAT 73.

By STEN KONOW.

Ārigōm is a village in the Nāgām pargana, 74° 45' long., 33° 56' lat., about 15 miles south-west of Śrinagar, as the crow flies. Dr. Stein, in his note on the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* I. 340, identifies Ārigōm with Hāḍigrāma, where Gōpāditya is said to have established an *agrahāra*, and states that some remains of temples were traced there by Paṇḍit Kāśī Rām in 1891. Hāḍigrāma is further mentioned by Kalhaṇa (VIII, 672) as one of the strongholds of the Dāmara Prithvīhara. In the troubled times following on the accession of Jayasīṃha in A.D. 1128, "Hāḍigrāma, where King Sussala and those of his side had lost their renown, was burned by Sujji, whose valour was mighty" (VIII, 1586), and the place is further mentioned in connexion with the incursion of king Lōṭhana during the same period (VIII, 2195).

In June 1908, Paṇḍit Mukund Rām, who had with great courtesy been placed at my disposal by the Kashmir Darbar, was informed by a friend of the existence of an inscribed stone in the house of a Brāhman in Ārigōm, and at my request he went up to inspect it. According to information gathered by him on the spot, the stone in question was found about twelve years ago in a piece of uncultivated land near the Masjid Malik Sahib by a cultivator, who was digging there, and sold to a Brāhman for some corn. The Brāhman kept the stone for some time and did *pūjā* to it. But people who saw it, told him that the writing probably contained information about hidden treasure, and that the stone therefore properly belonged to the Mahārāja. He got frightened, and first hid the stone under the wall of his house, but later on he threw it into a pit at the entrance of his *gōśālā* and covered it up with cow-dung. Paṇḍit Mukund Rām further informs me that images, pedestals, stones and bricks are found all over the place, and it is probable that excavations would yield interesting results.

The stone mentioned above is square, measuring 20" each way, and being 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ " high. On the top is a raised circle, apparently the base of an image. One of the four faces of the stone is inscribed with five lines in Śāradā letters.

The writing covers a space of 17 $\frac{1}{2}$ " $\times$ 3", and the height of the letters averages $\frac{3}{4}$ ". They are distributed over five lines, the fifth of which contains the date. The beginning of the first two lines and the last letter in lines 1-3 and the three last letters in line 4 have disappeared.

The characters are Śāradā, and they are very well cut. *Ja* has the older form as in the Baijnāth *praśasti*. The final form of *m* occurs in line 3. The diphthong *ē* has been marked in two different ways, by means of a horizontal line above, as in *bhagavatē*, l. 1, or by a vertical before the consonant as in *tē*, l. 2. Similarly *ō* is sometimes marked by adding a horizontal above, sometimes by prefixing a vertical to the consonant accompanied by the sign for *ā*. Compare

Āryāvalōkitēśvarāya, l. 1, and *lōkanāthāya*, l. 2. A third method occurs in *lōkā* at the end of line 1, where a wavy line has been added above the sign for *la*. Of initial vowels only *ā* occurs in *āryā*, l. 1. Among ligatures I may note *kya*, l. 1, *kkra*, l. 3, *kva*, l. 4; *ṅa*, l. 2; *dya*, l. 3; *rya*, l. 1; and perhaps *lhṇa*, l. 3. The numeral symbols for 7, 8 and 5 occur in line 5.

The language of this inscription is Sanskrit, and, with the exception of the invocation of *Avalōkitēśvara* in l. 1, and the date in l. 5, the whole is in verse. There are altogether two verses. The first is apparently a *ślōka*. The second *pāda*, however, contains three syllables too much, but these *aksharas* are probably simply a repetition of part of *pāda* 1. The second verse is a *sārdūlavikrīḍita*. The object of the inscription is to record the construction of a *vihāra* built of *pakka* bricks, by *Rāmadēva*, the son of *Kulladēva*, in order to replace a wooden structure which had been built by a *vaidya*, whose name I read *Ulhṇa*, and which had been burnt down by king *Simha*. This *Simha* must be identical with *Jayasimha* (from A.D. 1128), in whose reign *Hāḍigrāma* was burnt down by *Sujji*.¹ It then becomes highly probable that the *vaidya* *Ulhṇa* is identical with *Ulhṇa*, the son of *Sahadēva*, who was a supporter of *Sujji*.² *Sahadēva* is described as a *Rājaputra*,³ which fact can of course be well reconciled with his son *Ulhṇa*'s being a *vaidya*. The constructor of the brick *vihāra* was *Rāmadēva*, whom I cannot identify. His father *Kulladēva* was perhaps in charge of the old wooden *vihāra*, if I am right in interpreting *tad-rata* (l. 4) as "devoted to, attached to him, viz., *Avalōkitēśvara*."

The word *vihāra* is used with more than one meaning. In our inscription, however, there cannot be much doubt that it signifies a shrine, as it has been characterized as "the abode of *Lōkanātha*." The stone upon which this epigraph has been incised is most probably the actual base of the statue of *Lōkanātha* here alluded to. *Lōkanātha* is, of course, identical with *Avalōkitēśvara*, who is invoked in lines 1-2. Our inscription thus furnishes valuable proof of the fact that Buddhism was still lingering in Kashmir in the 12th and 13th centuries.

The mention of the materials used in building the old and the new shrines, is also of interest. We learn that the former was constructed from wood, while the latter was built from *pakka* bricks.

The old *vihāra* is stated to have been built in the vicinity of *Gaṅgēśvara*. This is now called *Gaṇēśvara*, and is the place where the present inscription was dug out. The modern corruption of the name is not of very old date. The old name was at least remembered about 40 years ago. This is proved by a *janmapattra*, which *Paṇḍit Mukund Rām* found in *Ārigōm*, and which was written by *Paṇḍit Gaṇēśa Khusrāo* in *Laukika Sāmvat* 4939, i.e. A.D. 1862-63. It speaks of a person as *Gaṅgēśvara-pādamūlē Ārigrāmē vāstavya* residing in *Ārigōm* at the feet of *Gaṅgēśvara*. *Gaṅgēśvara* was originally probably a *Śiva* temple, and it is not unlikely that it could be identified by means of excavations.

The inscription is dated *Sāmvat* 73, *Mārga śuti* 5. This date must be subsequent to the burning of *Ārigōm* during the reign of *Jayasimha*. Now *Jayasimha*'s father was murdered in the *Laukika* year 4203, and the burning of *Ārigōm* took place in the first part of his reign. It is therefore as good as certain that we have to understand the date of our inscription as 4273 on the fifth tithi of the bright fortnight of *Mārgaśirsha*, corresponding to Sunday, the 16th November 1197.

TEXT.

1 ...⁴ नमो भगवते आर्यावलोकितेश्वराय ॥ ⁵[द्वै]लोक्यालोकभूताय लोका-
[लो]-

¹ *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, VIII. 1586.

² *Ibidem*. vv. 2066, 2092, 2097.

³ *Ibidem*. v. 193.

⁴ I cannot restore the beginning. The *akshara* preceding नमो looks like द्वै. *Paṇḍit Mukund Rām* suggests to read नमो.

⁵ Metre : *Ślōka*. There is something wrong in the second *pāda*.

- 2 [ल]..[स]भवच्छिदे [१*] जगदानन्दचन्द्राय लोकनाथाय ते नमः ॥[१*]
 'प्रागङ्गेश्वरसि[न]-
 3 धौ [सुम]तिमान्वैद्योरङ्गदेवाभिधक्षक्रे दारुमयं विहारममलं श्रीलोकनाथाख्य-
 दम [१*] तस्मिन्[न]-
 4 हनृपेण कालवशतो दग्धेय पक्वेष्टिकायेष्टं तद्रतकुलदेवतनयोमुं रामदेवो
 [व्यधात् ॥] [२*]
 5 सं ७३ मार्ग शुति ५

TRANSLATION.

Line 1. Salutation to the exalted noble Avalokitêśvara.

(Verse 1). Salutation to thee, the Lord of the World, who hast become a light to the three worlds, who destroys transmigration, the moon of delight to the world.

(V. 2). Formerly the *vaidya* Uḥṇadêva² by name made a spotless *vihāra* of wood, an abode for the Lord of the World, in the vicinity of the Gaṅgêśvara (temple). After this, by the will of fate, had been burned by king Simha, Rāmadêva, the son of Kulladêva, who was devoted to him (Avalokitêśvara), made yonder (*vihāra*) excellent with burnt bricks.

Line 5. Sāmvat 73, the 5th day of the bright (half) of Mārga(śirsha).

No. 47.—CHANDRAVATI PLATE OF CHANDRADEVĀ.

SAMVAT 1148.

By STEN KONOW.

The plate containing this inscription was found on the inner slope of the left bank of the Ganges, near the water's edge, under the fort at Chandravatī, in the Benares District. Mr. Chhote Lal, the District Engineer of Benares, informs me that, owing to the erosive action of the river, portions of the fort were undermined and fell down from time to time. The plate fell into the river along with the walls of the fort, and was seen and picked up by the Public Works Department's boatman, who deposited it in the District Engineer's office at Benares. In March 1908 it was then finally handed over to the Director General of Archaeology in India.

The plate, which is inscribed on one side only, measures $15\frac{3}{8}'' \times 11\frac{3}{4}''$. The edges are fashioned thicker and raised into rims. In the upper part of the plate is a hole, through which passes a ring, about $\frac{1}{2}''$ thick and 3" in diameter. On the ring slides a bell-shaped seal, $2\frac{3}{8}''$ from top to bottom. The surface of the seal is circular and $2\frac{1}{4}''$ in diameter. It represents in relief, on a slightly countersunk surface, a Garuḍa, with the body of a man and the head of a bird, kneeling and facing the proper right. Across the centre is the legend *śrīvadach-(śrīmach)-Chandradêvāh*, and at the bottom a conch shell.

The plate contains 23 lines of writing. Parts of it are much worn, and the portion containing the date cannot be made out with certainty. The characters are Nāgarī, and the language is Sanskrit. With regard to orthography I shall only note that *va* is used both for *va* and for *ba*, and that the dental sibilant is often used instead of the palatal one; thus, =*asita-*

¹ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

² It is possible that the name should be read Alhṇadêva.

for *aśīta-*, l. 1, *-vaṁsa-* for *-vaṁśa-*, l. 2. There are several other misspellings and slips, especially towards the end.

After the invocation to *Śrī* common in other plates of the same family, our inscription proceeds to give the genealogy of the donor in four verses, which are well known from other inscriptions. We are told that Yaśōvigraha had the son Mahichandra, whose son again was Chandradēva, the issuer of the present grant. The inscription then goes on in prose, stating that the victorious king Chandradēva issues the following order to all the people assembled, residing in the Vaḍagavā-village in the Vāvana-pattalā, and also to the *Rājas*, *Rājñis*, *Yuvarājas*, councillors, chaplains, warders of the gate, generals, treasurers, keepers of records, physicians, astrologers, superintendents of gynæceums, messengers, the officers in charge of elephants, horses, towns, mines, *sthānas* and *gōkulas*:

"Be it known to you that the aforesaid village, with its water and dry land, with its mines of iron and salt, with its fishing places, with its ravines and saline soil, with and including its groves of *madhūka* and mango, grass and pasture land, with what is above and below, defined as to its four abutments, up to its proper boundaries, has today, on the . . . day of the bright fortnight of Kārttika, Saṁvat 1148, been given by us for as long a time as moon and sun endure, with the pouring out of water from the palm of our hand, purified with *gōkarṇa*¹ and *kuśa*-grass, to the Brāhmaṇ Varuṇēsvayasarmaṇ (-śvaraśarmaṇ), the son of Varāhasyāmi, the grandson of Anarudha, of the Vasishṭha *gōtra*, and whose only *pravara* is Vasishṭha, for the increase of the merit and fame of our parents and ourselves, after having today bathed here in the neighbourhood of Sauri (Śauri)-Nārāyaṇa, after having duly satisfied the sacred texts, divinities, saints, men, beings, and groups of ancestors,² after having worshipped the sun whose splendour is skilled in rending the veil of darkness, after having worshipped Vāsudēva, the saviour of the three worlds, and after having sacrificed to the Fire an oblation with abundant milk, rice and sugar."

The first point here that is worthy of notice is the date, which is the earliest known for Chandradēva, the other copper plate of his time being dated in Saṁvat 1154.³ It will be seen that the portion of it containing the *tithi* and the week day is illegible. Mr. Chhote Lal, who has examined the original, writes about this point,—

"Ordinarily, it might be thought that the excessive corrosion and incrustation of rust at this particular part of the plate was purely accidental, but from a minute examination of the imperfect and damaged letters which are still discernible, I am led to conclude that the excessive incrustation at this point was due to the fact that the surface of the plate was already damaged by somebody in his endeavour to make a correction in the date. It is remarkable that the name of the place or that of the stream in which the donor took his bath, is not mentioned in the inscription. Nor is there any mention of the occasion (eclipse, *saṅkrānti*, etc.) at which the gift was made. It would appear that Śauri-Nārāyaṇa was in those days a very well-known place of pilgrimage requiring no further details to localise it, that the occasion *presumably* was the ordinary Kārttika-*snāna*, and that the date originally entered on the plate was *pañchadaśyām gurau*, but was afterwards attempted to be corrected into *ekādaśyām ravanau*. The *ē* of the latter just overlaps the *pañ* of the former; the *kā* of the latter being rather large has been so formed as to include the *cha* and to cover the space occupied by *da* of the former; while the space occupied by *śyām* of the former has been utilised for the rather clumsily large *da* of the latter. It will thus be seen that the space originally occupied by the word *pañchadaśyām*, which was of normal size, was subsequently occupied by the much larger letters, *ē*, *kā* and *da*, and there being no more space available for the final syllable *śyām*, it was omitted. Similarly, the *ra* of

¹ Compare Kielhorn, *Ind. Ant.* XV. p. 10, Note 57.

² See *ibidem*, note 55.

³ *Ind. Ant.* XVIII. pp. 9 and ff.

ravan overlaps the *gu* of *guran* and *rau* of the latter has been deformed into something like *van* of the former. Now the question arises, "Why was the date corrected?" The reason may be that the grant was originally intended to be made on the *pañchadaśi*, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse which was expected to take place on that date. A little calculation will show that the eclipse did actually occur on the specified date (corresponding to Thursday, the 7th of November, 1090 A.D.), but as the time of its occurrence was early in the following morning (according to calculation), it must have been very doubtful whether it would be visible at the place visited by Chandradēva. This circumstance may have been anticipated, and it may have been decided to make the donation on the preceding *Prabōdhini Ekādaśi* (Sunday, the 3rd of November, 1090 A.D.) which was a most suitable day for the purpose, being the day on which Viṣṇu—the deity worshipped by Chandradēva—rises from his four months' sleep. I say all this may have been the cause of the alteration in the date, for there is no *a priori* reason against this supposition. But I consider it very unlikely that a Mahārāja, who changed his mind about the actual day of performing a religious ceremony, could have allowed a correction—and a clumsy correction at the best—to be made in the copper plate inscription recording the gift of a whole village, when the entire inscription could have been cut on a new plate in a day's time. The fact seems to be that it is no honour to a Brāhmaṇa to receive a gift on the occasion of an eclipse, and there are certain sects of Brāhmaṇas, e.g. Sarjuparis and Kanaujiyas, who would promptly excommunicate any member of their community who was known to have received a gift on account of an eclipse. The Brāhmaṇa who received the munificent gift from Chandradēva probably belonged to one of these sects, and, after the king had made the gift and departed, he seems to have thought of concealing his disgraceful conduct and to have caused the original and genuine date to be altered as explained above."

Mr. Chhote Lal further identifies Vaḍagavā with the present Baragaon, a village 14 miles north-west of Benares. He thinks it, however, also possible that it was the old name of Chandrāvati, which was afterwards changed in honour of king Chandradēva.

After the mention of the grant, we find some of the usual imprecatory verses, and, at the end, the name of the writer, the *ṭhakkura* Mahananda.

TEXT.¹

- 1 Ōm² svasti || ³akumṭh-ōtkanṭha-Vaikumṭha-kanṭha-piṭha-luṭhat-karaḥ | samrambhaḥ
suratārambhē sa Śriyaḥ śrēyasē=stu vaḥ || ⁴āsīd=asī(śi)tadyu-
- 2 ti-vamśa(sa)-jāta-[kṣmā]pāla-mālāsu divaṁ gatāsu | sākṣhād=Vivasvān=iva
bhūridhāmnā nāmnā Yaśōvighraha ity=udāraḥ || ⁵tat-sutō=bhūt(n)=Mahichandra-
- 3 ś=cha[m*]dradhāma-nibhaṁ nijaṁ | yēn=āpāram=akūpāra-pārē vyāpāritaṁ yaśaḥ ||
⁶tasy=ābhūt=tanayō nay-aikarasikaḥ krānta-dvishan-mamḍālā(mamḍalō)
⁷viddhast-ōddhata-
- 4 dhira-yōdha-timiraḥ śrī-Chandradēvō nripaḥ | 'yēn=ōdāratara-pratāpa-sa(sa)mit-
āśēsha-prajōpadravaṁ śrīmad-Gādhipur-ādhirājyam=asamaṁ dōrvikra-
- 5 mēp=ārjitaṁ || ⁸tīrthāni Kāśi-Kusik(-śik)-Ottarakōśal(sal)-Īndra(h)sthānīyakāni
paripālayat=ābhigamyah(ya) | hēm=ātmatulyam=anisaṁ(sam) dadatā divijēbhyō
- 6 yēn=āmkitā vasumatī sātasa(sa)s=tulābhiḥ || sa cha paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājā-
dhirāja-paramēśva(śva)ra-paramamāhēśva(śva)ra-nijabhujōpā[r*]jita-śrī-Ka-
- 7 nyakuvj(bj)-ādhipatya-śrī-Chandradēvō vijayī ||⁹ Vāvana-pattalāyām Vaḍagavā-
grāmē nivā[sinō nikhila]-jana-padān=upagatān=api cha rāja-rājūi-yuvarā-

¹ From the original plate.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ Metre: Anuṣṭubh.

⁴ Metre: Indravajrā.

⁵ Metre: Anuṣṭubh.

⁶ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

Read *viddhast*.

⁷ Metre: Vasantatilaka.

This sign of interpolation is superfluous.

[illegible]

- 8 ja-mamtri-purôhita-pratihâra-sênâpati-bhâmâgârik-âkshapaṭalika-bhishaka(śhaḡ)-naimi-
[ttik-ântahpu]rika-dûta-karituragapattanâkarasthânagô[ku]-
- 9 lādihikâripurushân=âjñâpayâ(ya)ty=âdisati cha yathâ viditam=astu bhavatâm
yathôpa[rilikhi]ta-grâma[h*] sa-jala-sthalah sa-lôha-lavaṇ-âkaraḥ sa-ma-
- 10 [t*]sy-âkaraḥ sa-gartt-ôsharaḥ sa-madhûk-âmra-vana-vâṭikâ-ṭṭiṇa-yûti-gôchâra-
paryantah s-ôrdh[h*]-âdhas=chatur-âghâṭa-visu(śu)ddhaḥ sva-simâ-paryantah
[samvat]
- 11 1148 Kârttika su di ady=êha Sau(Śau)ri-nârâyana-samipê
snâtva vidhivan=mamtra-dêva-pu(mu)ni-manuja-bhûta-pitrigaṇâms=tarppayitvâ ti-
- 12 mira-ṭaṭala-pâṭana-pa[ṭu-ma]hasams(sam=)[ushṇa-rôchi]sham samabhyarchya tribhu-
vana-¹trâṭur=Vâsudêvasya pûjâm vidhâya prachura-pâyasêna havishâ
havrbbhujaḥ [hu]tvâ
- 13 mâtâpitrôr=âtmana[ś=cha] punya-pra(ya)[śô-bhividdhayê] ¹² Vasishṭhagotrâya ¹²
Vasishṭh-aika-pravarâya ¹² Aparudha-pautrâya Var[â*]hasvâmi-putrâya ¹²
Varupêsvaya(śvara)-
- 14 sa(śa)rmmaṇê vrâ(brâ)hmaṇâya gôkarsa(rṇa)-kuśalatâ-pûta-karatal-ôdakêu=âsmâbhiḥ
âchamdrârkkaḥ yâvav(ch=chh)âsanikṛitya pradattaḥ | matvâ yathâdiyamâna-
bhâgabho-
- 15 gâkara-pravâṇikara-turushkadamṇa-kumaragadiâṇaka-prabhṛiti-samastâ [n*] = n i y a t â s
niyat-âdâyân= âjñâ(m)-vidhêyi-bhûya dâsyatha
- 16 iti || bhavanti ch=âtra paurâṇikâ[h*] ślôkâḥ || || ³bhûmim yah pratigrihâti
yaś=cha bhûmim prayachchhati | ubhau tau puṇyakarmmaṇau ni-
- 17 yatau svargna(rgga)-gâminau || sa(śa)mkaḥ bhadrâsanam chohhatram⁴ varâśvâ
(śvâ)varavâraṇâḥ | bhûmi-dânasya chihnâni phalam=⁵a(ê)tat=Puraṇdara ||
shashṭ(h)im varsha-sahasrâ-
- 18 ni svarggê vasati bhûmidah [l*] âchchhêtâ ch=ânumantâ cha tân[y=*]êva
narakam(kê) vasêt || svadattâm paradattâm vâ yô harêd(ta)=vasumdhârâm |
sa vishṭhâyâm kṛimir=bhûtvâ
- 19 pitribhiḥ saha majjati || vârihînêshv=aranyêshu śushka-kôṭara-vâsinaḥ | kṛishṇa-
sarppâs=ra(cha)jâyamtê dêva-vra(bra)hma-sva-hâriṇah || na visham vi[sha]m=
ity=â-
- 20 hu[r*] vra(bra)hma-svam visham=uchyata(tê) | visham=êkâkinam haṁti(r=)
vra(bra)hmasvam puvrapautriâkam(putrapautrikam) || ⁶rgâm=akâm svarsêm=
êkam bhûmêr=apy=êkam=amgulaḥ | harâm(haran) narakam=âpnôti yâvad=â-
- 21 bhûta-sa[m*]plavam || tadâgânâm sahasrâṇi ⁷asvam[ê]dhasatâni cha | gavâm
kâ(kô)ṭi-pradânana(nêna) bhûmi-harttâ na suyati(śudhyati) || va(ba)hubhir=
vasudhâ bhuktâ râjabhiḥ Cha(Sa)ga-
- 22 râdibhi[h] || (l) yasya yasya yadâ bhûmis-tasya tasya tadâ phalam || ⁸yân=
iha dattâni purâ narê[n*]drai[r*] dânâni ⁹varmmâpiyasaskarâṇi [l*] ni-
[rmâlyavâmta-prati]-
- 23 mâni tâni kô nâma sâdhuḥ punar=âdadhîta || || ¹⁰Likhîtamm=idam
tâmmrapaṭaka[m*] ṭhakkura-śrî- Mahanânda ||

¹ The engraver originally wrote *tribhuvama-*, but corrected it.

² These signs of interpunctuation are superfluous.

³ Metre of this and the following verses : Anushtubh.

⁴ Read *chhatram*.

⁵ The ê-stroke has been put over the pu of *Puraṇdara*.

⁶ Read *gâm=êkâm svarnam=êkam cha*.

⁷ Read *asvamedhasatâni*.

⁸ Metre: *Indravajrâ*.

⁹ Read *dharmârthayâsas-*.

¹⁰ Read *likhitam-*.

No. 48.—BURHANPUR SANSKRIT INSCRIPTION OF ADIL SHAH.
SAMVAT 1646.

By HIRA LAL, B.A., M.R.A.S., NAGPUR.

Burhānpūr in the Nimār district of the Central Provinces is an ancient historical site.¹ It was the chief seat of the Fārūqī kings. They ruled over Khândêsh, which name the Muhammadans derived from their title of Khān. Their rule lasted from 1370 to 1600 A.D., when it was displaced by the Mughals. One of these Fārūqī kings built the Jum'a Masjīd, in which besides Arabic inscriptions he had one carved in Sanskrit, which gives his genealogy and the date of the construction of the mosque. This inscription is in the northern corner and is written within an arch, so that the lines, which are 6 in number, are of unequal length. They contain five verses, besides the invocation *Śrī śrīṣṭīkartrē namaḥ* in the commencement and the date in the end, both of which are in prose.

The letters are Nāgarī and are raised, not incised, in the same fashion as Persian letters are usually found carved. Orthography hardly calls for any remarks. The sign of *avagraha* has been omitted throughout. Over the *na* of *-khāna-* (l. 3) we find the Arabic sign of *tashdid* or double consonant.

The date is recorded in great detail, giving both the Vikrama and Śaka years, which are stated to be 1646 and 1511 respectively, the cyclic year being Virōdhi. The mosque is stated to have been completed on Monday, the 11th of the bright fortnight of the month Pausa, the exact moment in *ghaṭis* and the *nakshatra*, *lagna*, *yōga*, *karana*, etc., being added most precisely.² The date in the Hijra era is given as 997 in Arabic above the inscription. Its English equivalent was kindly calculated for me by the late Professor Kielhorn, C.I.E., who found it to be Monday, the 5th January 1590. The astrological details are unique in a Muhammadan mosque and show the religious tendency of the later Fārūqī kings. In Burhānpūr much of the beliefs of the two religions (Hinduism and Islām) got mixed up, traces of which are still conspicuously present there. As an instance may be cited the preachings of the *Pīrādās*, who are Musalmāns and who say that God will now become incarnate as *Nishkalañki*.³ The Fārūqīs undoubtedly believed in astrology, as this inscription shows, and although the builder of the mosque took every care to erect it in the most auspicious moment completing it exactly in one year (as an Arabic inscription carved in the middle of the Masjīd discloses) and wished by his pious act to ensure the long continuance of his dynasty, yet uncompromising destiny snatched away the crown from them, only ten years after the construction of the edifice. In fact Bahādur Khān, the builder's son, was so much infatuated with superstition, that, in spite of his possessing the impregnable Asirgarh fort with ten years' provisions, enormous treasures and numerous horses and cattle, he felt convinced that he could not hold his own against Akbar, of whom he believed that he was a necromancer and that magicians accompanied him to reduce the fort. A pestilence which broke out among the animals, was attributed to the black art, and he saw no way but to surrender to the mighty wizard. This mosque was thus destined to receive another inscription, which Akbar triumphantly caused to be carved recording his victory of Khândêsh in A.H. 1009 (A.D. 1600), annihilating the glory of the mosque builder's dynasty for ever. This inscription is in Persian and is conspicuously inscribed on the outside wall of the left hand minār.

¹ It was here that the famous Mumtāz Maḥall (Arjumand Bānū Bēgam) breathed her last.

² For details see translation at the end.

³ I have seen some Sanskrit manuscripts in Persian character in the possession of some Maulvis of Burhānpūr, preserved as heirlooms from their ancestors, who apparently studied them under State encouragement. Unfortunately most of these valuable records have been destroyed by the fires of 1897 and 1906 which caused damage to the extent of about 57 lakhs besides loss of life.

The chief interest of our inscription lies in the genealogy of the Fârûqis given in it. According to it the first king was Râja Malik, whose son was Ghaznî (Khân). His son was Kaisar Khân, whose son was Hasan, from whom was born Âdil Shâh, whose son was Mubârah. Âdil Shâh, the constructor of the mosque, was the son of this Mubârah. This genealogy differs from those given by Firishta and Abul Fazl. According to the former Âdil Shâh was the 6th descendant from Malik Râja, and according to the latter the 8th, while according to our inscription he was the 7th. The tables given below will show at a glance how matters stand :—

Sanskrit inscription.	Briggs' <i>Firishta</i> , Vol. IV., p. 280.	Jarrett's <i>Ain-i-Akbari</i> , Vol. II., p. 226.
Râja Malik.	Malik Râja.	Malik Râji.
Gaznî (Khân).	Nasîr Khân.	Ghiznî Khân, title Nasir Khân.
Kaisar Khân.		Mîran Shâh <i>alias</i> Âdil Shâh.
		Mubârik Shâh Chaukhançî.
Hasan (Khân).	Hasan Khân.	Âdil Shâh Aynâ <i>alias</i> Ahsan Khân.
Âdil Shâh.	Âdil Khân.	Âdil Shâh.
Mubârah.	Mubârik.	Mubârik Shâh.
Âdil Shâh.	Râja Alî Khân.	Râja Alî Khân, title Âdil Shâh.

The *Ain-i-Akbari* states that "Bahâdur Khân (who was the son of Râja Alî Khân) was 9th in descent from Malik Râji." This has led Colonel Jarrett,¹ as it would indeed lead others, to suppose that the list given there is genealogical and that Ahsan Khân, the fifth king, was identical with Hasan Khân, who, as a matter of fact, was never a king. Hasan Khân belonged to a collateral branch of the family, whose son became king on the failure of male issue in the main line.

The *Ain-i-Akbari* has mixed up the succession list with the genealogical table. Mîran Shâh, the third descendant, was really a grandson of Malik Râja, but the point missed is that he was not the direct ascendant of the last Âdil Shâh or Râja Alî Khân. The crown first went in Mîran Shâh's line up to Âdil Shâh Aynâ, who was succeeded by his brother Dâwûd Khân, and the latter by his son Ghaznî Khân, who was poisoned two days after ascending the throne. Abul Fazl does not mention Ghaznî Khân at all, probably because his succession to the throne was only nominal. Ghaznî Khân left no son,² and hence the crown went to Râja Alî Khân's grandfather Âdil Shâh or Âdil Khân. The three kings Mîran Shâh, Mubârah Shâh and Âdil Shâh Aynâ were not thus direct ascendants of Râja Alî Khân. The *Ain-i-Akbari* list should therefore be left out of consideration, and the question must be decided between our inscription and Firishta's list. Briggs³ takes Hasan to be the son of Nasîr Khân, relying on Firishta's assertion that "Âdil was the son of Hasan and grandson of Nasîr Khân." If Hasan were the son of Nasîr Khân, he would be the brother of Mîran Shâh, who was crowned king after his father's death. We would, therefore, have to suppose that Mîran's nephew came to the throne after the expiry of three

¹ See his *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II., p. 226, footnote.

² Briggs' *Firishta*, Vol. IV., p. 303.

³ *Loc. cit.*

generations, which is an unlikely supposition. There is nothing to show that Âdil Khân (Hasan's son) was extraordinarily long-lived.¹ It, therefore, seems very probable that there was an intervening generation between Nasir Khân and Hasan Khân, and the missing link is supplied by the Sanskrit inscription in the person of Kaisar Khân, son of Nasir and father of Hasan Khân. In the inscription Kaisar Khân is merely called a *vira* or hero and not a king, and although Hasan was also never a king, the epithet of *kshitiśa* was apparently added to his name by way of courtesy, to tickle the ruling prince. Regarding the sources of his information Firishta records² that when he visited Burhânpûr in A.H. 1013 (A.D. 1604), he asked Mirzâ Ali Isfahânî if any history existed of the Fârûqî family. The Mirzâ replied that he knew of none, but said that he once saw a genealogy³ of the family down to Malik Râja, which he copied and took along with him. It would thus appear that no history of the kings later than Malik Râja existed at all. So the information he collected was apparently from traditions or other casual records, while the writer of the Sanskrit inscription must certainly have been supplied with information from the royal family, as it was intended to be a permanent record, in one of the greatest works the king built. It is, therefore, more reliable than Firishta and leaves no room for doubt as to its authenticity.⁴ A revised genealogy of the Fârûqî kings will be found below on p. 310.

TEXT.⁵

- 1 ॥ श्री सृष्टिकर्त्रे नमः । अव्यक्तं(क्तं) व्यापकं नित्यं गुणातीतं चिदात्मकं
[1*] व्यक्तस्य(व्यक्तस्य) कारणं वन्दे व्यक्ताव्यक्तं तमोश्चरं⁷ ॥१॥ यावच्चन्द्रा-
र्कतारा-
- 2 दि क्षितिः स्यादंबरांगणै(णै) [1*] तावत्कारुकिवंशोसौ चिरं नन्दतु
भूतले ॥२॥ वंशेय तस्मिन्किल फारुकीन्द्रो वभूव राजा मलिकाभि-
धानः [1*] तस्याभवत्सूनु-
- 3 रुदारचेताः कुलावतंसो गजनीनरेशः⁸ ॥३॥ तस्मादभूत्केसरखानवीरः पुत्र-
स्तदीयो हसनक्षितीशः [1*] तस्मादभूदेदलशाहभूपः पुत्रोभवत्तस्य
सुबारखेन्द्रः ॥४॥

¹ The average for a generation in the line of which Ghazni Khân was the last, is 23 years, while in the line of Râja Ali Khân it is 29 years. According to the Sanskrit inscription the average for the latter is reduced to less than 26, taking the reckoning up to the death of Miran Muhammad in 1576, but for the minority of whose son Hussain Khân, Râja Ali Khân would have had no opportunity to sit on his brother's throne.

² It may be noted that the visit was paid 14 years after our inscription was carved.

³ Firishta gives this as follows:—

Malik Râja, the son of Khân Jabân, the son of Ali Khân, the son of Uthmân Khân, the son of Simion Shâh, the son of Ashab Shâh, the son of Arman Shâh, the son of Ibrâhîm Shâh of Balkh, the son of Âdam Shâh, the son of Ahmad Shâh, the son of Mahmûd Shâh, the son of Muhammad Shâh, the son of Âzim Shâh, the son of Ashghar, the son of Muhammad Ahmad, the son of the Imâm Nasir Abdulla, the son of Omar-ul-Faruq entitled Khalîfâ or representative of the last of the prophets.

⁴ If anybody would assert that the Sanskrit composer might have made a mistake in understanding the genealogy, all doubts would vanish by reading the Arabic inscription on the top of the Sanskrit one reproduced in the accompanying plate. Line 3 as deciphered by Munshi Inânullah Khân, Manager of the Mosque, reads as follows:— 'Âdil Shâh bin Mubârah Shâh bin Âdil Shâh bin Hasan Khân bin Qaisar Khân bin Ghazni Khân bin Malik Khân al-Fârûqî al-Âdil.

⁵ From my personal transcript from the original and two subsequent ones kindly supplied by Mr. B. Balakrishna Bhâte, Headmaster, Middle School, Burhânpur, and a photograph.

⁶ Read 'कर्त्रे नमः'

⁷ This and the next verse are in the Anushtubh metre.

⁸ This and the next are in the Upajāti metre.



- 4 तस्मिन्: क्षितिपालमौलिमुकुटव्याघ्रपादांबुजः सत्कीर्तिर्विलसद्यतापवशगा-
मित्रः क्षितिशेखरः [1*] यस्याहर्निशमानतिगुणगणातीते परे ब्रह्मणि
श्रीमानेदलभूपति-
- 5 विजयते¹ भूपालचूडामणिः² ॥५॥ स्वस्ति श्री संवत् १६४६ वर्षे शक्रे³
१५११ विरोधिसंवत्सरे पौषमासे शुक्लपक्षे १० घटी २३ सहैका-
दश्यां तिथौ सोमे [क्ष]त्तिकाघटी ३३ राह⁴ रोहि-
- 6 य्यां शुभ घटी ४२ योगे वणिजकरणेस्मिन् दिने रात्रिगतघटी
११ समये कन्यालग्न श्रीसुवारखशाहसुतश्री⁵ ७ एदलशाहराज्ञी
मसीतिरियं निर्मिता स्वधर्मपालनार्थ ॥

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1). Salutation to the glorious Creator of the world.

(Verse 1). I bow down to the Imperceptible, the (All-)pervading, eternal (one who is) past (all) qualities, whose essence is mind, who is the cause of what is manifest—to that God who is both manifest and non-manifest.

(V. 2). As long as the moon, the sun and the stars, etc., exist in the firmament, so long may this Fārūkī family live happily on the face of the earth.

(V. 3). In that family there was first the lord of Fārūkīs by name Rājā Malik, whose son was king Ghaznī⁵ (Khān) who was of an exalted mind, the diadem of the family.

(V. 4). From him was (born) the hero Kaisar Khān whose son was Hasan (Khān), the lord of the earth. From him was born king Ādil Shāh, whose son was lord Mubārakh.

(V. 5). Victorious is his son, the illustrious king Ādil, the crest jewel of (other) kings, whose lotus feet are rubbed by the diadems in the crowns of kings (prostrating themselves before him), (who is) of good reputation, and whose enemies have submitted to his prowess, (who is) the lord of kings (and) who bows day and night to the Supreme Being who is past all qualities.

(Ll. 5—6). Hail! Prosperity! This mosque was built by the king Śrī⁷ Ādil Shāh, son of the illustrious Mubārakh Shāh, for fostering his own religion, in the Samvat year 1646, Śaka 1511, in the Virōdhi samvatsara, in the month of Pausa, in the bright fortnight, on the 10th *tithi* (lasting for) 23 *ghaṭīs*, followed by the eleventh *tithi*, on Monday, in the Kṛittikā (*nakshatra* lasting for) 33 *ghaṭīs* with (i.e. followed by) Rōhiṇī in the Śubha *yōga* lasting up to *ghaṭī* 42, in the Vanija *karaṇa*, at the time when 11 *ghaṭīs* of the night on this day had passed and in the Kanyā *lagna*.

¹ Read 'विजयते'.

² Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

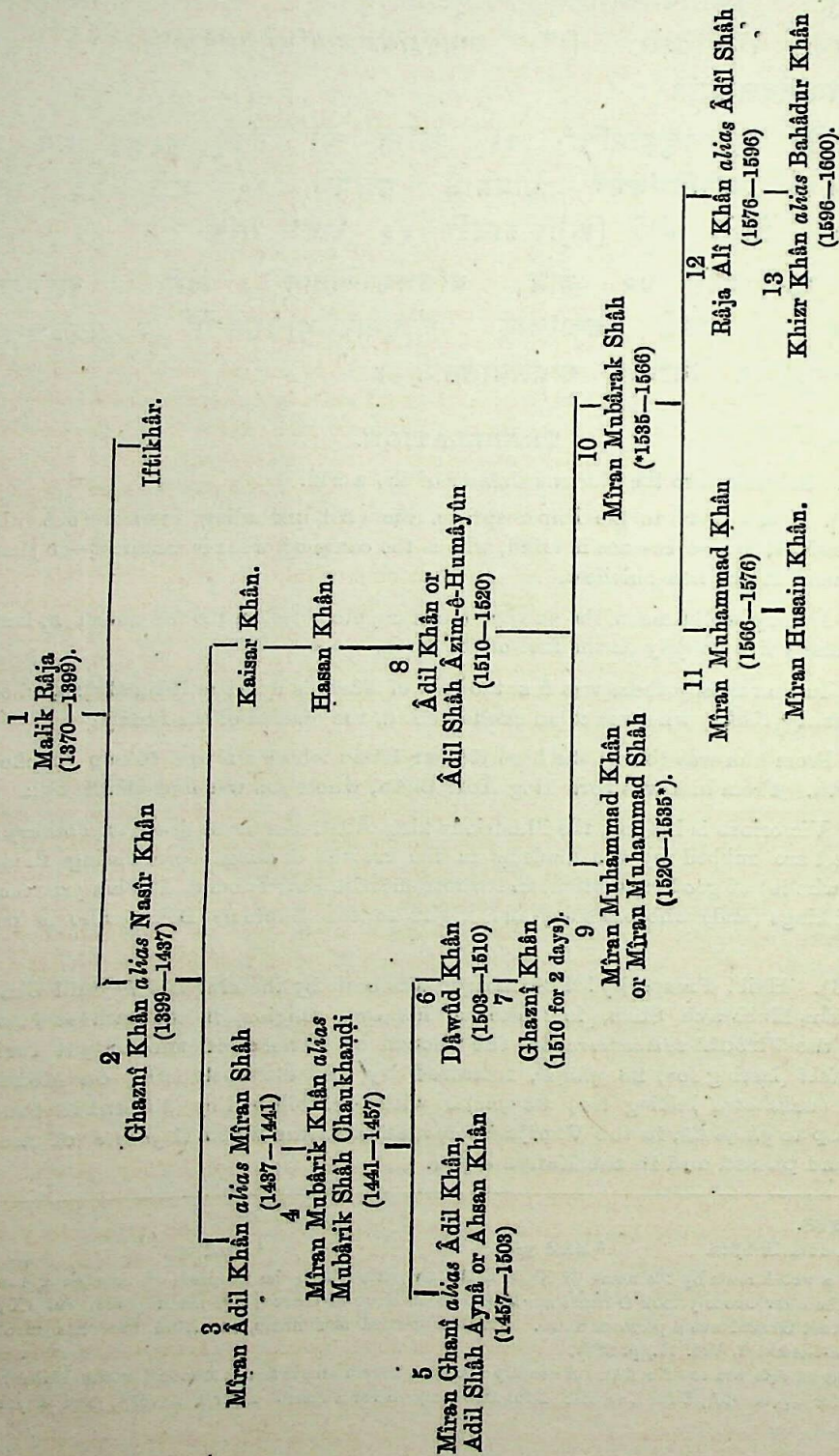
³ Read शक्रे.

⁴ Read सह.

⁵ This king is well-known by the name of Naṣr Khān, the title which he adopted on ascending the throne. General Cunningham erroneously took *Ghaznī narīṣah* to mean King of Ghaznī (see his *Reports*, Vol. IX., p. 117), not being aware that Ghaznī was a personal name. Firishta omitted this name, but Abul Fazl has mentioned it (see Jarrett's *Ain-i-Akbarī*, Vol. II., p. 226).

⁷ The number of *śrīs* written for Rājas is usually 108, but here a single figure stands for the highest number, as 6 are written for a preceptor, 5 for a master, 4 for an enemy, 3 for a friend, 2 for a servant, and 1 for a wife or a son.

Genealogy of the Fāruqī Kings of Khândēsh.



N.B.—Figures on the top of names indicate the order of succession, and those within brackets the periods of their rule.

* This data is doubtful. Firishṭa being inconsistent. See Briggs' translation Vol. IV., p. 142, which gives the date of his death as A.H. 943, whereas on p. 312 A.H. 942 is given. As Bahādur Shāh of Gujrat died on 14th Feb. 1537 (i.e. p. 141) Mīran Muhammad Shāh, who succeeded him also in Gujrat, was evidently living in 1537, and Mubārak could not have become king before that date.

No. 49.—NARAYANPAL STONE INSCRIPTION OF GUNDA MAHADEVI.
THE SAKA YEAR 1033.

BY HIRA LAL, B.A., M.R.A.S., NAGPUR.

Nārāyanpāl is a village 23 miles north-west of Jagdalpur, the capital of the Bastar feudatory state attached to the Chhattisgarh Division of the Central Provinces. It is situated on the right bank of the "splendidly picturesque" Indrāvati, one of those minor rivers of India than which none is more interesting.¹ It "traverses the most untrodden regions of the peninsula. Here in the deepest recesses of the wild forests which cover the Mardian hills, is the home of the Gōṇḍ races—one of the aboriginal Dravidian peoples, whose origin is indistinct; a people who still erect rude stone monuments and use stone implements, unwitting of the procession of the centuries and the advance of civilization to their borders." And yet the very place which has today all the signs of a primeval forest, may a thousand years back have compared favourably with any of the civilized provinces of those times. At least such seems to be the irresistible conclusion from the discovery of the antiquarian remains left by the forgotten Nāgavaṃśī kings of that little known state. Nārāyanpāl is one of those places which enjoyed celebrity in their times, a place to which "people of various countries resorted," and which instead of having a long row of wooden peg gods, which now adorn the village turf, possessed the temple of Nārāyaṇa, "the basket of the gems of knowledge" which no doubt the residents duly picked up. The Indrāvati was to Bastar what the Narmadā has been to India, the separating boundary between the Aryan and the Dravidian peoples. It is therefore no surprise to find all the inscriptions to the north of the Indrāvati written in Nāgarī characters, while all to the south are written in Telugu. It appears that the Nāgavaṃśī kings, though ruling on both sides of the Indrāvati, had fixed that river as the ethnic or at least the linguistic boundary for the convenience of the Aryan and the Dravidian peoples under their sway. Our inscription being found in Nārāyanpāl on the north bank of the river is therefore in Sanskrit characters. Its discovery is due to the efforts of Rai Bahādur Pandā Baijnāth, B.A., who kindly sent me five impressions. Another impression has since been prepared by Mr. Venkoṇa Rao of the Madras Archaeological Survey. I have made use of all these materials for my edition. The inscription is engraved on a stone slab, standing near the temple of Nārāyaṇa, to which it belongs. In this temple there is still an exquisite image of Nārāyaṇa, 2' high. Above the ground the slab measures 7' 4" × 2' 3", and the writing covers a space 5' 9" × 2' 2", including the imprecatory figures and the additions to be referred to presently, but leaving out the top *Śrī mahā*. The original inscription apparently contained only 35 lines, beginning with *Svasti sahaśra-phaṇāmaṇi* and ending with *maṅgala mahā-śrī*, underneath which the usual imprecatory figures of a cow and a calf, the dagger and shield, the sun and moon and the Śiva liṅga, the meanings of which I have elsewhere² explained, were carved. The additional 11 lines, marked (a), (b), (c) and (d) by me, appear to be later additions, and are either interpolations or were inserted when the ownership of the land changed hands either by succession or otherwise. They generally give the names of persons to whom the land was apparently transferred. The lines marked (a), (b), (c) have been inserted in the blank spaces between or on the sides of the imprecatory figures. Under all these a straight-line has been drawn, and the four lines marked (d) have been inserted. These give the name of a queen different from the donor of the inscription proper. This may have been done when the land changed hands after the death of the original donor, when, in the ordinary course, the successor of the donor would be shown as the transferor or grantor.

¹ *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. I. (New Edition, 1907), page 44.

² Above, pp. 164 and 175.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit prose, except the two imprecatory verses in lines 33 to 35, and the characters as stated before are Nāgarī. They are boldly written but the size is not uniform throughout. While in the top line *Śrī-mahā*, they are as big as $2\frac{1}{2}$ ", the average size in the first four lines is $1\frac{1}{4}$ ". The engraver apparently finding them too big reduced them to 1" in line 5, but in subsequent lines he again began to increase the size maintaining an average of $1\frac{1}{4}$ " throughout the rest, which forms the major portion of the inscription. In the later additions also, marked (a), (b), (c) and (d), the size varies. In (a) it is less than an inch and in (d) it is $1\frac{1}{2}$ " and in (b) and (c) midway between these two.

As regards orthography, *b* is not distinguished from *v* and there is a confusion in the use of *s* and *ś*; for instance, we have on the one hand *Kāśyapa* (ll. 3, 13), *saraṇāgata* (ll. 6, 10, 16), *sāsana* (ll. 7, 37 (b) and 46 (d)), *Saka-* (l. 19), *-satana* (l. 34), *asvamēdha-* (l. 34), *sudhyati* (l. 35); on the other hand we have *śvarggatē* (l. 17) and *sahasra* (ll. 1 and 34). The *anusvāra* is usually preferred to the class nasals, though the latter are sufficiently represented throughout. Letters with a superscribed *rēpha* have been invariably doubled. The letters *ksha*, *dha*, *ra*, and, in most places, *bha* appear in their antiquated form, and the top *mātrā* for *é*, *ô* and *au* is sometimes placed vertically before the letter to which it is attached, as in *-dhauta-* (l. 8), *pavitra-kṛtōttamāṅgi* . . . *pārthivēndra-* (ll. 8-9), *-saujanya-* (l. 10), *-sauvinēy-ā-* (l. 11), etc. In *Sômēśvaradēva* (l. 17) *mē* has the top stroke, while *dē* has the vertical stroke preceding *da*. In line 23 in *-sthitīyudadhi-* the *mātrā* of *u* is peculiarly attached in the middle of the letter as we at present attach it to the letter *ra* alone.

The inscription records the grant of the village *Nārāyaṇapura* to the god *Nārāyaṇa* and some land near the *Kharjuri* tank to the god *Lōkēśvara*, and it is dated in the Śaka year 1033 on Wednesday, the full moon day of the *Kārttika* month in the *Khara saṁvatsara*, corresponding to the 18th October 1111 A.D. The donor was *Guṇḍa Mahādēvi*, the chief queen of the *Mahārāja Dhārāvarsha*, the mother of *Sômēśvaradēva* and the grandmother of *Kaṇharadēva*, who was then ruling after the death of his father, as stated in line 17. The dynasty claims to be *Nāgavaṁśi* of the *Kāśyapa gōtra* and to have a tiger with a calf as their crest and to be the lords of *Bhōgāvati*, the best of cities. There can be little doubt that it was connected with the *Sinda* family of *Yelburga*. The *birudas* of the two are strikingly similar. The *Sindas* also claim to be *Nāgavaṁśōdbhava*, born of the race of the *Nāga* (cobra), and the lords of *Bhōgāvati*, which city is a mythical place in the nether world. The discoveries hitherto made show the existence of the rule of the family at the diagonally opposite corners of this state, viz. south-west and north-east. I feel confident that if we could "explore the serpent city well," we should find at least a replica of it somewhere in the *Nizām's* dominions in a position intermediate between these two points. The *Rāmāyana* seems to confirm this, for *Rāma's* route to *Laṅkā* lay between the two and passed through *Bhōgāvati*.

As Dr. Fleet¹ says, there appear to have been more branches than one of the *Sinda* family, and it appears to me that they were distinguished from each other by some variations in their crests (*lāñchhanas*) and banners (*dhvajās*, *patākas* or *kētanās*). The *vyāghra-lāñchhana* (tiger-crest) seems to have been common to all, probably because the original ancestor of the dynasty which received its name after him, was believed to have been brought up by the king of serpents on tiger's milk.² The *Bāgalkōṭ* branch had simply the tiger crest and the *phaṇi-kētaṇa*, or banner of hooded serpents. The *Bastar* branch, or more properly the branch represented by our inscription, had a *savatsa-vyāghra-lāñchhana*, or a tiger with a calf or child, thus depicting probably the story of their origin in a clearer way. The banner is not mentioned. In *Bastar* there were apparently two branches, the other one being that of *Bhramarakōṭya-ma-*

¹ *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I., Part II., p. 572.

² *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 60, and above, Vol. III., p. 231.

dala,¹ whose *lāñchhana* was *dhanur-vyāghra* (bow and tiger) and whose *dhvaja* was *kamalakadalī*, or lotus flower and plantain leaf. The Halavur² branch of the Banvāsi tract had the *vyāghra-mṛiga-lāñchhana*, or crest of a tiger and a deer, and the *nīladhvaja*, or blue banner. To judge from their titles *Paramēśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārāja*, the Bastar branch appears to have been more independent than the other branches of this dynasty. But more light is likely to be thrown on the history of the family when all the inscriptions found in Bastar have been deciphered. It would therefore be premature to discuss the subject here.

There is one phrase in this inscription, which to my mind appears so interesting that it should not be allowed to pass unnoticed. It is incidentally mentioned in line 32 where the land is said to be given *grāma-nīlaya-nāḍa-sarva-vādhā-parihārēṇa*, which apparently means "free from the interference of the dwelling-group and territorial assemblies, and all other molestations." This throws a sidelight on the village communities of those days. With regard to *nāḍa*, Mr. Baden-Powell³ says, "All over the south of India we have traces of the *nāḍu*, which was often a sort of county, and in some places there is a clearly surviving tradition of the purpose of this division. Thus in part of Madras known anciently as the *Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam*, we find first a number of *kuttam*—the name probably indicating the fort which was the seat of the territorial chief; each of these primitive territories was afterwards reorganised into *nāḍu* and each *nāḍu* contained a number of villages (called *nattam*, i.e. the village site). The chief of the *nāḍu* was called *nāthan*.⁴ In Malabār we have evidence of how these *nāḍu* divisions were governed by the *nāḍa-kuttam* or assembly of representative elders out of the family groups of *tara*, of the ruling class, in each *nāḍu*." It appears from our inscription that this *nāḍa* system was prevalent in Bastar and the word *nīlaya* apparently stands for *tara*, the original local term for "the family aggregate⁵ of dwellings, consisting of the houses occupied by the members with a few humbler abodes for servants and artizans." *Tara* is said to mean street or hamlet. The *grāma* or village was also recognised, but apparently had no fiscal significance, beyond being a physical aggregate of clan areas with an exotic population. It will be noticed that *Nārāyanapura* is described as full of outsiders, who had come from different countries. These apparently contributed nothing to the income of the village, and in the business portion of the charter (ll. 25 to 33) we therefore find no mention of the village, but only of the land given. The names of the owners of plots occupied by the family groups have been duly enumerated, and it is they who have been enjoined to pay the rents to the temple. The transaction has been ratified by eight persons, which was probably considered a requisite number⁶ for such business. These probably formed the executive committee of the *nāḍa-kuttam* or territorial assembly. As would appear from the inscription, it consisted of the *pregaḍā* or minister, the *karana-kuttam* or Secretary of the assembly, the *bhaṇḍārī* or treasurer, the *sādhu* or priest, and four *nāyakas*, who, as has been already shown, were chiefs of *nāḍas*. One of these *nāyakas* is styled *bhaṭṭanāyaka*, perhaps a superior title to that of ordinary *nāyakas*. The mention of his name immediately after that of the minister indicates his superior position.

Our inscription mentions only one territorial name, viz. the *Nārāyanapura* village, which is certainly the present *Nārāyanpāl*, where the inscription has been found, and where the temple of *Nārāyaṇa*, to which the village was dedicated, still exists. The tank *Kharjuribandha*, which was apparently named after the *kharjūri* or wild date trees on its banks, is difficult to locate at this distance of time, as these trees live for about fifty years⁷ only.

¹ See above, pp. 174 and ff.

² *The Indian Village Community*, p. 231.

³ Baden-Powell, *Land Systems of British India*, Vol. III, p. 148.

⁴ See above, p. 168¹⁰.

⁵ *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 577.

⁶ Also *nāyaka*; see *ibid.*, p. 167.

⁷ Dr. Watt in his *Economic Dictionary*, Vol. VI, Part I, p. 211, says "The age of a tree (wild date) can of course be at once counted by enumerating the notches and adding six or seven, the number of years passed before the first year's notch. I have counted more than 40 notches on a tree, but one rarely sees them so old as that."

TEXT.

Śrī mahā.

- 1 Om¹ Svasti sahasra(sra)-phaṇāmaṇi-kirāṇa-nikar-āvabhā[su]-
 2 ra-Nāgavams-ōdbhava-Bhōgāvati-puravar-ēśvara-sa-
 3 vatsa-vyāghra-lāmchhana-Kāśya(śya)pa-gōtra-prakāṭi-kṛta-
 4 vijaya-ghōshana-lavdha(bdha)-viśva-viśvaṁbhara-paramēśvara-para-
 5 mabhaṭṭāraka-Mahēśvara-charaṇa-kamja-kimjalka-pumja-pimjarita-bhramarāyamāṇa-
 satya-Hariśchara-
 6 dra-sa(śa)raṇ-āgata-vajra-pamjara-śrīmad-rājabhūshana-mahārāja-Dhārāvarshadēva-
 pād[ā]-
 7 nām paṭṭamahādēvi jagad-ēka-mātā sā(śā)sana-paṭṭa-dārā nāma nāmātā(tō)
 Gam-
 8 gā-jala-[dhau]ta-parama-pavitra-kṛit-ōttamāṅgi-Dhārāvarsha-mahēśvar-ārdhāṅgi-pā-
 9 [rthi]vēndra-kul-āṅganā Pārvati-bhāsura chāru-Bhā[gīra]thī parama-pativratā
 10 chāra(ru)-Aramdhuti(Arumdhuti) saujanya-Sarasva(sva)ti-sa(śa)raṇāgata-rakshā-
 maṇi va(ba)mdhu-chintāmaṇi
 11 sauvīṇy-ābhina[v]a-Sāvitri ksha-m-ōdāra-dharitri śrīmad-G[u]ṇḍa-mahādēvi ā-
 12 sām putra-nāmnā sahasra-phaṇ[ā]-maṇi-kirāṇa-nikar-āva[bhā]sura-Nāgavams-ō²-
 13 dbhava-Bhōgāvati-pura[var-ēśva]ra-savatsa-vyāghra-lām[chha]na-Kā[sya](śya)pa-
 gōtra-praka-
 14 ṭi-kṛita-[vija]ya-ghōshana-[lavdha](bdha)-viśva-v[i]śvaṁbhara-paramēśvara parama-
 bhaṭṭa-
 15 raka-Mahēśvara-charaṇa-kamja-kimjalka-pumja-pimjarita-bhramarāyamāṇa-sa-
 16 tya-Hariśchandra-sa(śa)raṇ-āgata-vajra-pa[m*]jara-prati[gaṇḍa]-²bhairava-śrīmad-rāja-
 17 bhūshana-mahārāja-Somēśvaradēva(vē) śva(sva)r-ggatē tēshām putrasya
 āsām nap[tuḥ]
 18 samasta-rājāvali-vi[rājyamā]ṇa-[śr]īmad-vīra-Kanharadēvasya kalyāṇa-vijaya-rā-
 19 jyē Saka-nṛipa-kāl-ātītē dasa-sata-trayat[ri]mś-ādhikē³ Khara-samvatsarē
 Kārtti-
 20 ka-paurṇamāsyām vuddha(budha)-vā[rē] samsāra-samudr-ō[t*]tāraṇa-taramdāya
 jñ[ā*]na-ratna-karamdā-
 21 ya svargg-ārggal-ōdghāṭana-karāya śrīma[n-N]ārāyaṇa-dēvāya śrīmad-Guṇḍa-
 mahād[ē]vyā
 22 sakalam=a[n]ityam=adhruvam=asā(śā)śvataṁ dṛishṭvā svargg-ārggal-ōdghāṭan-
 ārthē Nārāyaṇapurō
 23 nāma grāmō nānā-dēśīya-jan-[ā]kirṇas=chandr-ārka-sthity-udadhi-kālam yāvat
 24 pradattā | tathā śrī-Lōkēśvaradēvāya Kharjuriva(ba)mdha-samīpasthā bhūmih
 pradattā
 25 Śrīmat-pregadā Ādityamapenna⁴ bhaṭṭanāyaka Prōṇṭiyō⁵ karāṇa
⁶[Ku]driyama-
 26 Virama nāyaka Sōmana nāyaka Rāmanākāsana nāyaka M[ā]rayā bhamdārī
 27 Aitana sādhu Vakōmaraya || Étēshām bhū[mih] akarēṇa pradattā || [Sa]-
 mara-śrēshṭhi⁷

¹ Expressed by a symbol.² Perhaps -danda-.³ Read Saka-nṛipa-kāl-ātītē dasa-śatē trayastri³.⁴ Perhaps Ādityamayenna.⁵ Perhaps Prāṇiyō.⁶ Perhaps Kuṭṭiyamayirama.⁷ Perhaps Kāgarameṭṭi.

- 28 Chhâ[drô] vâmaṇa¹ śrêṣṭhi Ghughi Śrîdhara sâdhu Nânû kôsa[jâ] Pâlâ[su]^{*}
Pâdmâsi-
- 29 nivrâ mâlî Gôî[m]dapratra² tail[i]ka [Ja]sadhavala vâvû(bâbû) Milâpi
nâvêjâṇam[du]
- 30 pâlâ[ghi]kâ sa[mṛi]dâraṇa Dhavala m[â]ṇiyâ[sthi] śrî-V[â]sadêva êtair=[grîha-ve]-
31 ṭaka-r[û]pêṇa śrîman-Nârâyaṇa-dêva-pâdêṣhu sadâ sth[â]tavyam karam cha
dâtavyam
- 32 śrî(i)mat-paṇḍita-Purushôttamâya grâma-nilaya-nâḍa-sarvva-vâ(bâ)dhâ-parihârêṇa
chamdr-â-
- 33 rka-kâlam pradatta || Svadattâm parâdattâm vâ yô harêd(rêta)-vasumdhara[m]
[*] sa vishṭhâyam kri-
- 34 mî(mir) [bhû]tvâ kulajai[h] saha sidati | Taḍâgânâm sabaśrê(srê)ṇa as(aê)-
vamêdha-sata(śatê)-
- 35 na cha [*] gē(ga)vâm kôṭi-pradânêṇa bhûmi-harttâ na su(su)dhyati ||
Maṅgala mahâ śrî
- 36 (a) Sûtradhâra Raṇavîrâya bhûmi pradattâ
- 37 (a) akarêṇa.
- 36 (b) Adhikâri Chhâdrûkasya bhûmi akarêṇa
- 37 (b) dattâ || Brahmanu[jhâ]kasya bhûmi dattâ sâsa(sâsa)-
- 38 (b) nam akarêṇa Ma[ha]ṇḍaka-
- 39 (b) sya tathâ [Kanharasâi]
- 40 (b) Nâgak[u]la[mdhva]ra ê-
- 41 (b) têṣhâm bhûmi aka-
- 42 (b) rêṇa dattâ pri(pri)thunâ
- 39 (c) Bhaṭṭâra-
- 40 (c) ka Bhâva-
- 41 (c) [dê]vâya
- 42 (c) bhûmi akarêṇa datâ
- 43 (d) Svasti śrî-Dhâraṇa-mahâdêvi-[varyyâ] sarvva-vâ(bâ)[dhâ]-parihârêṇa aka[rê]-
- 44 (d) ṇa bhûmi dattâ dêva-śrî-Nârâyaṇasy-âarthê Mahanaka Dêvadâsa
- 45 (d) [Jaggati] || Sâdhu Himasutta dê[ḍuṇapitâ ?] Lakhmaṇa Chaudhari
- 46 (d) [śrî]-Dhâraṇa-mahâdê bhûmi [daturu ara śrî dê sâsana dattâ³]
bhûmi dattâ | akarêṇa

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1—6). Hail. The *paṭṭa-mahâdêvi* of the *Mahârâja Dhâravarshadêva*, who was born of the *Nâgavaṁśa*, resplendent with the mass of rays of thousand hood-jewels ; who was the lord of *Bhōgâvatî*, the best of towns ; whose crest was a tiger with a calf ; who was of the *Kâśyapa gôtra* ; who had made his shout of victory (universally) known ; who had acquired the whole earth ; the *Paramêśvara*, *Paramabhaṭṭâraka* ; who was like a bee rendered yellow by the collection of pollen of the lotus feet of *Mahêśvara* ; who was a *Harîschandra* in truthfulness ; who was an adamantine cage (of safe refuge) to those who sought his protection, a glorious ornament among kings ;

(Ll. 7—11) (she who was) the only mother of the world, called the turbaned queen consort (chief consort) ; whose head was wholly sanctified by being washed in the water of the Ganges ; who was (as it were) half the body of *Dhâravarsha* (just as *Pârvatî* is half the body

¹ Perhaps *Chhâḍḍa brâhmana*.

² Probably *Gôvindapûtra* [or *Gôvindaputra*.—S. K.]

³ This perhaps stands for *dattâ akarêṇa śrî-sâsana-dêvâ dattâ*.

of Mahēśvara ; a noble lady of royal birth ; resplendent (like) Pārvatī ; beautiful (like) the Ganges ; who was exceedingly devoted to her husband ; a lovely Arundhātī, a Sarasvatī of goodness ; an amulet for those who sought her protection ; a magical gem to her relatives ; a new Sāvitrī of good breeding ; capable of liberal support like the earth (was) Guṇḍa-mahādēvi.

(Ll. 12—17). After the *Mahārāja Sômēśvaradēva*, who was known as her son ; who was born of the *Nāgavaṁśa*, resplendent with the mass of rays of thousand hood jewels ; who was the lord of *Bhōgāvatī*, the best of towns ; whose crest was a tiger with a calf ; who was of the *Kāśyapa gōtra* ; who had made his shout of victory universally known ; who had acquired the whole earth ; the *Paramēśvara*, *Paramabhāṭṭāraka* ; who was like a bee rendered yellow by the collection of pollen of the lotus feet of Mahēśvara ; who was a *Hariśchandra* in truthfulness ; who was an adamantine cage (of safe refuge) to those who sought his protection ; who was terrible to the refractory (or, rivals), a glorious ornament amongst kings,

(Ll. 17—24) had gone to heaven ; in the auspicious and victorious reign of his son, and her grandson, the illustrious hero *Kanharadēva*, resplendent in the row of all kings, when (the year) ten hundred increased by thirty-three of the era of the *Śaka* king had expired, in the *Khara saṁvatsara*, on the day of full moon of *Kārttika*, on a Wednesday, the village of *Nārāyaṇapura*, full of people come from various countries, was given by the illustrious *Guṇḍa-mahādēvi* for so long as the moon, the sun, the earth, and the ocean endure, to the glorious god *Nārāyaṇa*, who is a ferry for crossing the ocean of transmigration, who is a basket (full) of the gems of knowledge, who opens the bolt of heaven's (door), seeing that everything is transient, unsteady and inconstant, in order to open the bolt of heaven's (door). Likewise the land near the *Kharjuribandha*-tank was given to the glorious god *Lōkēśvara*.

(Ll. 25—33). The illustrious minister *Ādityama Penna*, the *bhāṭṭanāyaka* *Prōṇṭiyō*, the *karāṇa* *Kudriyama Virama*¹, the *nāyaka* *Sōmana*, the *nāyaka* *Rāmanākāsana*, the *nāyaka* *Mārayā*, the *bhaṇḍāri* *Aitana*, the *sādhu* *Vakōmārya*. The land of these was given revenue free. The *śrēṣṭhīn* *Samara*, the *brāhmaṇa* *Chhādrū*, the *śrēṣṭhīn* *Ghughi*, the *sādhu* *Śrīdhara*, the *kōsajā* (cocoon producer) *Nānū*, the *mālī* *Pālāsu Padmāsīnīvirā*, the oilman *Gōvinda-pātra*, the *bābū* *Jasadhavala*, *Milāpi* . . . the glorious *Vāsudēva* : these should always remain at the feet of the glorious *Nārāyaṇa* as *grihaveṭakas*, and the tribute should be paid to the illustrious *paṇḍit* *Purushōttama*. The land has been given free from all obstructions incumbent on the village, the *nīlaya*, and the *nāḍa*, for so long a time as moon and sun endure. (Here follow two imprecatory verses.)

(L. 35). (Let) great happiness (attend). Hail.

(Ll. 36^a—37^a). Land is given to the *sūtradhāra* *Raṇavīra*, free from taxes.

(Ll. 36^b—42^b). The land of the *adhikārin* *Chhādrūka* is given, free from taxes. (Also) that of *Brahmāñjuhāka* as a grant, free from taxes. The land of *Mahanḍaka*, *Kanharasāi*, and *Nāgakulamdhvara* is given, free from taxes.

(Ll. 39^c—42^c). To *bhāṭṭāraka* *Bhāvadēva* land is given free from taxes.

(Ll. 43^d—46^d). Hail. The illustrious *Dhāraṇa-Mahādēvi* gave land for the sake of the god, the illustrious *Nārāyaṇa* free from all obstructions, and free from taxes. (Witnesses are) *Mahanaka*, *Dēvadāsa*, *Jaggatī*, the *sādhu* *Himasutta* . . . , *Lakhmaṇa*, *Chāudharī*. The land was given by the illustrious *Dhāraṇa-Mahādēvi* free from taxes. The land was given by the queen consort free from taxes.

¹ We should perhaps read *karāṇa-kutṭiyama Virama*, *Virama*, the writer of the *kutṭam*. Compare *Baden-Powell, Indian Village Community*, p. 167.

No. 50.—TIMMAPURAM PLATES OF VISHNUVARDHANA I. VISHAMASIDDHI.

By PROFESSOR E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.; HALLE (SAALE).

This short inscription is on three copper-plates which were "discovered in the ground in October 1907 by one Sukuru Ramasvami while digging a hole in his vacant house-site in the village of Timmapuram in the Sarvasiddhi táluka" and were sent by the Collector of the Vizagapatam district to Rai Bahadur Venkayya, who describes them as follows :—

"The plates measure $2\frac{1}{2}$ by $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches and are strung on an oval ring, the diameters of which are $2\frac{1}{2}$ and 3 inches. The ends of the ring are secured in the base of a nearly circular seal which measures between $1\frac{3}{8}$ and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter. In the centre of this seal is the legend [त्रैविश्व]नसिद्धि in the same alphabet in which the plates themselves are engraved. The third plate of the inscription is blank, and the grant itself ends in line 2 of the second side of the second plate."

The alphabet and orthography do not call for any special remarks. The final *t* occurs in line 1,¹ the *upadhmāniya* in l. 5, and the Dravidian letter *ḷa* in l. 11. The language is Sanskrit prose. The panegyric portion (ll. 1—11) is comparatively correct—probably because it was copied from a form preserved at the royal secretariat. The grant portion, however, must have been drafted by a person who knew very little Sanskrit. It contains a Prākṛit word: *chattāliśa* (l. 12) = Sanskrit *chatvāriṃśat*, and several grave grammatical blunders which I have corrected in the footnotes.

The inscription records a grant by Vishṇuvardhana-Mahārāja surnamed Vishamasiddhi,² who was the younger brother of Satyāśraya-Vallabha-Mahārāja, the son of Kirtivarman, the grandson of Raṇavikrama, and the great-grandson of Raṇarāga of the Cha[lu]kya family. This short pedigree establishes the identity of the donor of this grant with Vishṇuvardhana I. Vishamasiddhi, the founder of the eastern branch of the Chalukya dynasty. That he was the younger brother of Satyāśraya, i.e. the Western Chalukya king Pulakēśin II., and the son of Kirtivarman (I.), is stated in many Eastern Chalukya inscriptions; and his grandfather Raṇavikrama, i.e. Pulakēśin I., is mentioned also in his Sātārā plates.³ The reference to his great-grandfather Raṇarāga is of some interest, because this name is known only from a few records of the Western Chalukyas.

Both Vishṇuvardhana I. and his elder brother receive the title *Mahārāja*; but the second is stated to have 'subdued the circle of the whole earth' (l. 5 f.), while the former claims only to have 'humbled the circle of all the vassals' (l. 6 f.). This distinction implies that, at the time of this grant, Vishṇuvardhana I. was still a dependant of his elder brother, the Western Chalukya king Pulakēśin II. He professed to be a worshipper of Bhagavat (l. 10), i.e. Viṣṇu, and resided at Piṣṭapurā (l. 1.), the modern Piṭhāpuram in the Gōdāvarī district. In the Aihole inscription⁴ the capture of this fortress is ascribed to his elder brother and sovereign Pulakēśin II.

The grant portion differs from that of other records in two respects. It lacks at the end the usual imprecations and other particulars, and the donees are not mentioned by name, but simply stated to have been forty Brāhmanas of the Ohhandōga school. The object of the grant was some land at Kumūlūra—a village which I am unable to identify—in the Paḷaki-vishaya.

¹ See note 6 on p. 318.

² This surname occurs both in line 8 and on the seal of the present grant. It forms also the legend of certain copper coins discovered in the Vizagapatam district; see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXV. p. 322 f.

³ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 309.

⁴ Above, Vol. VI. p. 11, verse 27.

The same district seems to be referred to in the Chîpurupalle plates of Vishṇuvardhana I., where the name has been read doubtfully as 'Pûki-vishaya';¹ but, if the facsimile² can be trusted, the engraver has written in reality *Plaki-vishayê*, which may be meant for *Palaki-vishayê*.

TEXT.³

First Plate.

स्वस्ति⁴ ॥

1. 'श्रीमत्पिष्टपुरवासकात्⁵ स्वभुजविजितदनुतनयम(१)हासेनेन म(॥)हा-
2. सेनेनाभिवर्द्धितानान्निभुवनमातृभिर्मातृभिरभिरक्षितानां' मानव्यस[गो]-
3. चाणां [हा]रितिपुत्राणां⁶ चक्यानानामन्वयसुन्नमयितुमसक्तदनु[भू]-
4. 'तरणरागस्य रणरागस्य⁷ 10 नसासह्यविक्रमस्य रणविक्रमस्य पौ[त्रो]
5. विपुलकीर्त्तिः कीर्त्तिवर्मण⁸ प्रियसुतः शक्तित्रयवशित्ततसकलमहीम-¹¹
6. खड्गस्य सत्य[१*]श्रयवत्तममहाराजस्य प्रियानुजः स्वासिधार[१]नामित[स]-

Second Plate; First Side.

7. मस्तसामन्तमखड्गः स्वरूपगुणयौवनश्रीया¹² दूरमतिश[यित]-
8. मकरध्वजः स्थलजलादिदुर्गविषमेष्वपि लब्धसिद्धित्वाद्विषमसिद्धिर[तिर्य]-
9. जन(ः)[नि]त्यप्रसूतकामधेनुः लोकातिशयविक्रमतया नरलोक[वि]-
10. [क्र]म[ः]¹³ परमभागवतः परमब्रह्मण्यो मातापितृपादानुद्धा[१*]तः श्रीविष्णु-
वर्द्ध[न]-
11. म(१)हाराजः (॥) पल्लविक्रिविषये (१¹⁴) कुम्भलूरनामग्रामे पूर्वदिशे¹⁵ चेन्न च-
12. [त्वा]रि सहस्रनिवर्त्तिनानि¹⁶ छेदं कृत्वा (१) [पोटुनूङ्ग]व[१*]स्तव्याय(१)¹⁷
चत्त[१]लीस

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 16, text line 13.

² Dr. Burnell's *South-Ind. Pal.*, 2nd ed., Plate xxvii.

³ From two sets of ink-impressions received from Rai Bahadur Venkayya.

⁴ This word is entered on the left margin of plate i. opposite the beginning of line 4. The sign of punctuation after it runs into the following *akshara* त; it resembles in shape the symbol called in Tamil *Pillaiyâr-suli*.

⁵ The *t* of श्री⁰ is obliterated.

⁶ The final *t* of वासकात् is entered at the top of the next *akshara* स्व. Another final *t* is entered at the top of the र of the preceding word पुर⁰; perhaps the writer wanted us to read पुरात्.

⁷ The three *aksharas* मातृभिः are engraved over रभिर, which was evidently done because they had been originally omitted through an oversight of the engraver.

⁸ Read चतुर्वर्त्ति⁰.

⁹ See note 4 above.

¹⁰ The न is engraved over सा; compare note 7 above.

¹¹ Read वशी⁰.

¹² Read श्रिया.

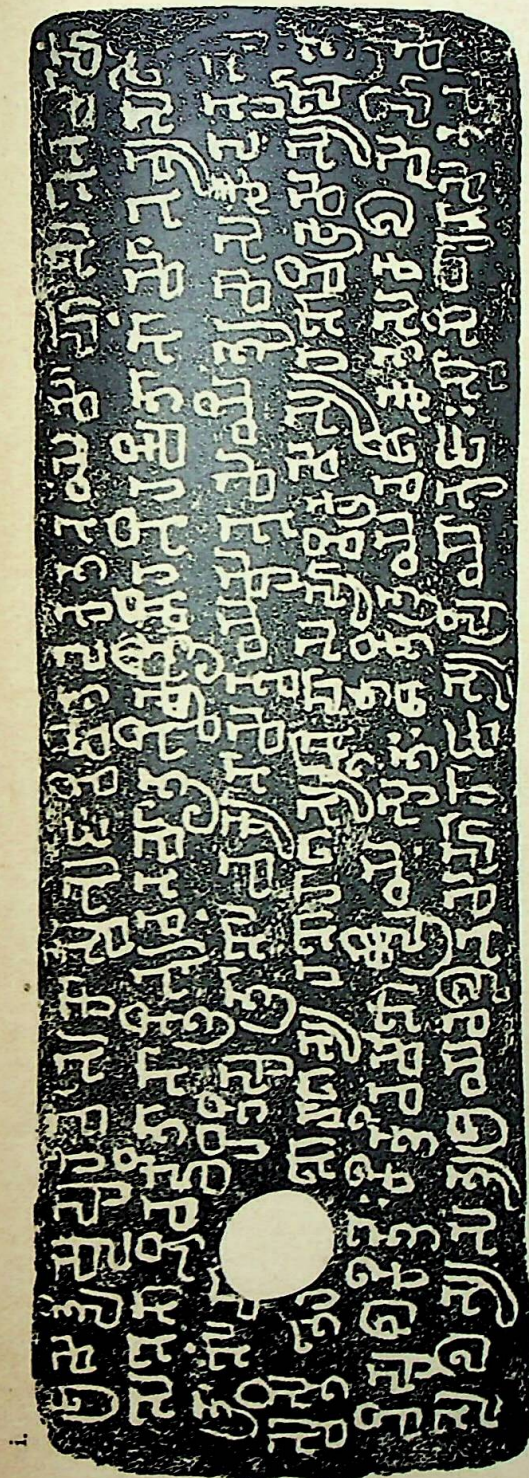
¹³ The क्र seems to be engraved over a म; compare notes 7 and 10 above. Instead of विक्रमः I suspect 'विक्रमः' to be intended by the scribe.

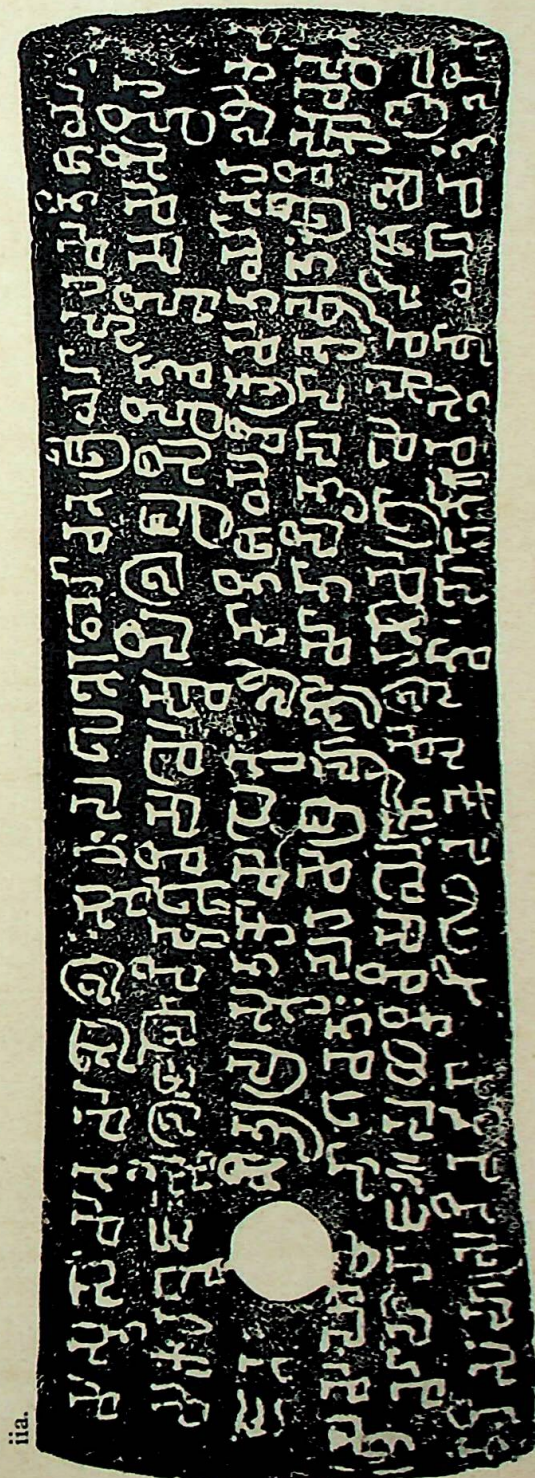
¹⁴ This mark of punctuation runs into the next *akshara* कु.

¹⁵ Read दिशि.

¹⁶ Read निवर्त्तनसहस्राणि.

¹⁷ Read वास्तव्ययस्वारिजते ब्राह्मणेभ्यो नानानीचेभ्यश्चन्दोगसब्रह्मचारिभ्यो यमनियमपरिभ्यः षट्कर्मनिरतेभ्यो वेदपारगैभ्यो दत्तवान् ॥

i. 

ii. 

ColloTYPE by Gebr. Plettner.

Full-Size.

From ink-impressions supplied by Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya.

E. Hultzsch.

Second Plate; Second Side.

13 ब्राह्मणः नानागत्र छन्दोगसब्रह्मचारिणे यमनियमपारगाय षट्कर्त्रे-

14 निरताय(1) वेदपारगाय दत्तः [11*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! (Line 1.) From (*his*) residence in the prosperous Pishtapura,—the great-grandson¹ of Raṇarāga, who repeatedly indulged in the passion of fighting in order to elevate the family of the Cha[lu]kyas, who were Hāritiputras, who belonged to the *gōtra* of the Mānavyas, who were protected by the Mātṛis, the mothers of the three worlds, (*and*) who were rendered prosperous by Mahāsēna,² who by his own arm had defeated the great army of the sons of Dānu;³

(L. 4.)—the grandson of Raṇavikrama, whose valour was insuperable; the dear son of Kirtivarman, whose renown was extensive; (*and*) the dear younger brother of Saty[ā]śraya-Vallabha-Mahārāja, who had subdued the circle of the whole earth by the triad of (*regal*) powers;

(L. 6.)—the devout worshipper of Bhagavat, the very pious one, who meditated at the feet of (*his*) mother and father,—Śrī-Vishṇuwardhana-Mahārāja, who by the edge of his own sword humbled the circle of all the vassals, who by the splendour of his own beauty, virtues and youthfulness far surpassed Cupid,⁴ who (*was surnamed*) Vishamasiddhi because he had obtained success (*siddhi*) in impassable straits (*vishama*) on land, on sea, *etc.*, who was a cow of plenty (*kāmadhēnu*) constantly yielding milk to suppliants, (*and*) who was the [Tri]vikrama (Vishṇu) of the world of men because his valour surpassed (*that of all*) mankind;

(L. 11.)—has granted four thousand *nivartanas*⁵ in the fields on the eastern side of the village named Kumūlūra in the Paḷaki district (*vishaya*), having portioned (*them*) off, to forty Brāhmaṇas of various *gōtras*, residing in [Poṭunūṅka], belonging to the school of the Chhandōgas observing the greater and smaller rules, engaged in the six duties, (*and*) familiar with the Vēda.

No. 51.—SARNATH INSCRIPTION OF KUMARADEVI.

By STEN KONOW.

The slab on which the inscription published below is incised was found during the excavations carried on by Mr. Marshall and myself in Sarnāth, in March 1908. It was dug out to the north of the Dhamēkh *stūpa*, to the south of the raised mound running east and west over the remnants of the old monasteries of the Gupta period. The writing covers almost the whole of the surface of the stone, *vis.* 21" × 15½", and it is in a perfect state of preservation. The average size of the letters is ½".

The characters are Nāgarī, of a very ornamental type, and the engraving has been done with considerable skill. Of individual letters, the form of the cerebral *ṭa* in *-bhaṭaḥ* and *kāṇḍapaṭikaḥ* in line 8 is worthy of notice. There are comparatively few orthographical peculiarities. *V* is used for *b* throughout, and *na* is used instead of the *anusvāra* in *sudhānśōs-*, line 11. There are some few miswritings such as *harmma-* for *dharmma-*, l. 6; *prakṣhātō* for *prakhyātō*, l. 8; *vishmayakarō* for *vismaya-* and *=ashmādrīśaiḥ* for *=asmādrīśaiḥ*, l. 13; *=nēnrābhīrāma-* for *-nētr-*, l. 15; *nri-* for *tri-*, l. 22; *mahībḥūjaḥ* for *mahibhujah*, l. 19, *etc.* The forms *Kumaradēvi*,

¹ For other instances in which *naptṛi* has this meaning, see above, Vol. IV. p. 329 and note 2.

² *I.e.* the god of war.

³ *I.e.* the Dānavas or demons.

⁴ Literally, 'the bearer of the *makara*-banner.'

⁵ This would give 100 *nivartanas* for each of the 40 donees.

ll. 11 and 22, and *vihārô* in ll. 23 and 26, on the other hand, are vouched for by the metre. *Kumara* instead of *kumāra* is common in Māhārāshṭrī Prākṛit, and a form *Kumaravāla* for the usual *Kumārāpāla* occurs in Hēmachandra's *Dēśināmāṇī*, I. 104, 88.¹ And *vihāra* instead of *vihāra* is justified by Pāṇini VI, 3. 122.

The language is Sanskrit, and, with the exception of the invocation to *Vasudhārā* in l. 1, the whole of the inscription is in verse. There are altogether twenty-six verses. Of these thirteen (Nos. 3, 5, 6, 7, 11, 12, 13, 17, 18, 19, 21, 23 and 24) are in the Śārdūlavikṛīḍita, five (Nos. 1, 10, 14, 15 and 20) in the Mālinī, four (Nos. 4, 16, 22 and 25) in the Vasantatilakā; three (Nos. 8, 9 and 26) in the Anuṣṭubh, and one (No. 2) in the Sragdharā metre.

The object of the inscription is to record the construction of a *vihāra* by *Kumaradēvi*, one of the queens of Gōvīndachandra of Kanauj. The wording of verses 21-23, in which her gift is mentioned, is not quite clear. We are first told, in verse 21, that a *vihāra* was constructed, which apparently contained an image of the goddess *Vasudhārā*. The following verses are not quite clear. Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya has suggested the following explanation, which I think is a very plausible one. Jambukī drew up a copper-plate, in which she represented to *Kumaradēvi* that the Dharmachakra-Jina originally set up by Dharmāśoka required to be repaired or set up again. This copper-plate must have contained information about the original setting up of the Dharmachakra-Jina and further details about its maintenance and repairs. *Kumaradēvi*, who was apparently a stranger to the country round Benares, accepted her representation and raised her to the rank of "the foremost of *pattalikās*."² Moreover, she restored the Jina or set up a new one and placed it in the *vihāra* built for *Vasudhārā*, or in another one constructed for the purpose, and the wish is expressed that, after having been placed there, he may remain there for ever. It seems necessary to infer that the *Śrīdharmachakra-Jina*, which is said to have existed in Dharmāśoka's time, was an image of the Buddha, and that the *vihāra* built by the orders of Queen *Kumaradēvi* for him, was a shrine, a *gandhakufī*. It is difficult to explain the wish that he, i.e. the image, may reside there for ever, under any other supposition.

The inscription can be divided into four parts. After an invocation of *Vasudhārā* (v. 1) and the moon (v. 2) vv. 3-6 give some information about some rulers or generals of Pīṭhī or Pīṭhikā. We learn that, in the lunar race, there arose a chief called *Vallabharāja*, the lord of broad Pīṭhikā (v. 3). The following verse introduces the lord of Pīṭhī *Dēvarakshita*, without saying anything about his relationship to *Vallabharāja*. He is described as the full moon of the lotus of the *Chhikkōra-vamśa*, and we are told that he even surpassed *Gajapati* in splendour. *Dēvarakshita* is again referred to as the lord of Pīṭhī in the second part of the inscription, and it therefore seems necessary to interpret vv. 5-6, which apparently refer to a son of his (*tasmād-āsa*, etc.) as an explanation of his relationship to *Vallabharāja*, who would then be his father.

The second part of the inscription, vv. 7-13, contains the information that *Dēvarakshita* was defeated by *Mahana*, the maternal uncle of the *Gauḍa* king, who thus firmly established the throne of *Rāmapāla*, and subsequently bestowed his daughter *Śaṅkaradēvi* on the Pīṭhī lord. Their daughter was *Kumaradēvi*, in whose praise the present inscription was written.

The third part, vv. 14-20, then contains the genealogy of the *Gaḥadavāla* family, to which *Kumaradēvi*'s husband *Gōvīndachandra* belonged. It agrees with the list given in most inscriptions of this latter king, but does not carry us further back than to his grandfather. We are first introduced to *Chandra*, the *Chandradēva* of *Gōvīndachandra*'s inscriptions. His son

¹ See Pischel, *Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen* § 81.

² *Pattalikā* is the feminine form of *pattalaka*, which occurs in the Buguḍa plates of *Mādhavavarman*, above, Vol. III, p. 44, l. 38, in connexion with *vaiśvāsika*.

was Madanachandra, elsewhere known as Madanapāla, who again was the father of Gōvinda-chandra. He is said to have saved Benares from the wicked Turushka-soldier.

The fourth part of the inscription (verses 21-23) specifies the gifts of Kumaradēvi, and her praise is sung in verse 24. Verses 25-26 then inform us that the inscription, which is here called a *prasasti*, was composed by the poet śrī-Kunda, and engraved by Vāmana.

Gōvindachandra is the well-known king of Kanauj, whose inscriptions are dated between A.D. 1114 and 1154. Our inscription teaches us that he guarded Benares against the Turushkas, i.e. the Muhammadans. We do not know of any Muhammadan expedition against Benares in Gōvindachandra's time. In A.D. 1033 a Muhammadan army under Ahmad Nīlaltigin arrived at the town, but only stayed there for a day,¹ and there is no indication of a permanent settlement. We know, on the other hand, that Mussalman settlers remained in the country about the Jamna from the days of Mahmud and down to the end of the 12th century.² It seems probable that Gōvindachandra took some action against such settlers, and the term *turushkadāṇḍa*, which occurs in many of his and his predecessors' inscriptions, gives us a hint as to the nature of this action. The word *turushkadāṇḍa* has been variously translated as "tax on aromatic reeds" and "Muhammadan amercements."³ The information furnished by our inscription seems to show that it was in reality a tax on Muhammadans, the exact nature of which cannot, however, be determined.

Our inscription introduces us to a new queen of Gōvindachandra, Kumaradēvi, the granddaughter of Mahāna. Three other queens are already known from inscriptions, viz. Nayanakēlī-dēvi,⁴ Gōsaladēvi⁵ and Dālhanadēvi.⁶ While Gōvindachandra was himself an orthodox Hindū, his fourth wife Kumaradēvi was a Buddhist. According to information kindly supplied by Mahāmahōpādhyāya Hara Prasād Śāstrī, the king had still another Buddhist wife Vāsantadēvi, who is mentioned in the colophon of a manuscript of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* in the Nepal Darbar Library (No. 381 of the third collection). The colophon runs:—*śrī-śrī-Kānyakubj-ādhipaty-aśvapati-gajapati-narapati-rājya-trayādhipati-śrīmad-Gōvindachandrādēvasya pratāpavaśataḥ rājñī-śrī-pravara-Mahāyāna-yāyinyāḥ paramōpāsikā-rājñī-Vāsantadēvyā dēyadharmō-gaṇ* It is possible that Vāsantadēvi and Kumaradēvi are one and the same person, one of the meanings of *vāsanta* being "youth" = *kumāra*. It is, however, more probable that they are two different persons.

Some information about Mahāna, the father of Kumaradēvi's mother, and about the lord of Pīṭhī, her father, can be gleaned from Sandhyākara Nandī's *Rāmacharita*, which work has been brought to light by Mahāmahōpādhyāya Hara Prasād Śāstrī.⁷ We are there told that Mahāna was the maternal uncle of the Gauda king Rāmapāla. Vīgrahapāla, the father of Rāmapāla, made a successful war against the Chēdi king Karṇa of Dāhāla, of whom we possess an inscription dated Kalachuri Samvat 493=A.D. 1042.⁸ Karṇa's reign probably extended over a long period.⁹ We cannot, therefore, determine when the war against Vīgrahapāla took place. We have an inscription of the time of Vīgrahapāla's grandfather Mahīpāla, dated A.D. 1026,¹⁰ and Mahīpāla's son Nayapāla reigned at least 15 years.¹¹ Vīgrahapāla's accession cannot, therefore, be placed earlier than A.D. 1041. His son Rāmapāla, who was preceded on the throne by two brothers Mahīpāla II. and Śūtrapāla, was a contemporary of

¹ See H. M. Elliot, *The History of India as told by its own Historians*, Vol. II. 1869, pp. 112 and ff.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 250 and ff.

³ See Führer, *Journal Bengal Society*, Vol. LVI. Pt. I. p. 113.

⁴ Above, Vol. IV. p. 108.

⁵ See Führer, loc. cit. p. 115, 1. 19.

⁶ *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1900, pp. 70 and ff.

⁷ Kielhorn, *Northern List*, No. 407.

⁸ Kielhorn, *Northern List*, No. 59.

⁹ Kielhorn, *Northern List*, Nos. 127 and 131.

¹⁰ See Kielhorn, above, Vol. II. pp. 302 and ff.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, No. 642.

Śaṅkaradēvī, the mother of Gōvindachandra's queen Kumaradēvī. It therefore seems probable that Vīgrahapāla's accession should be placed about A.D. 1050, and Rāmapāla's reign in the last part of the eleventh century. Mahāpa, Śaṅkaradēvī's father, would then be a contemporary of both of them. The *Rāmacharita*, which calls him Mathana or Mahana, states that he was a Rāshtrakūṭa, and the maternal uncle of Rāmapāla. It therefore becomes probable that Vīgrahapāla married a Rāshtrakūṭa princess in addition to the daughter of the Chēdi king Karna who was, according to the *Rāmacharita*, given to him after the war alluded to above. Mahāpa was Rāmapāla's right hand, and was of great assistance in the war against Bhīma. Among the feudatories of the Pāla king in that war, the *Rāmacharita* mentions Vīraguṇa, the *rāja* of Pīṭhī who is described as the lord of the south. Dēvarakshita of Pīṭhī is also mentioned, but not as a feudatory. He must be identical with the Dēvarakshita of our inscription, and it becomes probable that the Pīṭhī ruler Vīraguṇa had originally stood on Rāmapāla's side, while Dēvarakshita later on rose against him. He hailed from Pīṭhī or Pīṭhikā, which according to the *Rāmacharita* was situated in the south. Now *pīṭhī* or *pīṭhikā* is synonymous with *pīṭha*, and it is therefore possible that Pīṭhī is identical with Pīṭhāpuram.¹ We know that a branch of the Eastern Chalukyas reigned in Pīṭhāpuram in the second half of the twelfth century, and that the town had already been conquered by Pulikēsin II. No historical information is forthcoming about the earlier Chalukya princes of the Pīṭhāpuram branch. The real history of the family only seems to begin with Vijayāditya III., whose coronation took place A.D. 1158.² It should also be noted that the genealogy given in the Pīṭhāpuram inscriptions hardly can be correct. Mr. Sewell has drawn my attention to the fact that only four generations are enumerated between Bēta, who reigned in A.D. 925, and Vijayāditya III., who was crowned in A.D. 1158.

Before this branch became established in Pīṭhāpuram, the place was one of the strongholds of the Vēngī province of the Eastern Chalukyas. In the last part of the 11th century, the reigning king was Kulōttuṅga Chōḍadēva, who first was ruler in Vēngī but who in A.D. 1070 was anointed to the Chōḍa kingdom. Vēngī was then ruled by viceroys, first by his uncle Vijayāditya VII. then by his sons Rājarāja (1077-78) and Vira Chōḍa (from 1078). Mr. Venkayya suggests that this latter viceroy may be identical with the Vīraguṇa of the *Rāmapālacharita*. Dēvarakshita was then probably a general under the viceroy of Vēngī. He is said to have surpassed even the glory of Gajapati. As this epithet is used by some of the Eastern Gaṅgas, it is possible that it here refers to Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga. The *Kaliṅgattu Parani*³ describes an expedition undertaken by Kulōttuṅga I. against this king, and Dēvarakshita may have played a rôle in it. We do not know anything about the Chhikkōra family, to which Dēvarakshita belonged.

The marriage of Dēvarakshita's daughter to king Gōvindachandra perhaps accounts for the relationship between the Chōḷas and the Gāhaḍavālas commented on by Mr. Venkayya in his Annual Report for 1907-08, para. 58 and ff. An incomplete Gāhaḍavāla inscription has recently been found immediately after a record of Kulōttuṅgaḍēva of A.D. 1110-11, in Gaṅgaikōṇḍachōḷapuram, which it is tempting to bring into connexion with Gōvindachandra's marriage. Mr. Venkayya carries the acquaintance of the Gāhaḍavālas with the Chōḷa kings farther back to the expedition of Rājendra Chōḷa towards the kings on the banks of the Ganges, mentioned in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates, and it seems very probable that this expedition led to the establishment of friendly relations with the north. Among the princes conquered by Rājendra Chōḷa was Dharmapāla of Daṇḍabhukti, and the lord of Daṇḍabhukti figures amongst the feudatory kings who, according to the *Rāmapālacharita*, assisted Rāmapāla in his war against Bhīma.

¹ Compare the forms Pīṭhapura and Pīṭhāpurī, above, Vol. IV. p. 37, 357. Note 4.

² See Hultzsch, above, Vol. IV. p. 223.

³ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 329 ff.

The relationship between the various persons mentioned in our inscription will be seen from the table which follows:—

Vallabharāja of Piṭhī	Mahāṇa, of the Rāshṭrakūṭa family.	Chandra, of the Gaḥaḍavāla family.
↓	↓	↓
Dēvarakshita, married	Śaṅkaradēvi.	Madanachandra.
	↓	↓
	Kumaradēvi, married	Gōvindachandra.

According to verse 25, the inscription was composed by Kunda, who describes himself as a lion to the *tīrthika*-elephants, a Rôḥaṇa mountain, full of the splendid gems of poetical composition, a poet in eight *bhāshās*, and an intimate friend of the king of Vaṅga. He is not elsewhere known. His name does not occur in the *Saduktikarṇāmṛita*,¹ nor, so far as I know, in any other anthology. The engraver was the *śilpin* Vāmana.

TEXT.

- 1 श्री² नमो भगवत्यै आर्यवसुधारायै ॥ ³समवतु वसुधारा धर्मपीयूषधारा-
प्रशमितवहुविश्वोद्दामदुःखोद्धार । धनकनकसमृद्धिं भूर्भुवः श्वः⁴ किरन्ती
तद-
- 2 खिलजनदैत्यान्याजयन्ती जगन्ति ॥ [१*] ⁵नेत्रैरुत्कण्ठितानां चरणमुपनयन्त्या-
रुचन्द्रोपलानाम्मानग्रन्थिभिभिन्दन् सह कुसुदवनीमुद्रया मानिनीनाम् ।
दग्धन्दश्वेश्वरेणा[सृ]-
- 3 तनिकरकरैर्जीवयन् कामदेवं कान्तोयं कौमुदीनां स जयति जगदालोकदीप्र-
प्रदीपः ॥ [२*] ⁶वंशे तस्य नमस्यपौरुषशुषि प्रस्फारकीर्त्तित्विषि द्राक्
शौचेन सु[राप]-
- 4 गामदमुषि प्रत्यर्थिलक्ष्मीरुषि । वीरो वल्लभराजनामविदितो मान्यः स
भूमीभुजां जेतासीत्युपपीठिकापतिरतिप्रौढप्रतापोदयः ॥ [३*] ⁷छिक्कोरवंशकु-
सुदोदयपूरुष-
- 5 चन्द्रः श्रीदेवरक्षित इति प्रथितः पृथिव्याम् । पीठोपतिर्गजपतेरपि राज्य-
लक्ष्मीं लक्ष्म्या जिगाय जगदेकमनोहरश्रीः ॥ [४*] ⁸तस्मादास पयोनि-
धेरिव विधु-
- 6 ह्रीवण्यलक्ष्मीविधुर्नेत्रानन्दसमुद्रवर्धनविधुः कीर्त्तियुतिश्रीविधुः । सौजन्यैकनिधिः
स्फुरद्गुणनिधिर्गाम्भीर्यवारान्निधिर्हर्षाद्वैतनिधिः⁹ स च[ण्डि]म-
- 7 निधिः शस्त्रैकविद्यानिधिः ॥ [५*] ¹⁰दीनानामभिवाञ्छितैकफलदः प्रत्यक्ष-
कल्पद्रुमो दृष्यद्वैरिगिरीन्द्रभेदनविधौ दुर्वारवञ्च यः । कान्तान[१*]मद-

¹ Rajendra Lala Mitra's *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, Vol. III, pp. 134 and ff. ² Expressed by a symbol

³ Metre: Mālinī.

⁴ Read स्वः.

⁵ Metre: Sragdharā.

⁶ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

⁷ Metre: Vasantatilakā.

⁸ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

⁹ Read धर्माद्वैत°.

¹⁰ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

- 8 नज्वरोपशमने सिद्धौषधीपल्लवो वाङ्मयस्य वभूव भूतलभुजामन्तश्चमत्कारिणः
॥ [६*] ¹गौडेद्वैतभटः सकाण्डपटिकः चत्रैकचूडामणिः ²प्रचातो
- 9 महणाङ्गपः चित्तिभुजाम्मान्योभवन्मातुलः । त(तं) जित्वा युधि देवरक्षि-
तमधात् श्रीरामपालस्य यो लक्ष्मीं निर्जितवैरिरोधनतया देदीप्यमानो-
दयाम् ॥ [७*] ³कन्या महण-
- 10 देवस्य तस्य कन्येव भूभृतः । सा पीठीपतिना तेन तेनेवोढा स्वयम्भू(भु)वा
॥ [८*] ⁴ख्याता शङ्करदेवीति तारेव करुणाशया । व्यजेष्ट कल्पवृक्षाणं
लता दानोद्यमेन या ॥ [९*] ⁵अ-
- 11 जनि कुमारदेवो हन्त देवोव ताभ्यां शरदमलसुधाङ्गोश्चारुलेखेव रम्या ।
दुरितजलधिमध्याल्लोकमुद्धर्तुकामा स्वयमिह करुणार्ता तारिणीवावतीर्षा ॥
[१०*]
- 12 ⁶याम्नेधाः प्रविधाय शिल्परचनाचातुर्यदर्पं व्याधायद्वन्द्वेण जितस्तुषारकिरणो
द्गीर्णः स खल्योभवत् । रात्रावुद्गममातनोति मलिनो जातः कलङ्को ततस्त-
13 स्याः सुद(सुन्द)रिमा स ⁷विषयकरो वाचः ⁸किमस्मादृशैः ॥ [११*] ⁹चित्त-
ञ्चलदृक्कुरङ्गमवधूवन्धस्फुरद्वागुराम् विभ्राणा तनुसम्पदम्पुविलसत्कान्त्याभिकान्त-
श्रिया ।¹⁰
- 14 खेलत्क्षीरसमुद्रसान्द्रलहरीलावण्यलक्ष्मीसुषं मोषं शैलसुतामदस्य दधती सौभाग्य-
गर्वेण सा ॥ [१२*] ¹¹धर्माद्वैतमतिर्गुणाहितरतिः प्रारब्धपुण्याचिति-
- 15 दर्शनोदारधृतिर्मतङ्गजगतिर्नेत्रा(त्रा)भिरामाकृतिः । शास्तृन्यस्तनतिजनोदितनुतिः
¹²कारुण्यकेलिस्थितिनिव्यश्रीवसतिः कृताघविहतिः स्फायन्नुणाहंक्त-
- 16 तिः ॥ [१३*] ¹³जगति गहडवाले चत्रव(वं)शे प्रसिद्धेजनि नरपतिचन्द्रश्चन्द्र(मा)-
नामा नरेन्द्रः । यदसह्यनृपाणाङ्गामिनीवाप्यवाहेः(हैः) शितितरमिदमासीद्या-
सुन(नं) तू(नू)नमम्भः ॥ [१४*] ¹⁴नृ-
- 17 पतिमदनचन्द्रश्चण्डभूपालचूडामणिरजनि स तस्माद्विभ्रदेकातपत्र[म्*] । धरणि-
तलमनल्पप्रौढतेडो(जो)नलश्रीः श्रियमपि च मघोनः स्वश्रियाधो दधानः
॥ [१५*] ¹⁵वाराण-
- 18 सीं भुवनरक्षणदक्ष एको ¹⁶दुष्टान्तरुष्कसुभटादवितुं हरेण । उक्तो हरिस्त्र
पुनरत्र वभूव तस्मान्नोविन्दचन्द्र इति प्रथिताभिधानः ॥ [१६*] ¹⁷वत्साः
कामदुहां कणा-

¹ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.² Read प्रख्यातो.³ Metre: Anuṣṭubh.⁴ Metre: Anuṣṭubh.⁵ Metre: Mālinī.⁶ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.⁷ Read विषयः.⁸ Read 'मस्मादृशैः'.⁹ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.¹⁰ The sign of interpunctuation has been engraved in the beginning of next line.¹¹ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.¹² Read 'नतिर्ज'. 'स्थितिर्नि'.¹³ Metre: Mālinī.¹⁴ Metre: Mālinī.¹⁵ Metre: Vasantatilakā.¹⁶ Read दुष्टानु.¹⁷ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

- 19 नपि परःपूरस्य ¹पातु न ते चित्रं प्रागल्भन्त याचकमनःसन्तोषनित्यव्ययात् ।
 त्यागैर्यस्य ²महीभूजः प्रसुदिते तद्याचकानाञ्चये स्वच्छन्दाहितनित्यनिर्भरपयः-
- 20 पानीखवैरासते ॥ [१७*] ³यद्विद्वेषिमहीभुजां पुरवरे प्रभ्रष्टहारावलीव्याधास्तन्मृग-
 पाशवन्धमनसा गच्छन्ति नैव भ्रमात् । व्याधाः सस्तसुर्वर्षकुण्डलमहि-
 भ्रान्त्या
- 21 तदत्यायतेर्दण्डैर्द्रागपसारयन्ति च भयप्रोत्कम्पिहस्तसजः ॥ [१८*] ⁴यस्योत्सन्नवि-
 रोधिभूपतिपुरप्रासादपृष्ठोपरि प्रत्यग्रस्फुरदुग्रशष्पकवलव्यालोलवाजि-
- 22 व्रजः । आदित्यस्त्वभवत्स मन्थररथश्चन्द्रोपि मन्दोभवत् घासग्रासविरुदलोभहरिणः
 रचन् पतन्तन्ततः ॥ [१९*] ⁵अहह कुसरदेवी तेन र[१*]ज्ञा प्रसिद्धा नि-
 (त्रि)जगति
- 23 परिगीता श्रीरिविहायुतेन । प्रविलसदवरोधे तस्य राज्ञोङ्गनानां नियतममृत-
 रश्मिलेखिका तारकासु ॥ [२०*] ⁶वीहारो नवखण्डमण्डलमहीहारः कृतोय-
 न्तया
- 24 तारिण्या वसुधारया ननु वपुर्विभ्राणयालंकृतः । यं दृष्ट्वा प्रविचित्रशिल्परच-
 नांचातुर्यसीमाययं गोर्वाणैः सुदृश[ञ्च] विस्मयमगाद्वाग्विश्वकर्मापि सः ।(॥)
 [२१*] ⁷श्रीधर्मचक्रजि-
- 25 नशासनसन्निवद्धं सा जम्बुकी ⁸सकलपत्तलिवाग्रभूता । तत्ताम्रशासनवर(रं)
 प्रविधाय तस्यै दत्त्वा तया शशिरवी भुवि यावदास्ताम् ॥ [२२*]
⁹धर्माशोकनराधिपस्य समये श्रीध-
- 26 म(र्म)चक्रो जिनो यादृक् तन्नयरक्षितः पुनरयञ्चक्रे ततोप्यङ्गुतम् । वीहारः
 स्थविरस्य तस्य च तया यन्नादयङ्गारितस्तस्मिन्नेव समर्पितश्च वसतादा-
 चन्द्रचण्डद्युति ॥ [२३*] ¹⁰तत्कीर्त्तिम्-
- 27 रिपालयिष्यति जनो यः कश्चिदुर्वीतले सा तस्याङ्घ्रियुगप्रणामपरमा यूयं जिनाः
 साक्षिणः । तस्याः कश्चिदनिश्चितो यदि यशोव्यालोपकारी खलः तं
 पापीयसमा-
- 28 शु शासति पुनस्ते लोकपालाः क्रुधा ॥ [२४*] ¹¹एकस्तीर्थिकवादिवारणघटा-
 सङ्घट्टकण्ठीरवः साहित्यो[ज*]ज्वलरत्नरोहणगिरियो द्व्यष्टभाषाकविः । ख्यातो
 वङ्गमहीभजः ¹²

¹ Read पातुं.⁴ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.⁷ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.¹⁰ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.² Read भुजः.⁵ Read भवद्वासं. °रुदलोभहरिणं.⁸ Metre: Vasantatilaka.¹¹ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.³ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.⁶ Metre: Mālinī.⁹ Read °पत्तलिका°.¹² Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.¹³ Read °भुजः; the final visarga has been engraved in the beginning of line 29.

29 प्रणयभूः श्रीकुन्दनामा कृती तस्याः सुन्दरवर्षगुम्फरचनारम्भां प्रशस्तिं व्यधात्
 ॥ [२५*] ¹ एषा प्रशस्तिरुत्कीर्णा वामनेन तु शिल्पिना । राजावर्त्तस्य
 सापत्यन्दधाने प्रस्तरोत्तमे ॥ [२६*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail. Obeisance to the exalted noble Vasudhârâ.

(V. 1.) May Vasudhârâ protect the worlds, who abates the broad stream of unlimited misery in the manifold universe by the nectar stream of *dharmâ*; who pours out riches of wealth and gold over earth, skies and heaven, and who conquers all the misery of man in them.²

(V. 2.) Victorious be that lover of the lotuses, the flashing torch for the illumination of the world, who causes oozing of the lovely moon-gems and (brings tears into) the eyes of longing people; who opens the knot of pride in haughty damsels and also the closed lotuses; who with his nectar-filled beams revives the god of love, who was burnt to ashes by Îsvara, (who had been) smitten (by him).

(V. 3.) In his (the moon's) lineage, which enjoys a valour worthy of homage; which is resplendent with shining fame; which speedily annihilates the pride of the river of the gods by its purity; which destroys the splendour of its adversaries, was a hero, known by the name of Vallabharâja, honoured among princes, the victorious lord of broad Piṭhikâ, of increasing mighty prowess.

(Vv. 4-5.) The full moon expanding the lotuses of the Chhikkôra family, known on earth as *śrî-Dēvarakshita*, the lord of Piṭhî (who) surpassed even the splendour of Gajapati by his splendour; whose glory alone ravished the hearts of the world, was descended from him (Vallabharâja), as the moon from the ocean, a (veritable) Vishṇu (Vidhu), to the Lakshmi of beauty; a (veritable) moon in causing the rise of the ocean, *viz.* ocular pleasure (as the moon raises the ocean); a second moon, the lustre of whose light was his fame (or, a second Vishṇu with Śrî in the shape of the lustre of his fame); an incomparable treasure of goodness; a treasure of resplendent virtues; an ocean of profundity; a peerless store of religion; a store of energy, the only depository of the lore of arms;—

(V. 6.) Who was the veritable celestial tree in bestowing desired objects on supplicants; who was an irresistible thunderbolt in accomplishing the splitting of the mighty mountains, *viz.* his haughty foes; a marvellous man, whose arm was like a sprout of a marvellous herb in healing the fever of Cupid in enamoured women, and death to kings.

(V. 7.) In the Gauda country there was a peerless warrior, with his quiver,³ this incomparable diadem of *kshatriyas*, the Aṅga king Mahâna, the venerable maternal uncle of kings. He conquered Dēvarakshita in war and maintained the glory of Râmapâla, which rose in splendour because the obstruction caused by his foes was removed.

(V. 8.) The daughter of this Mahanadêva was like the daughter of the mountain (*i.e.* Pârvatî); she was married to the lord of Piṭhî as (Pârvatî) to Svayambhu;

(V. 9.) She was known as Śaṅkaradêvi, full of mercy like Târâ, and she excelled the creepers of the wishing tree in her efforts to make gifts.

(V. 10.) To them, forsooth, was born Kumaradêvi, like a *dêvi*, lovely like the charming streak of the spotless autumnal moon, as if Târîṇî herself, prompted by compassion, had descended to earth with a wish to free the world from the ocean of misery.

¹ Metre: Anushtubh.

² Mr. Venkayya suggests to read *dainyât-tyājayanî*.

³ The meaning of *kāṇḍapaṇika* is uncertain. The word is usually translated 'screen.' But this meaning does not suit the context.

(V. 11.) After having created her, Brahmā was filled with pride at his own cleverness in applying his art ; excelled by her face the moon, being ashamed, remains in the air, rises at night, becomes impure and subsequently full of spots ; how can this her marvellous beauty be described by people like us ?

(V. 12.) She, who in a wonderful way possesses a beautiful body, which is a glittering net for entrapping female antelopes, *vis.* the moving eyes, and which robs the wealth of beauty of the dense waves of the playful milky ocean by her brilliant charm of lovely splendour ; who does away with the infatuation of the daughter of the mountain (*i.e.* Pârvatî) by her proud grace.

(V. 13.) Her mind was set on religion alone ; her desire was bent on virtues ; she had undertaken to lay in a store of merit ; she found a noble satisfaction in bestowing gifts ; her gait was like that of an elephant ; her appearance charming to the eye ; she bowed down to the Buddha, and the people sang her praise ; she took her stand in the play of commiseration, was the permanent abode of luck, annihilated sin, and took her pride in abundant virtue.

(V. 14.) In the royal Gahaḍavāla lineage, famous in the world, was born a king, Chandra by name, a moon (*chandra*) among rulers. By the streams of tears of the wives of the kings who could not resist him, the water of the Yamunā forsooth became darker.

(V. 15.) The king Madanachandra, a crest jewel amongst impetuous kings, was born from him, the lord who brought the circle of the earth under one sceptre, the splendour of the fire of his valor being great and mighty, and who even lowered the glory of Maghavan by his glory.

(V. 16.) Hari, who had been commissioned by Hara in order to protect Vârāṇasî from the wicked Turnshka warrior, as the only one who was able to protect the earth, was again born from him, his name being renowned as Gôvindhachandra.

(V. 17.) Wonderful, the calfs of the celestial cows could not formerly get even drops of the milk stream to drink, on account of its continuous use for satisfying the hearts of supplicants ; but after the multitude of these supplicants had been gladdened through the liberality of that king, they sat down to the feast of drinking the milk which is always plentiful and applied according to their wishes.

(V. 18.) In the excellent cities of his adversaries, hunters by mistake do not pick up fallen necklaces, thinking them to be nooses for the deer in it, and hunters quickly remove the fallen gold ear-ring with sticks, the garlands in their hands shaking with fear, mistaking it for a snake on account of its large size.

(V. 19.) The chariot of the sun was delayed because its span of horses were greedy after the mouthful of fresh, shining, thick grass on the roofs of the palaces in the towns of his uprooted foes ; and also the moon became slow, because he had to protect the gazelle (in his orb), which was falling down, having become covetous after the grass.

(V. 20.) Kumaradêvi, forsooth, was famous with that king, like Śrî with Vishṇu, and her praises were sung in the three worlds, and in the splendid harem of that king, she was indeed like the streak of the moon amongst the stars.

(V. 21.) This *viḥāra*, an ornament to the earth, the round of which consists of nine segments, was made by her, and decorated as it were by Vasudhârâ herself in the shape of Târîṇî, and even the Creator himself was taken with wonder when he saw it accomplished with the highest skill in the applying of wonderful arts and looking handsome with (the images of) gods.

(V. 22.) Having prepared that copper-plate grant, which recorded the gift to śrî-Dharma-chakra Jina, for so long a time as moon and sun endure on earth, and having given it to her, that Jambuki was made (?) the foremost of all *pattalikās* by her (Kumaradêvi).

(V. 23.) This Lord of the Turning of the Wheel was restored by her in accordance with the way in which he existed in the days of Dharmâśoka, the ruler of men, and even more wonderfully, and this *vihāra* for that *sthavira* was elaborately erected by her, and might he, placed there, stay there as long as moon and sun (endure).

(V. 24.) If anyone on the surface of the world preserves her fame, she will be intent on bowing down at his pair of feet. You Jinas shall be witnesses. But if any fool robs her fame, then those *lōkapālas* will quickly punish that wicked man in their wrath.

(V. 25.) The poet in eight *bhāshās* known as the trusted friend of the Baṅga-king, Śrī-Kunda by name, the learned, who was the only lion to attack the crowds of the elephant-like heretics, who was a Rōhana mountain of the flashing jewels of poetical composition, he made this eulogy of her, charming with strings of letters beautifully arranged.

(V. 26.) This *prāśasti* has been engraved by the *śilpīn* Vāmana on this excellent stone which rivals the *rājāvarta* (i.e. Lapis Lazuli).

No. 52.—KRISHNAPURAM PLATES OF SADASIVARAYA.

SAKA SAMVAT 1489.

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The temple of Śrī Vēṅkaṭāchalapati to which this set of copper-plates belongs, is situated in the middle of Krishnāpuram, a village six miles south-east of Tinnevely. The temple has some fine sculptures and a few inscriptions of later times. The copper-plates were kindly secured for us by Mr. N. Gōpālasvāmi Ayyangār, B.A., B.L., Deputy Collector, Kollēgāl, and we now edit them from impressions prepared under our supervision.

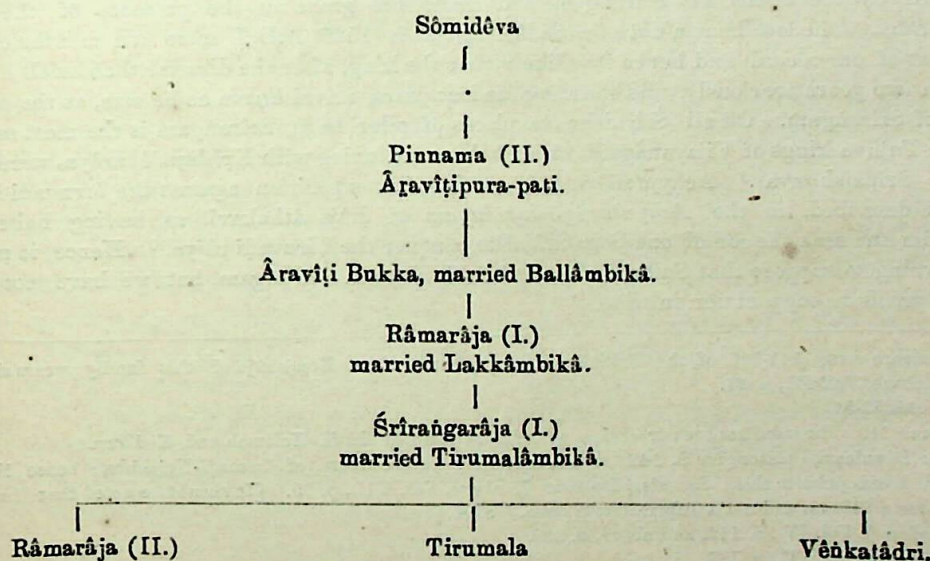
The plates are five in number, bound together by a ring, which has also a seal loosely strung to it. The upper half of the surface of the seal bears the figure of a standing boar facing the proper right; near its face is a dagger placed with its point downwards, and over it are cut out the figures of sun and moon. The lower half has a design not uncommon to the Vijayanagara seals. On the top of the first plate and immediately above the inscription is engraved the *Śrīvaiṣṇava nāmam* (of the Tēṅgalai sect) flanked on either side with the conch and the discus (of Viṣṇu). The plates (except the first) are numbered in Kannaḍa-Telugu numerals engraved on the right-hand corner of the first side of each plate. The rims of the plates are raised; and the first and last plates are engraved on one side only.

The characters are Nandināgarī, and the language, excepting the obeisance to Gaṇapati at the beginning, is Sanskrit verse. The signature at the end is, as usual, the name of the tutelary deity of the Vijayanagara kings, *Śrī Virūpākṣa*, and is written in the Kannaḍa alphabet. There are a few orthographical peculiarities worth noticing. The long vowel *ē* is represented by the usual sign for *ē* with a secondary *ē*-stroke on the top. This new long *ē*, as employed in our record, is the same as the vowel *ai* as written at the present day; but in the present inscription, this latter sound is represented by an ordinary short *e* with two secondary *e* symbols on it; e.g. *Ailāvalipura*—occurring in line 114, *Ainākuḷa*—in line 145, *Ēbirudarāyara*—in line 191, and *Ēkaiva* in line 210. The Dravidian rough *r* is represented, as in other Vijayanagara plates written in the Nandināgarī alphabet, with a secondary *r* on the top of a common *r*; e.g. *Māru*—occurring in line 94, *-Savalakkāraṁ*—in line 141, *-pāra*—in line 146, *Śiriyā*—in line 150, and *-Āravīṭi*—in line 159. There are several minor errors in the inscription

such as omissions of letters, and of the *anuvāra* and the *visarga*, wrong repetitions of the same words and phrases, etc.; these are noticed in footnotes under the text. The *birudas* of the king and of the chiefs are known from other sources.

The inscription belongs to the reign of Sadāśivarāya of Vidyānagarī. It records that at the request of Tirumala, who was in his turn requested by Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka or Kṛishṇabhūpati as he is called in the inscription, Sadāśivarāya granted a number of villages to the god Tiruvēṅkaṭanātha set up at Kṛishṇapuram by Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka. The first part of the inscription gives in detail the genealogy of king Sadāśiva which is identical with that given in the British Museum plates of the same king published by Prof. Kielhorn¹ and No. 58 of the Nāgamāṅgala tāluk of the Mysore District, published by Mr. Rice.² Herein also Sadāśivarāya is described as being installed on the throne by the chief ministers at the instance of Rāmarāja, who is here, as in the other plates,³ called his sister's husband. Later on (vv. 84-95) the inscription details the pedigree of the family to which Tirumala belonged.

The genealogy begins with Nanda, who is said to have been born in the race of the moon. In his race was born Chalikka and in the latter's Bijjalēndra. Sōmidēva, who captured seven forts, was born in his line. His grandson was Pinnama "lord of Āraṇṭipura." His son was Āraṇṭi-Bukka, whose wife was Ballāmbikā. Their son was Rāmarāja who married Lakkāmbikā. To them was born Śrīraṅgarāja (I.) and his wife was Tirumalāmbikā. Their sons were Rāmarāja (II.), Tirumala (I.) and Vēṅkaṭādri. Tirumala is styled in the plates a Bhōja in poetry. Appended below is a genealogical tree of Tirumala's family :—



We learn from the British Museum plates that Rāmarāja II., Tirumala and Vēṅkaṭādri belonged to the same family, from which Koṇḍarāja of that grant was descended (see table above, Vol. IV., p. 4). Tirumala bears (vv. 98-101) the family *birudas* of *aṁteṁbavaragaṁḍa*,

¹ Above, Vol. IV., p. 1.

² *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. IV., p. 219 of the Romanised text portion.

³ Compare the British Museum Plate Inscription, above, Vol. IV., p. 3 f., No. 7 of the Hassan tāluk, *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. V., Part I; and No. 186 of Chennapaṭṇa, *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. IX. Compare Prof. Kielhorn's remarks on the meaning of "sister" in this connection.

śrīmaṇḍalikagaṇḍa, *birudamañniyavibhāḷa*, *dharanīvarāḥa*, *Kalyāṇapurānātha* and *Vēṅga-tribhuvanimalla*.¹ At the time at which the present grant was made, Rāmarāja, the powerful general and minister of Sadāśiva, and his brother Vēṅkaṭādri had both been dead two years, they having fallen in the famous battle of Tālikōṭa on the 23rd January A.D. 1565. Tirumala, the second brother of Rāmarāja, now became the minister and commander and was the *de facto* king. In the course of the same or the beginning of the next year he was to become eventually the *de jure* king and founded the third dynasty of Vijayanagara.

Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka, at whose request the present grant was made, is described as the grandson of Nāgama Nāyaka and the son by Nāgamā of Viśvanātha Nāyaka.² He has the *birudas*, *Kāñchīpuravarādhīśvara*, *Mōkālīpattāvardhana*, *Samayadrōharagaṇḍa*, *Samayakōlāhala*, *Ailāvalīpuravarādhīśvara*, *Pāṇḍyakulasthāpanāchārya* and *Dakṣiṇasamudrādhipati* (vv. 49-52).

In connection with the conquest of the Pāṇḍya country by the kings of Vijayanagara, we might notice that Narasa or Narasā Nāyaka, as he is more commonly called, is said to have subjugated Mānabhūsha, the king of Madura.³ We know that Narasā Nāyaka lived about the last quarter of the 15th century⁴ and that Mānabhūsha or Arikēsari Parākrama Pāṇḍya began his reign in 1422 A.D.⁵ and ruled for at least 42 years, *i.e.* till about 1466 A.D.⁶ It is quite likely that this Pāṇḍya king was the one referred to as defeated by Narasā Nāyaka.

Our inscription is dated (vv. 44-45) in the Śaka year 1489, computed by the *nidhis* (9), *vāraṇas* (8), *vēdas* (4), and *indus* (1), in the year Prabhava, on the Makara saṁkrānti corresponding to the new moon *tithi* of the month Pushya, on a Monday. Sadāśivarāja was then encamped on the island of Śrīraṅgam and made the grant in the presence of the god Raṅganātha. The last known date for Sadāśivarāja is 1567 A.D.,⁷ some ten months earlier than that of our record, and hence it is likely that the king, after the disaster that befell him at Tālikōṭa two years previously, was spending his last years, Śrīvaishṇava as he was, at the sacred shrine of Śrīraṅgam. Of all Śrīvaishṇava places of pilgrimage, Śrīraṅgam is the most sacred, and the Tuluva kings of Vijayanagara, at least those beginning with Kṛishṇadēvarāja, were very staunch Śrīvaishṇavas.⁸ Achyutadēvarāja, during his expedition against the Tiruvaḍi kingdom, is described, in the *Achyutarāyābhīyudayam* of Rājanāthakavi, as having halted at Śrīraṅgam and sent the son of one Sagalarāja⁹ to conquer the Tiruvaḍi rāja.¹⁰ Hence it might not be wrong to suppose that Sadāśivarāja ended his days in Śrīraṅgam, but we have not any positive proofs to support our surmise.

¹ Compare verses 144-146 of the British Museum plates, where Koṇḍarāja of this family wears similar *birudas*; above, Vol. IV., p. 21.

² Verses 53-54.

³ Verse 11. The word has been treated as an ordinary noun by Profs. Hultzsch and Kielhorn.

⁴ The Dēvulapalli plates give Ś. 1427 as a date falling in the reign of Immaḍi-Nṛsiṁha; hence Narasa must have lived prior to this. See also footnote 7, above, Vol. VII., p. 79. [It should be noted that Immaḍi Nṛsiṁha was a Śāluva, and not a Tuluva like Narasa. — S. K.]

⁵ *Śendamiḷ*, Vol. IV., p. 117, and above, p. 229.

⁶ *Śendamiḷ*, Vol. IV., p. 117.

⁷ *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I, Nos. 43-46, p. 70.

⁸ The Śāluva kings were the disciples of Tātāchārya. See *Prapannāmṛitam*. Kṛishṇadēva wrote *Amukta-mālyada*, *Viṣṇuchittiyam*, works relating to the life incidents of the Śrīvaishṇava saint Periyālvār and his daughter Āṇḍāl.

⁹ This Sagalarāja was the father-in-law of Achyutadēva and father of his wife Varadāmbā. See *Achyutarāyābhīyudayam*. Canto III, verse 48. The printed copy of this work reads the name as Salagarāja; see p. 77; but Mr. T. S. Kuppusāmi Śāstri reads it as Sagalarāja, and we follow him in calling the father-in-law of Achyuta, Sagalarāja.

¹⁰ See *Achyutarāyābhīyudayam*, Canto V., verse 64.

Krishnappa Nāyaka constructed a temple in the village of Krishnāpuram and built a *prākāra* round it and a tower as high as the Mandara mountain over its entrance. In front of the shrine he erected a *raṅgamaṇḍapa*, standing on pillars containing exquisite sculptures and decorated with rows of beautiful creepers. In this newly constructed temple he set up the image of the god Tiruvēṅkaṭanātha. He built a big car for the deity and surrounded the temple with broad streets with a view to provide an easy circuit for the car. It was for the conduct of the daily *pūjās*, for offerings, lighting, for incense, flower-garlands, etc., and for the annual celebration of the car and the floating festivals, that he requested and got from Sadāsivārāya the villages mentioned in the grant.

Though the Nāyakas are believed to have usurped the throne of the Pāṇḍyas, they still call themselves 'the establishers of the Pāṇḍya dynasty.' In corroboration of the claim of the Nāyakas of Madura to the title of *Pāṇḍyakulasthāpanāchāryas*, we see several hundreds of inscriptions belonging to the later Pāṇḍyas, scattered over the country believed to have been ruled over by the Nāyakas, showing that they were also ruling simultaneously with the Nāyakas. One of the later Pāṇḍyas, named Śrīvallabha, is described, in the Pudukkōṭṭai plates of Ativirārāma Pāṇḍya,¹ as having established the Pāṇḍya kingdom. This Śrīvallabha must have been a contemporary of Narasā Nāyaka, for he is the brother of Mānabhūṣa defeated by Narasa.² How he established the Pāṇḍya kingdom and under what circumstances, is not apparent. But we see as a matter of fact the Pāṇḍyas ruling in a semi-independent condition over their ancestral kingdom till at least 1585 A.D.; what political relationship existed between them and the Nāyakas, we do not know.

At the end of the inscription, it is mentioned that Sabhāpati Svayambhū was the composer of the *śāsana*, and Viranāchārya, son of Virana, was the engraver.

The places mentioned in the record are :—

Kilavēmbu *nāḍu* in the Pāṇḍya *maṇḍalam*; Śrīvallamaṅgalachāvaḍi in the above *nāḍu*; Ardhatintrīṇi (Arappuli ?), Villamarāyaṇ Neḍuṅguḷam, Śavalakkāraṇ kuḷam, Puliyaṅguḷa-ōḍai, Pirāyaṅkuḷam, Bhūsurataṭāka (Parpaguḷam, a corruption perhaps of Pāppāṅkuḷam), Kaḷḷikuḷam, Vēlaṅkuḷam Sundarapāṇḍyaṇ pudukkāl, Ai[ya*]ṇākuḷam, Śrikuḷam, Ēryāru Peryālaṅguḷam, Kokkantāmpārai (modern Kongandāmpārai), Paṇayaṅguḷam, Muttūr hill; Puttaṇēri, Āriyakūḷam, Kōḍikuḷam, Kuttukkāl, Muttūr, Rāmaṅguḷam, Ittampāṭṭu, Śiriyālaṅguḷam, Pāṭṭaikuḷam, Muṛappunāḍu, Ālikuḍi and Śri-Krishnāpuram.

Of these Vēmba-nāḍu comprises the northern portions of the Native State of Travancore and of the District of Tinnevely, and in the former state there is a large backwater lake known by the name of Vēmba-nāḍu-*kāyal* indicating the ancient name of the country where it is situated. We find the following names in the list of villages belonging to the Tinnevely tāluka of the same district and situated near Krishnāpuram :—Pirayāṅkuḷam, Pāppāṅkuḷam,³ Vēlaṅkuḷam, Sundarapāṇḍiyaṇ kāl, Kongandāmpārai, Paṇayāṅkuḷam, Muttūr, Āriyakūḷam, Muṛappanāḍu, and Krishnāpuram. The other places we are unable to identify.

TEXT.⁴

First Plate.

1 श्रीगणाधिपतये नमः । नमस्तुंगशिरश्चुबिचंद्रचामर-

2 चारवे । त्रैलोक्यनगरारंभमूलस्तंभाय शंभवे ॥ (॥) [१*] हरेर्ललाव-

¹ Annual Report on Epigraphy for the year 1906, p. 72.

² [The Pudukkōṭṭai grant mentions Mānābharaṇa as the brother of Śrīvallabha, and, besides, Mānakavacha, whom Mr. Venkayya identifies with Arikēśarin Parākrama Pāṇḍya. The identification of Mānabhūṣa with any of these two is far from being certain.—S. K.]

³ It now goes popularly by the name Pāppāṅkuḷam. This name means "the Brāhmaṇ's tank," and it has been translated into Sanskrit in the record.

From inked impressions prepared by Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao.

- 3 राहस्य दंष्ट्रादंडस्य पातु वः । हेमाद्रिकलशा यत्र धांश्री च्छत्र(त्र)श्रि-
 4 यं दधौ ।(II)[२*] कल्याणायस्तु तद्वाम प्रत्यूहतिमिरापहं । यज्ञजोष्य-
 5 गजोद्धूतं हरिणापि च पूज्यते ।(II)[३*] अस्ति चीरमयाद्वैर्मथ्यमाना-
 6 न्महाबुधेः । नवनीतमिवोद्धूतमपनीततमो महः ।(II)[४*] तस्यासीत्-
 7 नुयस्तपोभिरतुलैरन्वर्थनामा बुधः पुण्यैरस्य पुरुरवा भुजव-
 8 [लै]रायर्हिषां ^२निघ्नतः । तस्यायुर्नहुषोस्य तस्य परुषो युद्धे यया-
 9 ति[:*] क्षितौ । ख्यातस्तस्य तु तुर्वसुर्वसुनिभः श्रीदेवयानीपतेः ।(II)[५*] तद्वंशे
 10 देवकीजानिर्हिदीपे तिमभूपतिः । यशस्वी तुक्वेद्रेषु यदोः क्षण
 11 इवान्वये ।(II)[६*] ततोभूद्भुक्कमाजानिरीश्वरक्षितिपालकः । अत्रासमगु-
 12 णभंशं मौळिरत्नं महीभुजां [॥७*] सरसादुदभूतस्मान्नरसावनिपा-
 13 लकः । देवकीनंदनात्कामो देवकीनंदनादिव ।(II)[८*] विविधसुकृ-
 14 तोद्दामे रामेश्वरप्रमुखे ^३मुहुर्मुदितहृदय स्थाने स्थाने व्यधत्त य-
 15 थाविधि [१*] बुधपरिवृतो नानादानानि^४ यो भुवि षोडश त्रिभुवनज-
 16 नोद्गीतं स्कीतं यशः पुनरुक्तय [॥९*]^५ न्कावेरीमाशु बध्वा(द्वा) बहळजल-
 17 रयां तां विलंघ्यैव शत्रुं जीवग्राहं गृहीत्वा समिति भुजबला-
 18 तंचराज्यं तदीयं [१*] कृत्वा श्रीरंगपूर्वं तदपि निजवशे पट्टणं
 19 यो बभासे (I) कीर्त्तिस्तंभं निखाय त्रिभुवनभवनस्तूयमानापदा-
 20 नः ।(II)[१०*] चेरं चोळं च पांड्यं तमपि च मधुरावत्तमं मानभूषं वीर्यो-
 21 दयं तुरुष्कं गजपतिनृपतिं चापि जित्वा तदान्यान् । आगं-
 22 गातीरलंकाप्रथमचरमभूद्धत्तांतं नितांतं ख्यातः क्षोणी-
 23 पतीनां स्रजमिव शिरसां शासनं यो व्यतानीत् ।(II)[११*] तिप्पाजीना-
 24 गलादेव्योः कौसल्याश्रीसुमित्रयोः । देव्योरिव नृसिंहेंद्रात्तस्मा-
 25 त्पंडिरथादिव^६ ।(II)[१२*] वीरौ^७ विनयौ^८ नाम[म]लक्षणाविव नादनौ^९ ।
 26 जातौ वीरनृसिंहेंद्रकृष्णरायमहीपतौ ।(II)[१३*] रंगक्षितींद्राच्युतदे-
 27 वरायौ रक्षाधुरीणाविव नंदसौ^९ । श्रीबांबिकायां नरसक्षि-

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 28 तींद्रादुभावभूताम्बुरगेंद्रसारौ^{१०} ।(II)[१४*] वीरश्रीनारसिंहस्य
 29 विजयनगरे रत्नसिंहासनस्थः कीर्त्या नीत्या निरस्यन्तु-

^१ Read 'नय'.

^४ नि is corrected from ति.

^६ Read 'पंक्ति'.

^९ Read with the British Museum plates रामलक्षणी.

^{१०} The British Museum plates read 'भूताम्ब रगेंद्र', which Prof. Kielhorn proposes to correct into 'भूतां नरकेंद्र'.

[I would suggest 'तामुरगेंद्र'.—S. K.]

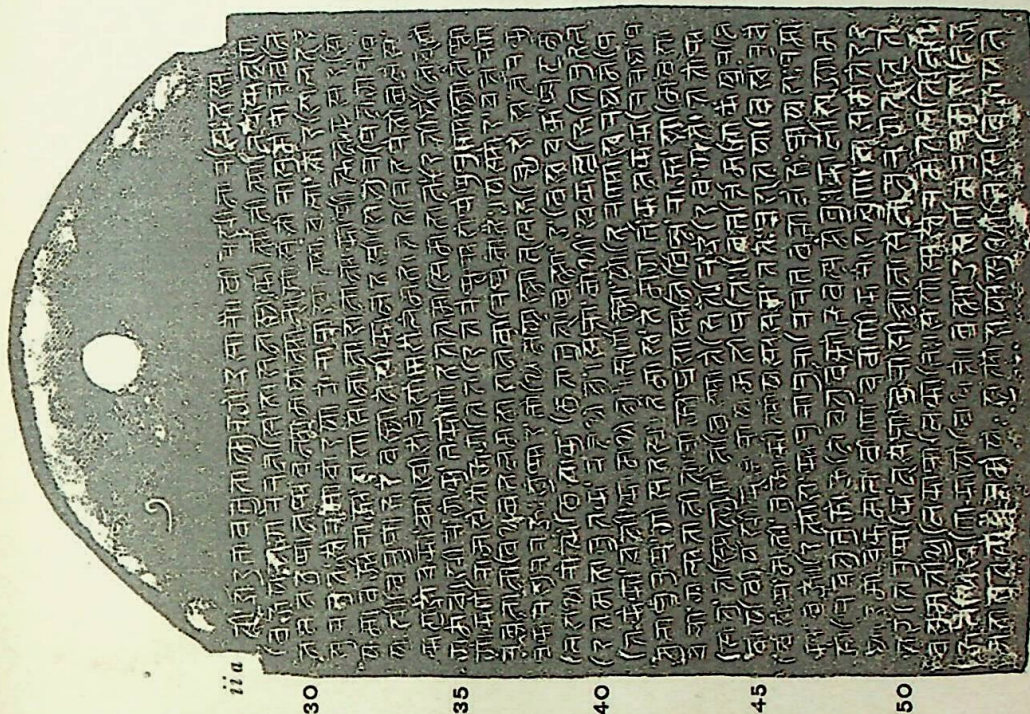
^२ Read 'रायर्हिषां'.

^५ Read न् in the conjunct consonant न्का, with the previous य.

^७ Read विनयिनी रामलक्षणाविव.

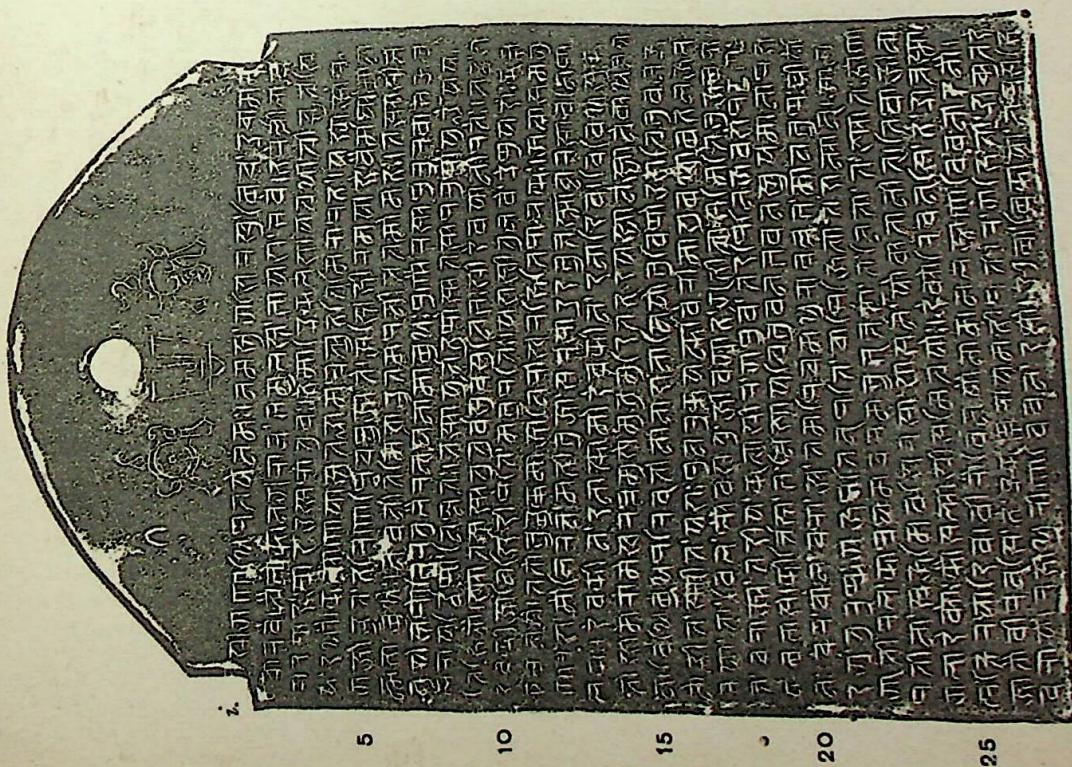
^३ इ looks like तु.

^८ Read नंदनौ.



W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

HALF SIZE.



STEN KONOW.

FROM IMPRESSIONS BY T. A. GOPINATHA RAO, M.A.

22b.

555

60

65

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75

80

iii. a.

85

90

66

100

105

- 30 नऊनहुषानेप्यवन्यामथान्यान् । आ सेतीरा सुमेरोरवनि-
 31 सुरनुतः खैरमा चोदयाद्रे (I) रा ¹[पा]श्चात्याचलांतादखिलहृद-
 32 यमावर्ज्यं राज्यं प्रशास्य ॥(II)[१५*] नानादानान्यकार्षीत्कनकसदसि
 33 यः श्रीविरूपाक्षदेवस्थाने श्रीकाकहस्तीशितुरपि नगरे वै-
 34 कटादौ च कांच्यां । श्रीशैले शोणशैले² महति हरिहरेहोवके सं-
 35 गमे च (I) श्रीरंगे कुंभकोणे हततमसि महानंदितोयं निवृत्तौ ॥१६*]
 36 गोकर्णे रामसेतौ जगति तदितरेष्वप्यशेषेषु पुण्यस्थानेष्व-
 37 रत्ननानाविधबहुकमहादानवारिप्रवाहैः । यस्योदंचतुरंग-
 38 प्रकरखुररजःशुच्यदंभोधिमग्नक्ष्माभृत्यच्छिदोद्यत्तर(त्कर)कु-
 39 लिशधरोत्कंठिता कुंठिताभूत् ॥(II)[१७*] ब्रह्मांडं विश्वचक्रं घटमु-
 40 दितमहाभूतकं रत्नधेनुं (I) सप्तांबोधींश्च³ कल्पचितिरुहल-
 41 तिके कांचनीं कामधेनुं । स्वर्णक्ष्मां यो हिरण्याश्वरथमपि
 42 तुलापूरुषं गोसहस्रं (I) हेमाश्वं हेमगर्भं कनककरिरथं पं-
 43 चलांगल्यतानीत् ॥(II) [१८*] प्राज्यं प्रशास्य निर्विघ्नं राज्यं द्यामिव शा-
 44 सितुं [१*] तस्मिन्गुणेन विख्याते चित्तेरिद्रे दिवं गते ॥(II)[१९*] ततोप्य-
 45 वार्यवीर्य[२*] श्रीकृष्णरायमहीपतिः । बिभर्त्ति मणिकेयूरनि-
 46 र्विशेषं महीं भुजे ॥(II)[२०*] कीर्त्या यस्य समंततः प्रयुतया⁴ विश्वं रुचै-
 47 क्यं व्रजे(I)दित्याशंक्य पुरा पुरारिरभवद्भाक्केच[ण*] प्रायशः [१*] पद्मा-
 48 क्षोपि चतुर्भुजोजनि चतुर्वक्त्रोद्भवत्पद्मभूः⁵ (I) काक्की खड्गम-
 49 थाद्रमा च कमलं वीणां च वाणी करे ॥(II)[२१*] शत्रूणां वासमेते दद-
 50 त इति रूपा किं न⁶ सप्तांबुरासीन्नानासेनात्तुरंगतृटित-¹⁰
 51 वसुमतीधूळिकापाळिकाभिः । संशोष्य¹¹ खैरमेतत्पतिनिधि-¹²
 52 जलधिश्चेणिका यो विधत्ते (I) ब्रह्मांडस्वर्णमेरुप्रमुखनिज-
 53 महादानतोयैरमेयैः¹³ ॥(II)[२२*] स्तुत्यौदार्यसुधीभिस्स विजयन-

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 54 गरे रत्नसिंहासनस्थः क्षमापालान्कृष्णरायचित्तिपतिरध-
 55 रीकृत्य नीत्या नृगादीन् । आ पूर्वाद्रेरथास्तचित्तिधरकटकादा
 56 च हेमाचलांतादा सेतोरर्थिसार्थश्रियमिह बहुकीकृत्य कीर्त्या

पा looks like मा.

Read प्रसत°.

¹ Read °धादमा.

Read °तुरंगतृटित°.

°दा° looks like °च°.

² ण is corrected from ल.

³ The व of श्व looks like च.

Read नु instead of न्.

¹¹ Read संशोष्य.

⁴ Read °भोषी°.

⁶ Read भ instead of इ.

⁹ Read °श्री° instead of °सी°.

¹² Read °त्पति°.

- 57 बभासे १(॥)[२३*] कृतवति सुरलोकं कृष्णराये निजांशं तदनु तदनुज-
 58 न्मा पुण्यकर्माच्युतेन्द्रः । अखिलमवनिलोकं स्वांशमेत्यारिजेता
 59 वि[ल]सति हरिचेता विद्वदिष्टप्रदाता १(॥)[२४*] अंभोदेन निपीयमान-
 60 सलिलोगस्थेन पीतोभितस्तप्तो^१ राघवसायकाग्निशिखया सं-
 61 तप्यमानः सदा । अंतस्त्रैर्वडबा(वा)मुखानलशिखाजालैर्विशुष्को
 62 [ध्रु]वं (१) यद्दानांबुधनांबुरंबुधिरयं पूर्णः समुद्योतते^२ १(॥)[२५*] समज-
 63 नि नरपालस्तत्त्वधर्मप्रतिष्ठो विजयनगरराजद्रवसिंहा-
 64 सनस्थः [१*] नृगनरुनहुषादीन्नीचयन्त्राजनीत्या^३ निरुपमभुज-
 65 वीर्यौदार्यभूरच्युतेन्द्रः १(॥)[२६*] क्षितिप्रतिष्ठापितकीर्त्तिदेहे प्राप्ते पदं
 66 वैष्णवमच्युतेन्द्रे । अध्यास्य भद्रासनमस्य सूनुर्वीरो वभौ वेंकट-
 67 देवरायः १(॥)[२७*] प्रशास्य राज्यं प्रशवास्त्ररूपे^४ विद्वन्निधौ वेंकटरा-
 68 यभूषे [१*] अभागधियादचिरायजानामाखंडलावासमथाधिरू-
 69 ढे १(॥)[२८*] तिमांवावरगर्भमौक्तिकमणी रंगक्षितींद्रात्मजः क्षत्रालं-
 70 करणेन पालितमहाकर्णाटराज्यश्रिया । शौर्यौदार्यदयावता
 71 स्वभगिनीभर्त्ता जग[त्ता]यिना^५ (१) रामद्व्यापतिनाप्यमात्यतिलकैः
 72 क्लृप्ताभिषेकक्रमः १(॥)[२९*] श्रीविद्यानगरीललामनि महासाम्राज्यसिं-
 73 हासने (१) संतानद्रु[रि]व स्फुरन्सुरगिरौ संहृत्य [वि*]वेधिणः^६ । आ से-
 74 तोरपि चाहिमाद्रि रचयन्नाज्ञो निजाज्ञाकरान्सर्वा पालय-
 75 ते सदाशिवमहारायश्चिराय क्षमां १(॥)[३०*] विख्यातविक्रांतिन-
 76 यस्य यस्य पट्टाभिषेके नियतं प्रजानां । आनंदबाष्पैरभिशि-^७
 77 च्यमाना देवीपदं दर्शयते धरित्री १(॥)[३१*] गोत्रोद्धारविशारदं कुव-
 78 लयापीडापहारोद्भुरं सत्यायत्तमतिं समस्तसुम[न*]स्त्रोभावने-
 79 कायनं । संजातस्मृतिभूरुचिं सविजयं संनंदकश्रीभरं^८ (१) यं
 80 शंसन्ति यशोदयांचितगुणं कृष्णावतारं बुधाः १(॥)[३२*] विख्यातं बहु-

Third Plate ; First Side.

- 81 भोगशृंगविभवैरुद्दामदानोद्भुरं धर्मेण स्मृतिमात्रतो-
 82 पि भुवने दत्तं प्रजारक्षणे । प्राप्तां यस्य भुजं भुजंगमहिभृ-
 83 द्दिदंतिकूर्मीपमं (१) पातिव्रत्यपताकिकेति धरणी^९ जानंतु स-
 84 वै जनाः १(॥)[३३*] यत्सेनाधूकिपाकी शकमशकसमुच्चाटने धूमरेखा

^१ Read °विर्भ° instead of °भि°.

^४ Read प्रस°.

^७ Read °मिषिच°.

^२ Read समुद्यो°.

^५ Read °तायिणा°.

^८ Read सन्न°.

^३ नी is corrected from त्य.

^६ Read विवेधिणः.

^९ Read धरणी°.

- 85 रोमाञ्जी क्रीत्तिवध्वा इव भुवनमिदं सर्वमंतर्वहत्याः । [वि]-
 86 णी नार्णयसीव प्रकटितविह्वलेर्वीरलक्ष्या रणाग्रे (1) शा-
 87 त्वे जीभूतपङ्क्तिः¹ किल ²शकलखलस्तोमदावानलानां [॥३४*] तुंगा-
 88 मेव दयां पदांबुजयुगं शोणं च कृष्णां तनुं रक्ता(क्तां) नीलशितां³
 89 त्रिवेणिमनवां वीक्षां गिरं नर्मदां [१*] तीत्यानीति⁴ [स]मावहृत्य-⁵
 90 वयवैः शेषाद्विवासी विभुः प्रायो यस्य विशेषभक्तिसुदितः
 91 पट्टाभिषेकश्रिये 1(॥)[३५*] ⁶वोषधिपत्युपमायितगंडस्तोषणरूप-
 92 जितासमकांडः [१*] ⁷भाषगीतपुवरायरगंडः पोषणनिर्भरभू-
 93 नवखंडः 1(॥)[३६*] राजाधिराजविरुदो राजराजसमांहतिः । स्वा-
 94 राजराजमानयो[१*] श्रीराजपरमेश्वरः 1(॥)[३७*] मूर्करायरगंडांको
 95 मेरुलंघियशोभरः । शरणागतमंदारः ⁸पर[रा]जभयंकरः 1(॥)[३८*]
 96 करदाखिलभूपालः परदारसहोदरः । हिंदुरायसुरक्षान्ति-
 97 धुराजगभीरधिः⁹ 1(॥)[३९*] विष्टपत्रयविख्यातो दुष्टशार्दूलमर्दनः ।
 98 अरोभगंडमेरुंडो हरिभक्तिसुधानिधिः 1(॥)[४०*] वर्धमानापदानश्री-
 99 रत्ननारीनटेश्वरः । इत्यादित्रुदैर्वदित्या¹⁰ नित्यमभिष्टुतः 1(॥)[४१*]
 100 ¹¹कांभोजभोजकाळिंगकरहाटादिपार्थिवैः¹² । सौविदक्षपदं प्रा-
 101 स्तेक्षंदर्शितनृपोपदः 1(॥)[४२*] सोयं नोतिविशारदः सुरतरुस्फूर्जाल-¹³
 102 विश्राणनस्सर्वोर्वीशनतस्सदाशिवमहारायक्षमानायकः ।
 103 बाह्वांगदनिर्विशेषमखिलां सर्वसहासुहृहन्विहृत्ताणप-
 104 रायणो विजयते वीरप्रतापोन्नतः ॥ [४३*] निधिवारणवेदेदुग-
 105 णिते शक्रवत्सरे । प्रभवे वत्स[रि*] मासि पौषे मकारसंक्रमे 1(॥)[४४*]
 कृष्णपत्रे च पु-
- 106 ण्यायाममायां सोमवासरे । कावेर्याः पावने¹⁴ तीरे रंगनाथस्य
 107 संनिधौ 1(॥)[४५*] काश्यपान्वयरत्नेन शाश्वतातुलकीर्तिना । शश्वदाराध-
 108 नाहृष्टविश्वनाथार्पितश्रिया 1(॥)[४६*] धर्ममर्मविदा चाणकर्मठेन मनीषि-
 109 णा । दुर्मदारिमहा(ही)पालशर्मदारिभुजौजसा 1(॥)[४७*] सत्यादृतांतर-

Third Plate ; Second Side.

- 110 गेण सत्कृत्याश्रयशोभिना । सहितेनाधिकं भूत्या सर्व-
 111 जग(गु)णशालिना 1(॥)[४८*] श्रीमत्कांचीपुरवराधीश्वरांकोपशो-

¹ Read °पङ्क्तिः.² Read सकल°.³ Read °शितां.⁴ Read तीर्था°.⁵ स is corrected from perhaps स.⁶ Read श्रीषधि°.⁷ Read भाषगे°.⁸ °रा° is corrected from another letter.⁹ इंदुदंशशिखामणिः in the British Museum plates.¹⁰ Read °विरुदे°.¹¹ Read कांभोज°.¹² Read °पार्थि°.¹³ Read °स्य°.¹⁴ Originally पावनी was written.

- 112 भिना । मोकालिपट्टवर्द्धनविख्यातविरुद्विना ॥(॥)[४८*] समयद्रोह-
 113 रगंडव्यातिना मनुनीतिना । प्रख्यातसमयकोलाहलचिह्नेन
 114 भास्वता ॥(॥)[५०*] ऐलावकीपुरवराधीश्वरांकेन धीमता । मा[द्या]ति-
 115 रुवटिच्छापससांगहरणौजसा ॥(॥)[५१*] यशस्विना^१ पाद्यकुलस्था-^२
 116 पनाचार्यकीर्तिना । मानोन(न्येन) दक्षिणमहासमुद्राधीश्वरेण च ॥(॥)[५२*]
 117 नागमच्छापपौत्रेण नऊनाभागकीर्तिना । श्रीविश्वनाथभूपा-
 118 लसिंधुशीतकृभानुना ॥(॥)[५३*] सुशीलनागमागर्भशुक्तिमुक्ताफलात्म-
 119 ना । कृष्णभूपतिना पुण्यकीर्तिना करु[णा*]विना ॥(॥)[५४*] परितः प्रण-
 वाकारप्र-
 120 कारवल्यांचितं । कमनीयशिलास्तंभकदंभोत्तंभितांवर^३ ॥(॥)[५५*] विशं-
 121 कटविटंकाकीविराजद्रंगमंटपं । विधाय विपुलोत्तुंगगोप-
 122 रं देवमंदिरं ॥(॥)[५६*] विशालां रथवती^४ च स्यंदनं मंदरोपमं । तत्र प्रति-
 123 ष्ठातार्यश्रीतारकब्रंहरूपिण^५ ॥(॥) [५७*] करुणारसकलोलवरुणालयचक्षु-
 124 से(षे) । शरणागतगी[र्वा]णभरणाधीनचेतसे ॥(॥) [५८*] कालचक्रघटीयंचक-
 125 ल्यनाशिल्यकारिणे । कैवल्यकल्पलतिकाकंदकोपपन्नकीर्तये ॥(॥) [५९*] कौस्तुभा-
 126 रुणपाथोजपा[श्च] लीनाक्रिमोलया^६ । वनमालिकया चारुवक्षसे हृतर-
 127 क्षसे ॥(॥)[६०*] इंदिराया जगन्मातुर्मंदिरायितवक्षसे ।^७ च्छंदसामादिकंदाय
 128 चंपकद्युतिवासरे(से) ॥(॥)[६१*] शरण्याय वतामिंदुतरण्याकरचक्षुसे^८ । हिरण्या-
 129 सुरसंहृत्ते^{१०} धरण्या गृहमेधिने ॥(॥)[६२*] ^{११}कंशादिविबुधारातिहिंसाविधपटी-
 130 यसे । संसारसागरौर्वाय पुंसामानमतां सतां ॥(॥)[६३*] नवनीतमुशे^{१२} नंदर-
 131 मणीशिक्षणीयतां । अभिनीतवते शश्वदपनीतनतातये ॥(॥)[६४*] निरलो-
 कवचो-
 132 मूलसुरकीमधुरारवै । तरकीकुर्वते गोपीस्मरलीलापराङ्मुखीः^{१३} ॥(॥)[६५*] अ-
 133 ^{१४}श्मिन्कृष्णापुरे पूर्णसा(सां)निष्ठं समुपेयुषे । तिरुवैकटनाथाय विष्णवे प्रभ-
 134 विष्णवे ॥(॥)[६६*] धूपदीपसुधाहारनानापूपनिवेदनैः^{१५} । नानापुष्पोपहारैश्च नै-
 135 कदीपप्रदीपनैः ॥(॥)[६७*] नृत्तगीतमहावाद्यच्छत्र(त्र)चामरवैभवैः । नित्यनैमि-
 त्तिका-

^१ Read यशस्वि°.^२ Read पांथ°.^३ Read °कदंबी°.^४ Read °वीर्य°.^५ Read °ष्ठित° and °ब्रह्म°.^६ Read °मालया°.^७ Read °मंदिरा°.^८ Read छंदसा°.^८ Read °चक्षुषे. Could it be that the passage should be read as शरण्याय सतामिंदुतरण्याकरचक्षुषे ?^{१०} Read °हृत्ते°.^{११} Read कंसादि°.^{१२} Read °मुषे°.^{१३} Read गोपीस्मर°.^{१४} Read अस्मि°.^{१५} The second ना looks like न्व°.

iv a.

140
145
150
155
160
165
170

iii b.

110
115
120
125
130
135

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

HALF SIZE.

STEN KONOW.

FROM IMPRESSIONS BY T. A. GOPINATHA RAO, M.A.

- 136 नंतपूजां कर्तुं विशेषतः ।(॥)[६८*] प्रतिवर्षं समारम्भरथोत्सवसमृद्धये^१ । श्रीम-
 137 प्लवोत्सवायापि रम्ययात्रोत्सवाय च ।(॥)[६९*] श्रीकीर्त्तवैप्र(पु)नाडौ च प्रख्यातं प[ि]-

Fourth Plate ; First Side.

- 138 द्यमंडले । तां(ता)मपर्णीनदीतीरे पावने वासमाश्रितं ।(॥)[७०*] श्रीव-
 139 ल्लमंगलख्यातचावटावपि विश्रुतं । ख्यातार्द्धतित्रिणीवृक्षा-
 140 दिमार्गेशान्यतां श्रितं ।(॥)[७१*] धर्माद्विल्लमरायस्य ख्यातादपि नेडुं-
 141 कुलात् । प्राचं श्रीशवळकारैकुळसीमांचलादपि ।(॥) [७२*] पुळि-
 142 यंकुळोडैकुलप्पिरायन्कुलतोपि च । भूसुरतटागसीमांच-
 143 लानाग्नेयतां^२ श्रितं ।(॥)[७३*] श्रीमल्लकुळग्रामसीमांतादपि दक्षि[णं] [१*]
 144 श्रीविलंकुळकुल्याया नैरृतीं दिशमाश्रितं ।(॥)[७४*] सुंदरश्रीपांच[पूत]-
 145 कुल्यायाश्चापि पश्चिमं । ^३ऐनाकुळसीमांताद्वायवीमाश्रितं दिशं ।(॥) [७५*]
 146 श्रीकुळैर्यारुपेर्यालंकुळसीमांचलोत्तरं । कोळंतांपारंपनयंकु-
 147 ळयोरुभयोरपि ।(॥)[७६*] अपि ^४सुत्तुर्मलाभिख्यागिरीशान्यतां श्रितं । पु-
 148 त्तेनेरिग्रामकेण ख्यातारियकुळेन च ।(॥)[७७*] कोटिकुळग्रामकेण कुत्तु-
 149 क्कलग्रामकेण च । सुत्तूरुग्रामकोपि^५ श्रीमद्रामंकुळेन च ।(॥)[७८] ईत्तंपाट्टु-
 150 ग्रामकेण शिरियालंकुळेन च । युक्तं पाटैकुलेनापि संयुतं सस्य-
 151 शोभितं ।(॥)[७९*] सुरप्पुनाडाकिक्कुटिभूत्रयोदशमान्वितं । श्रीकृष्णापुर-
 152 नामानं प्रख्यातं ग्रामसुत्तमं ।(॥)[८०*] सर्वमा(नांचतुःस्त्रीमा)न्यं चतुःस्त्री(सी)-
 153 मासंयुतं च समंततः । निधिनित्तेपपाषाणसिद्धसाक्षजलान्वि-
 154 तं ।(॥)[८१*] अक्षिण्यागामिसयुक्तं^६ देवभोग्यं सभूरुहं । वापीकूपतटा-
 155 कैश्च कश्छारामैश्च संयुतं^७ ।(॥)[८२*] अनेन वैकटेशेन भोग्यमाचंद्रता-
 156 रकं । दानाधमनविक्रीतियोग्यं विनिमयोचितं ।(॥)[८३*] शीतांशो-
 157 र्वेशरत्नं समजनि नृपतिर्नंदनामाथ जज्ञे तत्संतत्यां चलिक्क-
 158 क्षितिपतिरभवतत्कुले^८ बिज्जलेंद्रः । तदंशं^९ सोमिदेवोलम-
 159 क्तत विमतासप्तदुर्गाणि हृत्वा पौत्रस्तस्यार्वीटीपुरपतिरुदभू-
 160 त्पिनमच्चोक्षिपालः^{१०} ।(॥) [८४*] भूकल्पशास्त्री प्रति(थि)तारवीटिबुक्कचमापी-
 161 भवदस्य सूनुः । बल्लंबिका तस्य बभूव पत्नी पुरंदरस्यैव पुलोमकं-^{११}

^१ Read °समृद्धये.

^२ Read °दाग्नेय°.

^३ The metre demands one more letter in this foot and hence we propose to read the name of this village as ऐ[य*]नाकुळ. [I would prefer to scan *Āyind°*.—S. K.]

Read °मिष्य°.

^५ Read °ग्रामकेणापि ?

^६ Read °संयुक्तं.

^७ Read °कश्छारामैश्च संयुतं.

^८ Read °भवत्तरकुले.

^९ Read तदंशं.

^{१०} Read °क्षीणि°.

^{११} Read °कन्या.

- 162 न्या ॥(॥) [८५*] अस्मादशेषभुवनावनवारिजाक्षाश्च्छृ(च्छृ)गारराजवदजाय-
 163 त रामराजः । लक्ष्मीसमानचरिता ललनामतल्ली लक्षांबिका रति-
 164 रिवाजनि तस्य देवी ॥(॥) [८६*] ^१तस्याधिकैसमभवत्तनयस्तपोभिः[*] श्रीरंगराज-
 165 ^२नृपतिशशिवंशदीपः । आसंज्वलत्सु भुजधामसु यस्य चित्रं नेत्राणि वै-
 166 रिसुदुसां^३ च निरंजनानि ॥(॥) [८७*] सतीं तिरुमलांबिका(कां) चरितलीलया-
 167 धतीप्रथामपि तितिचया वसुमतीयशो रंधतीं । हिमांशुरिव
 168 रोहिणीं हृदयहारिणीं सद्गुणैरमोदत सधर्मिणीमयमवाप्य
 169 वीराश्रणीः ॥(॥) [८८*] स्वैरं सुदृग्भरणजातरुचिसुवृत्त^४ खालोकदूरिततमा-
 170 स्तनयस्तदीयः । अत्रासवृत्तिरवदातगुणानुवर्त्ती आ(श्री)रामराज-

Fourth Plate; Second Side.

- 171 नरपालमणिर्विरेजे^५ ॥(॥) [८९*] यस्मिन् प्रशासति महीं जदे[वै]-^६
 172 कवीरे भंगो नदीषु पतंगेषु च पक्षपातः । वल्लीषु पल्लव-
 173 रुचिर्वनितारतेषु नीवीविमोचनमभून्नियतं प्रजानां ॥(॥) [९०*] स-
 174 त्यानुरक्तेरिदरावहेस्मिन् सन्नके^७ संभृतसर्वलोके । (श्रीरा)
 175 श्रीरामराजे श्रितसत्त्वसौये^८ शौरेः पदं शाश्वतमभ्युपेते ॥(॥) [९१*] त-
 176 दनु भुवमशेषां पालयन्ब्राजनीत्या तपनतनयजेता दा-
 177 नरीत्या महत्या । भरतमहितभूमा भाति तस्यानुजन्मा व-
 178 रतिरुमलराजसाहितीभोजराजः^९ ॥(॥) [९२*] स्वैरं ^{१०}संहतकंटको-
 179 थ सुकृतोत्कृष्टं विधायाखिलं भूकेदारमुदारदानसलिलो-^{११}
 180 सारैस्समापूर्य च । संवद्भानव(कीर्त्ति)कीर्त्तिसस्यनिवहं
 181 तत्पालिकां विक्रमश्रीकांतां भुजकायमानसिखरे^{१२} धत्ते
 182 हि यस्तेजसा ॥(॥) [९३*] यस्यानुजन्मा विजयैकनर्मा रामाभिराम[१]-
 183 तुलबाहुधामा । वीरो विरेजे^{१३} भुवि वैकटाद्रिराजः श्रि-
 184 या निर्जितराजराजः ॥(॥) [९४*] धर्ममर्मविधस्तस्य^{१४} धरणीक-
 185 ल्यशखिनः । सोमवंशावतंसस्य स्वाधीननयसंपदः ॥(॥) [९५*] श्री-
 186 विश्वनाथभूपालचिरपुण्यफलात्मना । कृष्णभूपतिनाने-
 187 न कृ[पा]कूपारचक्षुषां^{१५} ॥ (॥) [९६*] विज्ञापितस्य विनयाद्विमतज्ञांत-^१

^१ Read °सुमभव°.

^४ Read °सुवत्तः°.

^६ Read जगदेक°.

^८ Read °स्माहिती°.

^{१३} Read °शिखरे°.

^{१५} पा is corrected from णा.

^२ Read °नृपतिशशि°.

^५ The letters विरे are engraved over an erasure.

^७ A mistake for संपन्न के.

^{१०} Read संघत°.

^{१३} Read विरेजे.

^{१५} Read °धृत्°.

^३ Read °सुदृशा°.

^६ Read °सर्व श्रौये°.

^{११} Read °सलिला°.

^{१४} Read °विदसस्य°.

- 188 भास्वतः । प्राज्यकर्णाठराज्यश्रीस्थापनाचार्यविश्रुतेः । (॥)[६७*] आ-
 189 त्रेयगोत्रपाथोजमात्तीडस्य मनस्विनः । अर्तेववरगंड-
 190 स्य ^१सिध्वंतच्चित्तिरक्षिणः । (॥)[६८*] ^२वर्णितेयशेसो नानावर्णश्रीमंड-
 191 लीकगंडस्य । ऐ(ए)विरुदरायराहुतवेस्यै^३कभुजंगविरुदभ-
 192 रितस्य । (॥)[६९*] ^४वेष्टा[त]विरुदमनियविभाळलीलस्य विजय-
 193 शीलस्य । विश्वंभराभृतिस्फुटविश्रुतधरणीवराहवि-^५
 194 रुदस्य । (॥)[१००*] कल्याणपुरनाथस्य शब्दारिसमतेजसः । वेंगत्रि-
 195 भुवनीमल्ललिंगस्थिरयशोनिधेः । (॥)[१०१*] श्रीमत्तिरुमलक्ष्मापशे-
 196 खरस्य दयांबुधेः । विन[यौ*]दार्यशीलस्य विन्नमिमनुपालयन् । (॥)[१०२*]

Fifth Plate.

- 197 परीतः प्रयतैः[*] स्निग्धैः पुरोहितपुरोगमैः । विविधै-
 198 र्विबुधैः श्रौ(श्री)तपथिकैरथि(धि)कैर्गिरा । (॥)[१०३*] सदाशिवमहारा-
 199 यो माननीयो मनस्विनां । सहिरथ्यपयोधारापूर्वकं दत्तवा-
 200 न्सुदा । (॥)[१०४*]
 201 सरससदाशिवरायक्षितिपतिवर्यस्य कीर्त्तिधुर्यस्य [*] शास-
 202 नमिदं 'सरासनदासरथेरमितहेमदानरतेः' । (॥)[१०५*] मृदुपदमिति
 203 तांश्च(ताम्)शासनार्थं महितसदाशिवरायशासनेन । अभणदनु-
 204 गुणं वचोमहिम्ना सरसतरेण सभापतिस्वयंभूः । (॥)[१०६*] सदाशिवमहा-
 205 रायशासनाद्वीरणात्मजः । त्वष्टा श्रीवीरणाचार्यो व्यलिखतां-^६
 206 म्मशासनं (॥)[१०७*] दानपालनयोर्मध्ये दाना[च्छे]योनुपालनं । दानास्वर्ग-^७
 207 मवाप्नोति पालनादच्युतं पदं । (॥)[१०८*] स्वदत्ताद्दिगुणं^{१०} पुण्यं परदत्तानुपा-
 208 लनं । परदत्तापहारेण स्वदत्तं ^{११}निष्फलं भवेत् । (॥)[१०९*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां
 209 वा यो हरेति^{१२} वसुंधरां । षष्टिर्वर्षसहस्राणि^{१३} विष्टायां जायते क्रि(क्त)-
 210 मिः(॥)[११०*] ऐ(ए)कैव भगिनी लोके सर्वेषामेव भूभुजां । न भोज्या न करग्रा-
 211 ह्या देवदत्ता वसुंधरा । (॥)[१११*] सामान्यो[यं] धर्मसेतुनृपाणां^{१४} काले काले
 212 पालनीयो भवद्भिः । सर्वानेतान्माविनः पार्थिवैर्दान्भूयो भूयो याच-
 213 ते रामचंद्रः॥ [११२*]
 214 श्रीविरूपाक्ष^{१५}

^१ Read 'सिध्वंत'.^२ Read 'वर्णितयशेसो'.^३ Read 'वेष्टैक'.^४ त is corrected from the secondary i of the letter that follows, which was begun wrongly in the place of त.^५ Read 'विश्रुत'.^६ Read 'शरासन'.^७ Read 'दाशरथे'.^८ Read 'लिखताम्'.^९ Read 'दानास्वर्ग'.^{१०} Read 'दत्ताद्दि'.^{११} Read 'निष्फल'.^{१२} Read 'हरेत्'.^{१३} Read 'षष्टिं व'.^{१४} Read 'सेतुनृपाणां'.^{१५} In Kannada characters.

ABRIDGED TRANSLATION.

Verse 1 invokes Śambhu, v. 2 the boar incarnation of Viṣṇu, and v. 3 Gaṇeśa.

Vv. 4-5 trace the genealogy of the family from the Moon.

(Vv. 6-7.) In his (*i.e.* Turvasu's) line was born the husband of Dēvakī, king Timma, as famous among the Tuḷuvas as Kṛishṇa was among the Yadus. To him was born king Īśvara, a jewelled crown of virtues to kings, (and) the husband of Bukkamā.

(V. 8.) To him, the son of Dēvakī, was born king Narasa, as Kāma (was born) from the son of Dēvakī (Kṛishṇa).

Vv. 9-10 describe his generosity and his conquest of the kingdom of Taṁcha (*i.e.* the Chōḷa country) and Śrīraṅgaṭṭaṇa.

(V. 11.) Conquering the Chēra and the Chōḷa, Mānabhūsha, the Pāṇḍya king of Madura, also the fierce Turushka, king Gajapati and others from the Ganges to Laṅkā, and from the Eastern to the Western mountains, he made all kings bear his commands on their heads as flowers on their crowns.

(Vv. 12-14.) Of Tippāji and Nāgalādēvī, like Rāma and Lakshmaṇa of Kausalyā and Sumitrā to Daśaratha, were born to him two sons Vira-Nṛisimha and Kṛishṇarāya who were brave and modest. To him were also born of Ōbāmbikā two (*more*) sons able in protecting (*the subjects*), Raṅgakshitindra and Achyutadēvarāya.

(V. 15.) Vira-Nārasimha, seated on the jewelled throne at Vijayanagara, eclipsing by fame and policy Nṛiga, Naḷa, Nahusha and others of the world, praised by the Brāhmaṇas from Sētu to Mēru, from the Eastern to the Western mountains, ruled the kingdom pleasing the hearts of all people.

(Vv. 16-18.) His praises.

(V. 19.) Having ruled his large kingdom without obstacles, the king of the earth, famous for his virtues, went to heaven as if to rule the kingdom of heaven.

(V. 20.) After him, king Kṛishṇarāya, of unabated valour, bore the whole of the earth on his shoulders with as much ease as a jewelled bracelet.

(Vv. 21-23.) Praises of Kṛishṇarāya.

(V. 24.) When Kṛishṇarāya had taken for his part the world of the *dēvas* (*i.e.* had died) his younger brother Achyutēndra, doer of good deeds, conqueror of foes, worshipper of Viṣṇu, who made gifts satisfying the desires of the learned, got for his share the whole of this earth.

(Vv. 25-26.) Praises of Achyutēndra.

(V. 27.) When, having set up on earth a body in the form of his fame, Achyutēndra reached Viṣṇu's abode, his brave son Vēṅkaṭarāya ascended the throne.

(Vv. 28-30.) He who was like the flower-arrowed Kāma, and was ruling his kingdom (*well*), owing to the bad luck of his subjects, soon went to the city of Indra. The son of Raṅgakshitindra and the precious pearl of the sacred womb of Timmāmbā, king Sadāśivarāya, who was like the *santāna* tree on the hill of *dēvas*, was duly installed on the throne that was the jewel of the prosperous town, Śrī-Vidyānagarī, by king Rāma, his sister's husband, the protector of the goddess Śrī of the great kingdom of Karpāṭa, who was an ornament to all Kshatriyas, who was endowed with valour, nobility and kindness, and by the chief ministers.

(Vv. 31-43.) Praises of Sadāśivarāya.

(Vv. 44-45.) On Monday, the new moon *tithi* of the dark half of the month Pausa, during the *Makara-saṁkramaṇa*, in the year Prabhava, (corresponding to) the Śaka year counted by the *nīdhis* (9), the *vāraṇas* (8), the *vēdas* (4), and *indu* (1) (*i.e.* Śaka 1489) on the banks of the sacred river Kāvērī, in the presence of (*the god*) Raṅganātha, (*this grant is made*).

(Vv. 46-57.) By Kṛṣṇabhūpati, of sacred fame, the ocean of mercy; who was the jewel of the family of Kāśyapa; on whom much wealth was conferred by (the god) Viśvanātha, who was pleased with his devotion; who knew the truth about duty; who was always studying the art of protecting others; who was a wise man; whose mind was purified by truthfulness; who shone by his desire to do good actions; who possessed great wealth; who was endowed with the virtues of a wise man; who bore the title 'the lord of Kāñchīpura;' who was also the recipient of the famous title 'Mōkālīpaṭṭavardhana;' who was also known as the 'Samaya-drōhara-gaṇḍa;' whose policy was like that of Manu; who also shone by the celebrated distinction 'Samayakōlāhala;' who was also entitled 'the lord of Ailāvalīpura;' who by his valour deprived the insolent king of the Tiruvaḍi-rājya of the seven (component) parts (of his kingdom); who was famous as the 'Pāṇḍyakulasthāpanāchārya;' who was the revered lord of the great Southern ocean; who was the grandson of king Nāgama; who was equal to Naja and Nābhāga in fame; who was the cool moon of the ocean named king Viśvanātha; who was the pearl of the oyster, viz. the womb of the virtuous Nāgamā,—was built a temple at Kṛṣṇāpura, which was encircled by a wall of the shape of the *praṇava* and a broad and lofty tower. It has a large *rañja-maṇḍapa* raised on a collection of beautiful stone pillars and adorned with rows of spouts (?). He built a car like the *Mandara* mountain and also broad roads round the temple, for the propitiation of the god Viṣṇu set up there (i.e. in the temple).

[(Vv. 58-66.) Praises of the god set up in the temple of Kṛṣṇāpuram.]

(Vv. 67-69.) (For the worship of the god Viṣṇu) who shone in this place under the name of Tiruvēṅkaṭanātha, by means of burning incense, by lights, and by the offering of good food, cakes, etc., by means of offerings of several kinds of flowers, by illumination with many lights, by means of dancing, singing and music, with umbrellas, *chauris*, on days both ordinary and special, for the car festival at the beginning of each year, for the floating festival during the hot season, and for the *yātrōtsava*,

(Vv. 70-82.) The excellent village known by the name of Śrī Kṛṣṇāpura, resplendent with cereals,—including the villages known as Puttanēri, Āriyakulaṃ, Kōṭikkulaṃ, Kuttukkal, Muttūr Rāmaṅgulaṃ, Ittampāṭṭu, Śiriyālaṅgulaṃ, Pāṭaikkulaṃ together with thirteen *bhū* in Muṇḍappu-nāḍu (and) Āḷikuḍi, which is situated in the Kīlavēmbu-nāḍu belonging to the Pāṇḍya-maṇḍala, on the banks of the pure river Tāmraparai, in the *chāvaḍi* known as Śrīvallamaṅgalaṃ, and which is situated to the north-east of the road commencing with the Arddhatintriṇī tree, etc.; east of Villamarāya's charity and the famous Neḍuṅgulaṃ and of the extreme limits of Śrī-Śaṅkarakāṇḍaṅkulaṃ; south-east of Puḷiyāṅgula-ōḍai, Kulappirāyankulaṃ and of the extreme limits of Bhūsura-taṭāka; south of the extreme limits of Kaḷḷikkulaṃ; south-west of the Vēlaṅgula channel; west of Śrī-Sundara-Pāṇḍya's new channel; north-west of the extreme limits of Aināṅkulaṃ; north of the extreme limits of Śrīkulaṃ, Ēryāru-Peryālaṅgulaṃ and of Kokkantāmpāra and Panayaṅkulaṃ; and north-east of the hill known as Muttūrmala—is to be enjoyed by (this god) Vēṅkaṭēśa as a *sarvamānya*.

(Vv. 96 and 102 to 104.) Having been requested by Kṛṣṇabhūpati, the fruit of the long penance of Viśvanātha, whose eyes are the ocean of mercy, Tirumala Rāja respectfully requested Sadāsivarāya, the respected of the learned men, who, surrounded by his staunch friends, priests, followers, all kinds of learned men, and ambassadors and by their advice, made this gift joyously with gold and pouring of water.

Vv. 105-106 mention that Sabhāpati Svayambhu wrote the *śāsana*.

V. 107 mentions that Virapāchārya, son of Virapa, engraved the document.

Vv. 108-112 : the usual imprecatory verses.

Line 214. The signature 'Śrī Virūpāksha' in the Kannaḍa alphabet.

No. 53.—ARANG COPPER-PLATE OF BHIMASENA II.

GUPTA-SAMVAT 282.

By HIRA LAL, B.A. ; NAGPUR.

This copper-plate was found by me with Śrī Kṛishṇa Mālguzār of Āraṅg on my visit to that place on the 31st May 1908. Āraṅg is 22 miles east of Raipur, the headquarters of the Chhattisgarh Division in the Central Provinces. It contains several ancient remains¹ and it was there that another plate in box-headed characters belonging to Mahā-Jayadēva² was found. There is also another mutilated inscription at the place on a stone in characters like those in which the inscriptions of Sirpur,³ which is 15 miles from Āraṅg, are engraved. The details as to the exact find-spot of our inscription are not available, as Śrī Kṛishṇa told me that it was found long ago by one of his ancestors, and as no Paṇḍits could read it, it was stowed away, so that being out of sight, it got out of mind. He, however, assured me he had heard from his ancestors that it was dug up in Āraṅg itself and that it was not brought from any other place. There is only one plate with an uncut ring passing through a round hole, its ends being soldered to a round seal. The plate measures $10\frac{1}{2}'' \times 4''$ and has irregular edges and an uneven surface, partly corroded. In spite of this, the letters are all visible except two or three (ll. 6 and 11) which have been much worn out and are difficult to decipher. The seal is a little brittle and has in bas-relievo a lion in a sitting posture as the family crest, beneath which are inscribed in raised letters *Śrī-mahārāja-Bhīmasēnasya*.

The inscription contains 13 lines, 9 on the obverse and 4 on the reverse side. The average size of letters is $\frac{3}{16}''$. The characters belong to the Northern class of alphabets of the type, which, according to Dr. Fleet, "may be called the standard alphabet, with northern characteristics, of Central India from towards the end of the 5th to the middle of the 6th century A. D."⁴ There are also numerical symbols for 200, 80, 2, 10 and 8, the last being doubtful. The language of the record is Sanskrit prose except the imprecatory verse in ll. 11 and 12. In respect of orthography, we have to notice the use of the dental nasal instead of the *anusvāra* before *s* in *vanśyaiḥ* (l. 10) and instead of the class nasal before a guttural in *piḍān-kuryāt* (in the same line). Letters with a *rēpha* have been mostly doubled. The vowel sign for *i* occurs in *śrī* (l. 2) and *ā* is sometimes denoted by a short vertical stroke after the consonant to which it is joined, at other times by a top curve, especially when combined with *sa* or *pa* (ll. 2, 3, 5, 10 and 12). Final forms of *m* occur in ll. 6, 7 and 11.

The object of the inscription is to record the grant of a village named Vāṭapallikā in the district of Dōṇḍā by the Mahārāja Bhīmasēna II. to two Brāhmins Harisvāmin and Bappasvāmin, both of the Bharadvāja-gōtra and students of the Rīgvēda. The charter was issued from the Suvarṇanadi (river), where apparently the donor had gone to bathe on some festival. The genealogy of Bhīmasēna is given for six generations, thus:—Bhīmasēna (II.), son of Dayitavarmman (II.), son of Bhīmasēna (I.), son of Vibhishana, son of Dayita (I.), son of Śūra; but it is not clear to which particular dynasty they belonged. They are stated to have been born of a family celebrated for its dignity like that of royal ascetics (*rājarshītulyakula*).⁵ From this it

¹ Cunningham's Reports, Vol. XVII. p. 20 et seq.² Gupta Inscriptions, p. 191.³ Cunningham's Reports, Vol. XVII. p. 23 et seq.⁴ Gupta Inscriptions, p. 117.

⁵ This probably refers to the Gupta family. In the Udayagiri cave inscription (vide Gupta Inscriptions, p. 35) Chandragupta II. is called "*rājādhirājarshi*," which implies that he combined in him both regal and religious qualifications, an ideal to which the feudatory chiefs would be prone to liken their own families. In reference to his sovereign lord, Bhīmasēna could not arrogate the title of *rājarshi* to his family and that seems to be the reason why he inserts the word *tulya* (like). For similar reasons it appears their northern feudatories called themselves *Parivrajaka*, which means 'a religious mendicant.'

may be inferred that they were something like the Parivrājaka Mahārājas of Dabhālā (Jubbulpore country) and were like them vassals of the Early (or Imperial) Guptas in whose era our inscription is dated.¹ The Parivrājaka inscriptions range from 475 to 528 A.D., and ours belongs to the Gupta year 282 or A.D. 601. Our inscription introduces us to another similar family under the overlordship of the Guptas, which apparently continued to be acknowledged, at least in Chhattisgarh, up to so late a date as the commencement of the 7th century A.D. It was in the middle of the 4th century that Samudra-Gupta conquered the Mahākōśala (Chhattisgarh) country, by defeating the then ruling king Mahēndra, of whom we know nothing beyond his name and so have no materials to establish any connection between him and the dynasty of our inscription. We know that Mahēndra was not ousted. He was liberated,² and his dynasty must have continued to rule for about 100 years, if Bhīmasēna's family was a different one. The first king Śūra of the latter line must have flourished in the middle of the 5th century, to judge from the number of generations which intervened between the two. In Chhattisgarh several dynasties have ruled and many inscriptions have been found, but ours is the only one among them which is dated in the Gupta era. In other parts of India, too, inscriptions referring to the Guptas have been discovered, and their era remained in use even after their imperial power had come to an end. That is, in the words of Dr. Fleet, though the direct line of the Early Gupta dynasty itself may have become extinct, Gupta dominion still continued, and the name of the Gupta kings was still recognised as a power down to A.D. 601. Prior to the discovery of our inscription, the latest date expressly given in the Gupta era was only 528 A.D.³ It is true that the inscriptions of the Valabhi kings shew that the Gupta era continued in use in Kāthiāwāḍ and some neighbouring parts of Gujarāt, at least as late as A.D. 766,⁴ but the era has not been specifically named after the Guptas in them.

The exact date of our inscription appears to be the 18th of the Bhādra month of the Gupta year 282. It does not admit of verification, as the week day is not mentioned. Its English equivalent, as calculated by Mr. Gokul Prasād, Tahsildār of Dhamtari, is Tuesday, the 22nd August 601, on the assumption that the Gupta era began on 26th February 320 A.D. which is taken as the coronation day of Chandra Gupta I.⁵ The accuracy of the above calculation cannot, however, be relied on, owing to the uncertainty as to whether the date is really the 18th, the figure for 8 being doubtful. Again, there is the question of intercalation⁶ and the alteration of the commencement of the year by the Valabhī kings who put it back 7 months, which may also interfere with the reckoning. So much, however, is certain that our inscription was recorded in the year 601 A.D. With regard to geographical names, Suvarṇanadī is apparently the Sōn, which rises from the Amarkantak hills and after a course of about 40 miles in Chhattisgarh finally joins the Ganges. It has been identified with the Sonos of Arrian as also with his Erannoboas, the other Sanskrit name of the Sōn being Hiranyavāha or Hiranyavāhin. The Sōn is frequently mentioned in Hindū literature, in the *Rāmāyaṇas* of Vālmiki and Tulsidās,

¹ [Cunningham describes (*Reports*, Vol. IX. p. 26) two silver coins of a certain Bhīmasēna, who must have belonged to a dynasty which succeeded the Guptas. The peacock device of the Guptas is continued on these coins, but the faces of the obverse are turned to the left as if to denote a change of dynasty.—Ed.]

² *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 12.

³ *Ibid.* Introduction, p. 8. [The Tezpur inscription dated Gupta 510 is of a different kind. See Kielhorn, *Göttinger Nachrichten*, 1905, pp. 465 and ff.—S. K.] [The Gañjām District plates of Śaśāṅkarāja are dated in the Gupta year 300 corresponding to A.D. 619-20 (above, Vol. VI. p. 143)—V. Venkayya.]

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 13. The Verāval inscription is dated in Valabhī-Saṃvat 945 or 1264 A.D., thus extending its use to a period 500 years still later (see *Indian Antiquary*, 1891, p. 385).

⁵ Smith's *Early History of India*, 2nd Edition, p. 266.

⁶ For a discussion on this subject, see Dr. Kielhorn's postscript to my article on the Betūl plates (above, Vol. VIII. p. 288).

⁷ See *Indian Antiquary*, 1902, p. 257.

the *Bhāgavata* and other works. There are numerous legends about it, one of the most picturesque assigning the origin of the Sôn and Narmadā to two tears dropped by Brahmā, one on either side of the Amarkantak range. Its waters possess great sanctity, the performance of *sandhyā* on its banks ensuring absolution and the attainment of heaven even to the slayer of a Brāhmaṇ.¹ This must therefore be the river, the third in India, as recorded by Arrian, whence Bhīmasēna issued his charter, and not another Sôn flowing in the south of the Bilāspur district, falling into the Borai which joins the Mahānadi. As for Dōṇḍā and Vaṭapallikā, the latter of which must be looked for in a form such as Baḍapālī or Barapālī, there are so many places in Chhattīsgarh bearing these names that it is difficult to say which particular ones were meant. The nearest Dōṇḍā or Duṇḍā, as we now find it, is one situated 25 miles west of Āraṅg, where the plate was found, and the nearest Barapālī is 30 miles east of Āraṅg and about 50 miles east of Duṇḍā. It is included in the present Kaudīā Zamīndārī on the other side of the Mahānadi. It would then appear that Āraṅg also was in those days included in the Dōṇḍā district, and the donees, if they were residents of Āraṅg, lived half-way between the headquarters of the district and the village granted to them.

TEXT.²

Seal.

Śrī-mahārāja-Bhīmasēnasya.

First Side.

- 1 Ōm³ svasti [||*] Suvarṇṇanadyāḥ [sa]rvva⁴-sadrājarshi-tulya-kula-prabhāva-kirttēḥ
śrī-mahārāja-Śūrasya prapautraḥ prajā-
- 2 dayitasya śrī-[ma]hārāja-Dayitasya putraḥ prapata-sāmantasy-ārāti-vibhīṣaṇasya
śrī-mahārāja-Vibhīṣa-
- 3 nasya putraḥ śakti-siddhi-sampannō dharmma-vijayī nyāy-ōpārjīti-ānēka-ratna-
gō-bhūmi-suvarṇṇa-hirany-ādi-pradaḥ śrī-
- 4 mahārāja-Bhīmasēnaḥ tasya putraḥ ta[ch-chari]t-ānukārī sadbhir=mmahadbhīś=ch=
ādhyushitasadaḥ⁵ śrī-mahārāja-Dayitavarmma
- 5 tasya pu[tra]ḥ tat-pād-ānuddhyātō-tya[nta]-dēva-guru-brāhmaṇa-bhaktaḥ śrī-mahārāja-
Bhīmasēnaḥ kuśalī Dōṇḍā-
- 6 vaishayika-Vaṭapallikāyām [brāhmaṇādīn=pra]tivāsinaḥ [ku]śalam=uktvā samājñā-
payaty=ēsha grāmō mayā
- 7 bhadra-bhōgēn-aiva mātāpitrōr=ātmanas=cha puṇyā-bhivṛddhayā Bharadvāja-
sagotrābhyām. Bahvṛicha-Harīsvāmi-Bappasvāmibhyām
- 8 sarvvapratyāyavān=mahāpralaya-kā[l-ā]vasthā[py-ā]grahārō dattas=tad=bhavadbhir=
anayōr=ājñā-sravana-vidhēyair=bhūtvā samuchita-
- 9 m-ēya⁶ suvarṇṇa-hirany-ādi-pratyāy-ōpanayaḥ karttavyaḥ [||*] yaś=ch=ātra [ka]śchid=
ubhaya-lōka-nirapēkshaḥ san=daśa-

¹ See article on Sôn in the new Imperial Gazetteer.² From the original plate.³ [I read *pārva*.—S. K.]⁴ Expressed by a symbol.⁵ Read =ch=ādhyushita^o.⁶ Read -mēva [or -mēya- as in l. 15 of the Broach copper-plate of Saṅgamasīmha (J. Bo. B. R. A. S. Vol. XX. p. 214, text-line 3).—S. K.]

Second Side.

- 10 bhir-atitair-āgāmibhiś=ch=aitāvadbhiḥ svavansy[ai]h¹ sah-ādho [y]iyāsuḥ svalpām=api
piḍān=ku[ryyā]t²=kārayēd=anumanyēta vā sa pañcha-
11. bhir=mmahāpātakair=upapātakais=cha sa[m]yuktaḥ [syāt punaś=ch=ā]sminn=arthē
bhagavatā Vyāsēn=ābhīhitam shashtīm varsha-sahasrāṇi
- 12 svarggē mōdati bhūmidāḥ [!]³ āchchhēttā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakē
vasēd=ity=ēvamādi-slōkāḥ Guptānam samvatsa-
- 13 ra-śatē 200 80 2 Bhādra di 10 8³ dūtakaś=cha rājaputra-Subhadraḥ
utkirṇam cha Lakshmanēn=ēti || ||

TRANSLATION.

(Ll. 1 to 4.) Om ! Hail ! From Suvarṇanadi; the illustrious *Mahārāja* Bhīmasēna, possessed of power and success, triumphant with virtue (and) giver of many lawfully acquired jewels, cows, land, gold, precious metals, etc. (*was*) the great grandson of the illustrious *Mahārāja* Śūra, (*who was*) equal to all virtuous royal sages in lineage, power and fame, the grandson of the illustrious *Mahārāja* Dayita, beloved of his subjects, the son of the illustrious *Mahārāja* Vibhishana to whom feudatory kings bowed (*and who was*) terrific to his enemies.

(Ll. 4 to 6.) His son (*was*) the illustrious *Mahārāja* Dayitavarman, the follower of his (father's) conduct, whose court was attended by great and good (*personages*). His son (*is*) the illustrious *Mahārāja* Bhīmasēna, who meditates on his (father's) feet and is extremely devoted to the gods, preceptors and Brāhmaṇs. (*He*) being in good health (*and*) wishing good luck to Brāhmaṇs and other (*inhabitants*) of Vaṭapallikā in the district of Dōṇḍā, orders (*as follows*):—

(Ll. 6 to 8.) This village is given by me, while ruling prosperously, for the purpose of increasing the religious merit of (*my*) mother, father and myself, to Harisvāmin and Bappasvāmin (*both*) of the Bharadvāja gōtra, (*students*) of the Rīgvēda, as an *agrahāra*,⁴ with all taxes, and lasting up to the time of the great dissolution of the universe.

(Ll. 8 to 13.) Therefore, being obedient to their commands, you should render (*to them*) in proper manner the taxes such as gold and bullion, etc. If anybody, being regardless of the two worlds⁵ and wishing to go to hell with ten past and (*a similar number of*) future (*generations*) of his family, does, causes to be done, or assents to even a small harm to this (*charity*), he would become joined with five great⁶ sins and also minor sins. Moreover, in this matter it has been said by the venerable Vyāsa : "the giver of land enjoys in heaven for sixty thousand years, (*but*) the confiscator (*of a grant*) and he who assents (*to an act of confiscation*) shall dwell for the same number of years in hell," and so forth (*in other*) verses. In the year of the Guptas in hundreds 200, 80 2 (*in the month of*) Bhādra on the day 10 8(?). Prince Subhadra was the *dūtaka* (officer carrying the king's orders). Engraved by Lakshmana.

¹ Read °cansyaiḥ.² Read piḍām kuryyāt.³ I am indebted to Dr. Konow in helping me to elucidate these somewhat curiously formed figures.⁴ A grant made in favour of a god or a Brāhmaṇa.⁵ I.e. regardless of the consequences which may follow in this and the next world.⁶ For these see *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti*, verse 227 of the Prāyaścittādhyāya. They are : killing a Brāhmaṇ, drinking, theft, visiting a preceptor's wife, and association with any of these offences. The minor offences are enumerated further on from verses 234 to 242.

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¹ The figures refer to pages; 'n' after a figure, to footnotes; and 'add.' to the *Additions and Corrections* on pp. vii and viii. The following other abbreviations are used:—*ch.* = chief; *co.* = country; *di.* = district or division; *do.* = ditto; *dy.* = dynasty; *E.* = Eastern; *f.* = female; *k.* = king; *m.* = male; *mo.* = mountain; *ri.* = river; *s. a.* = same as; *sur.* = surname; *te.* = temple; *vi.* = village or town; *W.* = Western.

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